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TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS COUNTRIES

OF

EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA.

BY EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL. D.

PART THE SECOND.

GREECE, EGYPT, AND THE HOLY LAND.

SECTION I.

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PREFACE

TO

PART THE SECOND.

When the author published the first volume of these Travels, he proposed to divide the work into three portions. The observations made in "Greece, *Syria*, and Egypt," were reserved for the *second part*; whether consisting of *one* volume, or of *more than one*. This plan is still pursued; but from the very perplexed state of the geography of the country alluded to by the word *Syria* the less exceptionable appellation of *Palæstine* was substituted, in the second edition, for that of Syria. The same perplexity has again induced the author to alter what he had thus written, and to consider the present publication as containing observations made in Greece, Egypt, and the *Holy Land*.

The several names of Syria, Palæstine, the Holy Land, the Land of Canaan, the Land of Judæa, and the Land of Promise, have been used indiscriminately with reference to a particular territory, or separately applied to different parts of it. Neither ancient nor modern geographers are agreed as to the precise limits intended by either of these appellations. According to some authors, Syria, Phœnice, and Palæstine, were three distinct regions. Others include, within the Syrian frontier, not only Phœnice and Palæstine, but also Mesopotamia. Strabo describes Syria as comprehending all the country from Mount Amanus and the river Euphrates to Arabia and to Egypt.(*a*) The word Palæstine occurs only once, incidentally, in all his writings.(*b*) Yet the name was in use above four

(*a*) Strabon, Geog. lib. xvi. p. 1063. ed. *Oxon.* 1807.

(*b*) Lib. xvi. p. 1103. ed. *Oxon.* It is found in the following authors, according to the references which I have collected from Reland's Palæstine, c. 7. *Dio Cassius, lib.* 37. *Photius in Biblioth. p.* 1311. *Julian. in lib. contra Christian. Flav. Vopiscus in vit. Aureliani. Statius Sylv. lib.* 3. *carm.* 2. *Silius. Ital. lib.* 3. *Ovid in Fastis. Idem, lib* 4 ff 5. *Metam.*

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centuries anterior to the Christian Æra, as appears by several passages in the text of Herodotus,(c) who describes Palæstine as that country which reaches from the borders of Egypt as far as Phœnice. Pliny separates the two countries of Phœnice and Palæstine in more than one instance.(d) Phocas, who visited the Holy Land in the twelfth century,(e) and wrote the account of it so highly esteemed by Leo Allatius,(f) evidently distinguishes Palæstine both from Gallilee and Samaria.(g) Brocardus, who travelled a century after Phocas, with equal perspicuity and brevity,(h) extends the boundaries of Syria from the Tigris to Egypt; separates Phœnice from Palæstine, but considers both these countries as belonging to Judæa and Samaria, into which kingdoms the Holy Land was divided after the time of Solomon,(i) Considering therefore Palæstine as a part of the Holy Land, he divides it into three parts; the first being *Palæstine, properly so called*, whereof Jerusalem was the metropolis; the second, *Palæstine of Cesarea;* and the third, *Palæstine of Gallilee.* Adrichomius,(k) who professes to follow Brocardus,(l) considers the land of Canaan, Palæstine, and the Holy Land, as names of the same country.(m) In this he is not accurate; and the same remark may be applied to the writings of Cellarius, when he uses the expression "*Palæstina, seu Terra Sancta;*"(n) thereby making Palæstine include all Phœnice, which it never did; although Phœnice was comprehended in the territory called *Terra Sancta*, or the

(c) Herodot. Clio, 105. Thalia, 5. Polyhymn. 8.

(d) "Namque Palæstina vocabatur, qua contigit Arabas, et Judæa, et Cœle, dein Phœnice." *Plin. Hist. Nat. l.* 5. *c.* 12. "Finis Palæstines centum octoginta novemmillia passuum, a confinio Arabiae, deinde Phœnice." *Ibid. c.* 13. *L. Bat.* 1635.

(e) A. D. 1185.

(f) "Autor elegans et accuratus; prout illa ferebant tempora, visus est." *Leon. Allat. Præfat. in* Συμμίκτα. Colon. 1653.

(g) "Urbis dextere partes Carmelum et Maritimam Palæstinæ oram, sinistræ Gallilæam et Samariam habent." *Phocas de Loc Syriæ, Phœniciæ, et Palestinæ. cap,* 9.

(h) Locorum Terræ Sanctæ Desriptio. *Basil*, 1537. Brocardus travelled in the year 1283. See Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. II. p. 236. *London*, 1759

(i) Post tempus Salomonis in duo regna excrevit: unum regnum *Judæe* dicebatur ------- alterum vero regnum *Samariæ* vocabatur. *Ibid.*

(k) *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ. Colon.* 1628.

(l) Ibid in Præfat, pp. 1 et 3.

(m) Theatrum Terræ Sancte, p. 1.

(n) Cellar. Geog. Antiq. passim. Vide cap. xii. lib. 3. "*De Syria.*" cap. xiii. "*De Palæstine,*" *quæ et Chanaan, et Terra Sancta*, &c." tom. II. *Lipz.* 1706.

Holy Land. Palæstine differed from the Holy Land, as a part may be said to differ from the whole. Brocardus evidently considers the first as being a part of the second.(o) On this account the author has preferred the name of the Holy Land, as being the only general appellation which can be said classically to comprehend the whole of that territory, distinguished as the Land of Promise to the Israelites, and by the passion of Jesus Christ.(p) It has been erroneously supposed that the appellation "Terra Sancta" originated in the writings of Christians, who indefinitely applied it to that district of Syria memorable for the sufferings of our saviour; but the name existed before the Christian æra. The epithet of *Holy* had been applied to every thing connected with the Jewish people; among whom, not only their cities, their priests, and their temples, had this epithet, but their whole territory, by way of eminence, was peculiarly considered as "*Holy Land.*" That Phœnice was included within its boundaries, is evident from the book of Joshua,(q) which extends the borders of the tribe of Asher from Carmel unto Sidon. Hence Maundrell judiciously observes,(r) "Near about Sidon begin the precincts of the Holy Land, and of that part of it in particular which was allotted to Asher." Phœnice is thus proved to have constituted a portion of the Holy Land; and that Palæstine did not include Phœnice is decidedly manifest from a passage in Herodotus,(s) wherein Phœnice, Palæstine, and the Island of Cyprus, are separately enumerated. Cluverius, defining the boundaries of Palæstine, begins by marking a line of separation between that country and Phœnice.(t)

(o) Bishop Pococke, in his description of the East, considers the two expressions as synonymous. *See vol. II. part* 1. *ch.* 1. *London*, 1745.

(p) "*Duplici rationenomen Terra Sancta huic regioni tribuitur, aliter a Judæis, aliter a Christianis.*" Reland De Nomine Terræ Sancta. *Vide Thesaur. Antic. Ugol.* vol. VI. cap. 4. *Hadriani Relandi Palaestina, Ven.* 1746.

(q) Joshua, xix. 24 to 31.

(r) Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 45 *Oxford*. 1721.

(s) *Thalia, cap.* 91. Reland has cited a passage from a most ancient Hebrew commentary upon Genesis, wherein a similar distinction is, as decisively, marked: "*Et erat fames in omnibus terris, sc. in tribus terris,* Phœnicia *(ita jam tum scribebant, barbari pro Phœnice.)* Arabia, *et* Palæstina." Relandi Palaestina, cap. 7. in Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. tom. VI. 33, 34. Venet. 1746.

(t) Palaestina *clauditur* a Septentrione Phoenice. Cluver. Geog. lib. 5. c. 20. p. 563. *Amst.* 1729.

Among later writers, some have extended the boundaries of Palæstine, and others have circumscribed the limits of Syria. D'Anville(u) considers the former as including the whole of Phœnice, with all the western side of Anti-Libanus and Hermon; and Mentelle, editor of the ancient Geography published in the French Encyclopedia, confines the latter to that part of Asia which has the Mediterranean on the west; Mount Taurus, the river Euphrates, and a small portion of Arabia, on the east; and the land of Judea, or Palæstine, on the south.(x) D'Anville had considered Judæa merely as a province of Palæstine. In fact, the several additions to the number of observations published concerning this part of Asia, seem rather to have increased than diminished the uncertainty respecting the geography of the country. "*Tanta est,*" says Selden "*inter profanas et sacras literas in regionum finibus discrepantia. Neque in Syriæ duntaxat nomine, sed in Judæa, et Palæstine, Judæos, ut parest, seu Ebræos a Palæstinis ubique separamus ita et Scriptura. Sed Ptolemæo, Straboni, Tacito, Syria Palæstina eadem ipsa est, quæ Judæa : aliis diversæ sunt, sic Ebrai a Palæstinis disterminantur.*"(y) This discrepancy characterizes even the writings of the learned Cellarius, who, at an early period, opened his treatise De Syria with marks of the indecision perplexing the sources of his information.(z) Dr. Wells, in his "Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament," restricts Syria within much narrower limits than those assigned for it by Mentelle, excluding all Phœnice and the Holy Land. "Although," says he,(a) "heathen authors do sometimes include the Holy Land as a part of Syria, yet by sacred writers it is always used in a more restrained sense; and in the New Testament, as a coun-

(u) Voy. Carte de la Palaestine, par D'Anville. *Par.* 1767.
(x) Encyclop. Methodique, Geog. Anc. tom. III. *Par.* 1792
(y) Selden then quotes from Statius, Syl. V.
Palaestini simul Ebraique liquores,
Vide Seldeni Prolegomena ad Syntagma de Diis. Syris.
(z) He is speaking of Pliny. "*Nimis taxe finis posit Syriæ: sed in hoc Melam sum sequutus erat, qui propte iisdem verbis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *recitavit. Et ex hac opinione videtur emanesse ut multi scriptores Syriam et Assyriam permisceant ac confundant,*" Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. cap. 12. p. 398. *Lips.* 1706.
(a) Histor. Geog. of the Old and New Test. vol. II. p. 139. *Oxf.* 1801.

try distinct, not only from the Holy Land, but also from Phœnice, *(mentioned Acts* xi. 19. &c.*)* and of which the coasts of Tyre and Sidon were the southern part; so that by Syria, in the New Testament, is to be understood the country lying to the east and northeast of the Holy Land, between Phœnice and the Mediterranean Sea to the west, and the river Euphrates to the East."

Under all these circumstances, although there may be something more suited to existing prejudices in the use of the word Palæstine,(*b*) the author conceives that he is accurate in thinking *The Holy Land* an appellation of more extensive, although not less definite, signification.(*c*) He also believes that he is the more justified in adopting this latter name, as distinguished from the former, because he thereby adheres to the clue afforded by the observations of Brocardus, an author held in the highest estimation by men who have written most learnedly upon the country to which these observations refer. Brocardus was doubly qualified, both by the evidences of ocular demonstration in that part of Asia, and a thorough knowledge of all that sacred or profane writers have said upon the subject, to ascertain its geography with ability and with precision;— "*Eum fere semper secutus sum, quod persuasisimum haberem, non fuisse unquam, qui voluerit magis aut vero etiam potuerit melius, perfectam et simplicem quandam ad hujus rei cognitionem viam sternere.*" (*d*)

The boundaries of Palæstine are physically defined by the face of the country: the distinction is, to a certain extent, yet maintained among the inhabitants of Syria. Even at this hour, the vast plain, which extends westward from the mountains of Judæa, and is bounded by the sea, bears the name of *Phalestin.*(*e*) According to Volney,(*f*)

(*b*) "*Palaestinae* nomen, quod nobis prae reliquis placuit, quum huic operi titulum daremus," says Reland, with reference to his inestimable work, *Palestina Illustrata.*

(*c*) Fuller, in his "*Pisgah-sight of Palestine,*" perhaps intending a sly satire upon the age, (for it was published in the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second,) refrains from calling it the Holy Land, through fear of being thought superstitious; "*Lest,*" as he quaintly expresses it, "*whilest I call the land* Holy, *this age count me superstitious.*" See Book I. c. ii. p. 2. *London*, 1650.

(*d*) Adrichomii Eulog. in Brocard. *Vide Theat. Ter. Sanct. in praefat. p.* 3. *Colon.* 1628.

(*e*) "This is the plain, which, under the name of *Falastin*, or Palestine, terminates on this side the country of Syria." *Volney's Travels, vol. II. p.* 327. *London*, 1787.

(*f*) Ibid, p. 328.

it "comprehends the whole country included between—the Mediterranean to the west; the chain of mountains to the east; and two lines, one drawn to the south by *Kan Younes*,(*g*) and the other to the north, between *Kaisaria*, and the rivulet of *Yafa*." The whole of ancient Phœnice is thereby excluded from the boundaries of modern Palæstine, which is still a district independent of every Pacalic. (*h*) In the most ancient periods of history its boundaries were equally restricted; and if we examine those records wherein the name first occurs,(*i*) we shall be able to define its limits with precision. The first mention of it is in Genesis,(*k*) where it is stated that Isaac went unto Abimilech, (*Rex Palaestinorum*,) (*l*) king of the Philistines, unto Gerar; and he is told not to go into Egypt, but to sojourn in the land of the Philistines, (*Palaestine*,) and he dwelt in Gerar. Now, Gerar was situated in the district afterward occupied by the tribe of Judah, not far from Hebron, and between Hebron and Gaza.(*m*) Afterward, in the book of Joshua,(*n*) where mention is made of the five cities of *Palaestine*, or of the *Philistines*, the following are enumerated: Gaza, Azotus, Ascalon, Geth or Gath, and Accaron; all of these were comprehended within that district, which has Joppa to the north, and Gaza to the south. (*o*) Of the most an-

(*g*) See Volney's Map of Syria, as published in the English Edition of his Travels, vol. I. p. 237. *London*, 1787.

(*h*) Ibid. page 329.

(*i*) The word *Palestina* signifies nothing more than *Philistina*. St. Jerom often, and Josephus always, calls the Philistines *Palaestini*. Philistaeors autem, ut supra diximus, Palaestinos significat. *Hieronimi Comment. in Esa.* xiv. 29.

(*k*) Gen. xxvi. 1.

(*l*) See the Latin version by St Jerom, as given in the London Polyglotte Bible, Gen. xxvi. 1. where the Hebrew *Philistim* is translated *Palestinorum*; only in the copy referred to, this word is improperly written *Palestinorum*, and in some editions of the Vulgate, more erroneously, *Palesthinorum*. Reland (De Nomine Palæstinæ: Vide Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. Ugolini, v. 6.) says, that the same occurs in the oldest Jewish writing, where it is written פלשטיני. This in the Greek is always Παλαιστίνη, and not Παλεστίνη. The Romans, upon their medals sometimes wrote this word PALESTINA, instead of PALÆSTINA, as they wrote JVDEA, instead of JVDÆA. *See Medals of Vespasian*, &c.

(*m*) Gerar, or Gerara, is also mentioned in Genesis x. 19. but its situation is precisely stated in Genesis xx. 1. where Abraham having "journeyed toward the south country," is said to have "sojourned in Gerar between Kadesh and Shur." It formed with Gaza the southern frontier of Palaestine. The Desert of Cades belonged to Egypt, that of Sur to Arabia Petraea.

(*n*) Josh. xiii. 3. In 1 Samuel, vi. 17. they are thus enumerated; *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Gath*, *Accaron*. See also *Josephus*, lib. vi. *Antiq.* c. 1.

(*o*) The boundaries of *Philistea*, or *Palaestine*, are thus defined by Joshua, xiii. 3. "From Sihor, (*the river: see Jeremiah* ii. 18,) which is before Egypt, even unto the borders of Ekron, (*Accaron*,) northward."

cient Heathen writers, Herodotus expressly states that country to have been called *Palaestine*, which extended from the boundaries of Egypt to those of Phœnice.(*p*) Thus, having summed all the evidence which can be adduced upon this point, it may be manifest that the use of the term *Palaestine*, as applied to all that country originally called the *Land of the Israelites*, is a geographical error; that its application is most erroneous when it is made to comprehend to Phœnice; (*q*) and further, that the proper general appellation is, The Holy Land—a name applied to it by Jewish as well as by Christian writers. (*r*) Even Reland, who preferred the use of the word *Palaestina*, as a more sounding appellation for the title of his book, says that Terra Sancta is a name doubly applicable to the region his work illustrates.(*s*) And surely, without imputation of superstition or of bigotry, so long as the blessings of Religion diffuse their consolitary balm of hope, and peace, and gladness, this land may be accounted holy (*t*)—*holy*, as consecrated by the residence of the Deity, through all the ages of Jewish history—*holy*, as sanctified by the immediate presence, and by the blood of our Redeemer—*holy*, as the habitation of Patriarchs, Prophets, and Apostles—"Quam Terram," to use the energetic language of Urban the Second, in his eloquent address to the council of Clermont, "merito sanctam diximus, inqua non est etiam passus pedis, quem non illustraverit et sanctificaverit vel corpus, vel umbra Salvatoris, vel gloriosa præsentiæ Sanctæ Dei Genitricis, vel

(*p*) *Herodot.* in *Polyhymn.* that is to say, from Egypt to Joppa. The whole country was maritime, "Situs regionis Philistaea est maratimus, ab *Joppa* ad *Ægypti fines*." *Cellar. lib.* iii. *cap.* 13. *tom.* II. p. 595. *Lips.* 1706.

(*q*) The Greeks, after the time of Herodotus, on account of the great power of the Philistines, comprehended under the name of *Palestine*, the four provinces of Idumaea, Judaea, Samaria, and Galilaea, although never Phaenicia. "*quia saepe regionibus tributur nomina a parte aliqua quae vicinas antecellit potentia.*" Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanct. lib. I. c. 2. tom. I. p. 6. *Antverp.* 1639.

(*r*) See "*Exempla Scriptorum Judaicorum et Christianorum qui hoc nomen usurpant*," as they are given by Reland, in his chapter "De Nomine Terrae Sanctae." *Vide Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. Ugolini*, vol. VI. xvii. xviii.

(*s*) Dupliciratione nomen Terrae Sanctae huic regioni tribuitur, aliter a Judaeis, aliter a Christianis. *Ibid.*

(*t*) "Quis enim non rapitur in admirationem et stuporem, qui Montem Oliviferum, Mare Tiberiadis, Jordanem, Hierosolymam et alia loca, quae Christum frequentasse notum est, conspicit et menti suae praesentem sistit generis humani sospitatorem, illic ea operantem aut passum, quae originem dedere sacris Christianorum ejus nomen confitentium!" *Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. Ugolini, Ibid.*

amplectendus Apostolorum commeatus, vel Martyrum sanguis effusus."

Yet, while the author is ready to acknowledge the impression made upon his mind by the peculiar sanctity of this memorable region, he is far from being willing to enumerate, or to tolerate the degrading superstitions, which, like noxious weeds, have long poluted that land of "milk and honey." Those who have formed their notions of the Holy Land, and particularly of Jerusalem, from the observations of Adrichomius, Sandys, Doubdan, Maundrell, from the spurious work of Thevenot, or even from the writings of Pococke, and the recent entertaining pilgrimage of Mons. De Chateaubriand,(*t*) will find their prejudices frequently assailed in the following pages. The author has ventured to see the country with other eyes than those of monks, and to make the Scriptures, rather than Bede or Adamnanus, his guide in visiting "the *Holy Places*;" to attend more to a single chapter, nay, a single verse of the Gospel, than to all the legends and traditions of the Fathers of the church.

In perusing the remarks concerning Calvary and Mount Sion, the reader is requested to observe, that such were the authors observations, not only upon the spot, but after collating and comparing with his own notes, the evidences afforded by every writer upon the topography of Jerusalem, to which he has subsequently had access. It is impossible to reconcile the history of ancient Jerusalem, with the appearance presented by the modern city, and this discordance, rather than any positive conviction in the author's mind, led to the survey he has ventured to publish. If his notions, after all, be deemed by some readers inadmissible, as it is very probable they will, yet even these, by the suggestion of new documents, both in the account given of the inscriptions he found to the south of what is now called Mount Sion, as well as of the monuments to which those inscriptions belong, may assist in reconciling a confused topography !(*u*) Quaresmius,

(*t*) Published in London, October 1811, when this volume was nearly completed. The author has not yet seen the original French edition of Mons. De Chateaubriand's work.

(*u*) The generality of readers, who have perused the different accounts published

stating the several causes of that heretical kind of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, which he describes(x) as "*profane, vicious and detestable,*" certainly enumerates many of the motives which induced the author to visit that country, and therefore classes him among the "Nonnullos Nebulones occidentales Hæreticos," whose remarks he had heard with so much indignation.(y) But in doing this he places him in company which he is proud to keep—among men who do not believe themselves one jot nearer to salvation by their approximation to Mount Calvary, nor by all the indulgences, beads, rosaries, and crucifixes, manufactured and sold by the jobbers of Jerusalem—among men, who, in an age when feelings and opinions upon such subjects were manifestly different from those now maintained, with great humbleness of spirit and matchless simplicity of language, "expected remission of sin, no other ways, but only in the name, and for the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ;"—who undertook their pilgrimage, "not to get any thing by it as by a good work; nor to visit stone and wood to obtain indulgence; nor with opinion to come nearer to Christ," by visiting Jerusalem, "because all these things are directly contrary to Scripture;" but to "increase the general stock of useful knowledge," to "afford the reader both profit and pleasure; that those who have no opportunity to visit foreign countries, may have them before their eyes, as in a map, to contemplate; that others may be excited further to inquire into these things, and induced to travel themselves into those parts;" that they may be "instructed in the customs, laws, and orders of men," that the "present state, condition, situation and manners of the world, may

concerning the Holy Land, have not perhaps remarked the extent of the confusion prevailing in the topographical descriptions of Jerusalem: probably, because they have not compared those writings with any general plan of the city. To give a single example; almost every traveller, from the time of Brecardus to that of Mons. De Chateaubriand, mentions the "*Mountain of Offence,*" where Solomon sacrificed to strange gods. According to Brocardus and to Adrichomius, this mountain is the northern point of the Mount of Olives, (*vid. Brocard. Itin.* 6. *Adricom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p.* 171. *Colon.* 1628.) and therefore to the east or northeast of Jerusalem. Maundrell, (*p.* 102. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. Oxf.* 1721,) and also Pococke, (*Descrip. of the East, plan facing p.* 7. vol. II. *Lond.* 1745.) make it the southern point. Sandys (*Trav. p.* 186. *Lond.* 1637.) places this mountain to the southwest of the city.

(x) Quaresmius, "*De externa profana, sed detestabili ac vitiosa Peregrinatione.*" Vid. Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae, lib. iii. c. 34. *Antw.* 1639.

(y) Ibid. lib. v. cap. 14.

be surveyed and described; not by transcribing what others have written," but by fairly stating what "they have themselves seen, experienced, and handled," so that "their pains and diligence be not altogether vain."

Such were the motives, and such was the language, of a traveller in the Holy Land, so long ago as the middle of the sixteenth century;(z) who, with the liberal spirit of an enlightened and pious protestant, thus ventured to express his sentiments, when the bonfires for burning heretics were as yet hardly extinguished in this country. Writing five-and-thirty years before Sandys began his journey,(a) and two centuries and a half before Mons. De Châteaubriand published his entertaining narrative, he offers an example singularly contrasted with the French author's legendary detail;(b) wherein the chivalrous (c) and bigotted spirit of the eleventh century seems singularly associated with the taste, the genius, and the literature of the nineteenth.

P. S. The only plants mentioned in the notes, are those which have never been described by any preceding writer. Not less than sixty new-discovered species will be found added to the science of Botany, in this and the subsequent section of *Part the Second.*

(z) See the Travels of Leonhart Rauwolff, a German physician, as published by Ray, in 1693. The words included by inverted commas, are literally taken from Ray's translation of that work. (See the Epist. to Widtholtz, Christel, and Bemer. Also Trav. part 3. chap. iv. p. 290.) Rauwolff was at Jerusalem in 1575. (See chap. viii. p. 315.) The religious opinions he professed, and his disregard of indulgencies roused the indignation of the monks, particularly of the learned Quaresmius, a Franciscan friar, who wrote a most elaborate description of the Holy Land, already cited. This was published at Antwerp in 1639, in two large folio volumes, with plates. Referring to the passages here introduced from Rauwolff's book, Quaresmius exclaims "Quid amplius Rauchwolfius? Ecce in ipso Monte Sion derepente in Prædicantem transformatus concionari cæpit, et ne tam insignem, concionem ignoraremus literis eam mandavit quam ex Germanico idiomate in Latinum transtulit P. Gretserus, ut ad exteros quoque redundet, sed ne obstat, illam etiam rejicit. Audiamus.....Atqui, prædicantice Medice! recte profecto dicis; nihil penitus peregrinatione tua, aut Ir petrasti, aut meritus es!" Quaresmii. Elucid. Terr. Sanct. lib. iii. cap. 34. tom. I. 836. Antv. 1639.

(a) Sandys began his journey in 1610.

(b) "Here," says Mons. De Chateaubriand, "I saw, on the right, the place where dwelt the indigent Lazarus; and on the opposite side of the street, the residence of the obdurate rich man." Afterward he proceeds to state, that St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and St. Cyril, have looked upon the history of Lazarus and the rich man not merely a parable, but a real and well-known fact. "The Jews themselves," says he, "have preserved the name of the rich man, whom they call Nabal."—(See Travels in Greece, Palæstine, &c. vol. II. pp. 26, 27. Lond. 1811.) Mons. De Chateaubriand does not seem to be aware, that Nabal is an appellation used by the Jews to denote any covetous person.

(c) See the interesting description given by Mons. De Chateaubriand of the monkish ceremony which conferred upon him the order of "a knight of the Holy Sepulchre." *Ibid.* pp. 176, 177.

CLARKE'S TRAVELS.

CHAP. I.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

*Similarity of the ancient and modern City—Imperial Armoury—Vase of the Byzantine Emperors—Description of the four principal Sultanas—Interior of the Seraglio—Sultan's Kiosk—*CHAREM, *or Apartments of the Women—Chamber of Audience—Assembly room—Baths—Chamber of Repose—Saloon of the* CHAREM*—Garden of Hyacinths—Upper Walks of the Seraglio.*

THERE are many interesting sources of reflection, in the present appearance of Constantinople, unnoticed by any author. To these my attention was early directed, and will be principally confined. The reader would not be much gratified by an elaborate detail, or even an abridgment of the volumes which have been written upon this remarkable city, sufficient alone to constitute a library. Historically considered, the period in which the eastern metropolis of the Roman empire ceased to exist as a seat of letters and refinement, seems, from the fulness and freshness of intelligence, to be almost within our recollection. The discovery of printing, taking place at the same precise period, brought with it such a tide of information, that, in the very instant when literature appeared upon the eve of expiring, science and philosophy beamed a brighter and more steady light. Thus, in the fourth century, which has elapsed since its capture by the Turks, we are carried back to the circumstances of their conquest, as though we had been actually witnesses of the victory. The eloquence and testimony of Isidore forcibly direct our attention to the scene of action: description is transmitted in all its original energy; and, in the perusal of the narrative, we feel as spectators of the catastrophe.*

*The description given by Cardinal Isidore, who was an eye witness of the horrible scene which ensued at the capture of Constantinople by the Turkish army, af-

But, although time has had such inconsiderable influence in weakening impressions of this kind, it is believed the case would be far otherwise, viewing the spot memorable for those transactions. The literary traveller, visiting Constantinople, expects to behold but faint vestiges of the imperial city, and believes he shall find little to remind him of "the everlasting foundations" of the master of the Roman world. The opinion, however, may be as erroneous as that upon which it was founded. After the imagination has been dazzled with pompous and glaring descriptions of palaces and baths, porticoes and temples, groves, circuses, and gardens, the plain matter of fact may prove, that in the obscure and dirty lanes of Constantinople;* its small and unglazed shops; the style of architecture observed in the dwellings; the long covered walks, now serving as bazars;† the loose flowing habits with long sleeves worn by the natives;‡ even in the practice of concealing the features of the women;‖ and, above all, in the remarkable ceremonies and observances of the public baths; we behold those customs and appearances which characterized the cities of the Greeks. Such, at least, as far as inanimate objects are concerned, is the picture presented by the interesting ruins of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiæ.§ With regard to the costume of its inhabitants, we

fords a striking example. The art of printing has been scarcely adequate to its preservation; and without it, every syllable had perished. It is only rescued by a very rare work of Bernard de Breydenback, of Mayence; printed in the black letter at Spire, in 1490. by Peter Drach; and since copied into a volume of Tracts, published at Basil in 1556. This document seems to have escaped not only the researches of Gibbon, but of every other author who has written upon the subject of the siege.

* Athens itself was not very unlike Constantinople in its present state, if we may credit the statistical testimony of Dicæarchus, who mentions the irregularity of the streets, and the poverty and meanness of the houses.—Vide *Stat. Græciæ Geogr. Minor. Hudsoni.*

† *Bazar* is the appellation used to signify *a market*, all over the east.

‡ Herodotus, speaking of the Persians, mentions their garments with long sleeves: and we learn from Xenophon, that Cyrus ordered two persons to be put to death, who appeared in his presence with their hands uncovered.

‖ "Dicæarchus, describing the dress of the women of Thebes, says, that their eyes only are seen; the other parts of their faces are covered by their garments." Βίος Ἑλλάδος. *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

§ "The city of Constantinople, in its actual state, presents some of those monuments and works of art, which adorned it at the end of the fourteenth century. They are alluded to in one of the epistles of Manuel Chrysoloras; from which I have extracted the three following passages. In the first we have the very form of the modern bazar. '*I omit*,' says he, '*the covered and inclosed walks, formerly seen traversing the whole city, in such a manner that you might pass thro' it without being inconvenienced by the mud, or rays of the sun.*' Ἐῶ δὲ σκιαστοὺς καὶ φρακτοὺς δρόμους διὰ πάσης ποτὲ τῆς πόλεως δεικνυμένους, ὥστε ἐξεῖναι ἄνευ πηλοῦ καὶ ἀκτῖνος πᾶσαν διέναι. In the second, he mentions the cisterns, which are still to be seen, supported by granite columns and marble pillars. They were built by Constantine and Philoxenus,

have only to view the dresses worn by Greeks themselves, as they are frequently represented upon the gems and coins of the country, as well as those used in much earlier ages.* There is every reason to believe, that the Turks themselves, at the conquest of Constantinople, adopted many of the customs, and embraced the refinements of a people they had subdued. Their former habits had been those of Nomade tribes; their dwellings were principally tents; and the camp, rather than the city, distinguished their abode. Hence it followed, that with the houses, the furniture, and even the garb of the Greeks would necessarily be associated; neither do the divans of Turkish apartments differ from those luxurious couches on which the Greeks and Romans were wont to repose. At the capture of Constantinople, a certain portion of the city was still retained in undisturbed possession by those Grecian families whose services to the conqueror obtained for them privileges which their descendants enjoy even at this hour;† yet, in their domestic habits, and in all things, except their religious ceremonies, there is nothing which distinguishes them from their fellow citizens the Turks. The temples of the citizens, we further know, were appropriated to the new religion:‡ The sumptuous baths of the vanquished were not less prized by the victors. Few, if any, of the public buildings were destroyed; and, from the characteristic disposition of oriental nations to preserve things as they are, we may reasonably conclude, with the exception of those edifices which have yielded to the attacks of time, of earthquakes, and of fire, Constantinople presents one at least of the cities of the ancients, almost unaltered. Passing thence into Asia, the tra-

'*I omit also the number of pillars and arches in the cisterns.*' Καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κιόνων καὶ ἀψίδων. In the next, the baths are described, which appear to have been as numerous then in Constantinople, as now. '*But why should I speak concerning the baths; the number of which, were I to relate it, would be incredible.*' Τί δὲ περὶ λουτρῶν ἂν λέγοιμι· ὧν τὸ ἱστορούμενον ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι πλῆθος ἀπιστεῖται;" *Walpole's MS. Journal*

* The dress worn by the popes of Rome upon solemn occasions, corresponds with the habits of the Roman emperors in the lower ages: and from a representation of the portrait of Manuel Palæologus, as taken from an antient manuscript, and preserved in Bandurius, (Vid. *Imperium Orientale*, tom. ii. p. 991. ed. Par. 1711.) it appears that there is little difference between the costume of a Greek emperor in the fifteenth century, and a grand signior in the nineteenth.—The mark of distinction worn upon the head of the Turkish sultans, and other grandees of the empire, of which the *calathus* was an archetype, is also another remarkable circumstance in the identity of ancient and modern customs.

† They live in a part of the city which, from its proximity to the lighthouse, goes by the name of *phanar*

‡ Of which the church of St. Sophia is a particular instance: and it may be added, that the *crescent* which blazons the Turkish banner, is the most antient symbol of Byzantium, as appears by the medals of the city.

veller may be directed to other examples of the same nature; in which the similarity of the ancient and the modern appearance is even more striking: and perhaps the howling dervishes of Scutari, who preserve in their frantic orgies the rites of the priests of Baal,* accommodated the mercenary exhibition of their pretended miracles to the new superstition which pervaded the temples of Chalcedon; exactly as Pagan miracles, recorded and derided by Horace, were adapted to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion.† The *psylli* of Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus, are still found in the *serpent eaters* of Cairo and Rosetta: and in all ages, where a successful craft, under the name of miracle, has been employed to delude and to subdue the human understanding, the introducers of a new religion have, with considerable policy, appropriated it to the same purpose for which it was employed by their predecessors.

The prejudices of the Christians against their Turkish conquerors were so difficult to be overcome, that while we lament the want of truth which characterizes every narrative concerning their invaders, we cannot wonder at the falsehood; yet, in this distant period, viewing the events of those times without passion or prejudice, it may become a question, whether, at the capture of Constantinople, the victors or the vanquished were the most polished people. It is not necessary to paint the vices and the barbarisms of those degenerate representatives of the ancient Romans, who then possessed the imperial city; nor to contrast them with those of the Turks: but when it is urged, that Mahomet and his followers, upon taking possession of Constantinople, were busied only in works of destruction, we may derive evidence to the contrary, even from the writings of those by whom they were thus calumniated. Gyllius and Bandurius have permitted observations to escape them, which have a remarkable tendency to establish a contrary opinion: they acknowledge that certain magnificent palaces, temples, baths, and caravanserais, were allowed to remain; and the temple of St. Sophia being of the number, as well as the antiquities in the Hippodrome, the public cisterns, sarcophagi, &c. we may form a tolerable estimate of the taste of the Turks in this respect. It will appear

* "And they cried aloud, and cut themselves, after their manner, with knives and lancets." 1 *Kings*, xvii. 28.

† The miracle of the liquefaction of St. Januarius' blood is alluded to by Horace, as practised in his time, under a different name. *Hor. Sat.* lib. I. 5.

afterward, that the regalia, the imperial armoury, and many other works of magnificence and utility, were likewise preserved. In the sacking of a city, when all things are left to the promiscuous pillage of an infuriate soldiery, a scene of ruin and desolation must necessarily ensue; and, under similar circumstances of previous provocation and subsequent opportunity, it is not to be believed that the Greeks would have been more scrupulous than their conquerors. The first employment of Mahomet, when those disorders had subsided, was not merely the preservation, but the actual improvement of the city: of this a striking example is related by Gyllius, who, speaking of the Forum of Taurus, says, that being grown over with wood, and affording a shelter for thieves, Mahomet granted the spot to those who were willing to build upon it. The same author also mentions, that, among other instances of his munificence, the largest baths in the city were erected by him; one for the use of men, and the other for women: neither is it necessary to seek further for information, than the documents which he has afforded, and the authority cited by him to prove that Christians, and not Turks, have been the principal agents in destroying the statues and public buildings with which Constantinople, in different ages, was adorned. The havoc was begun by the Romans themselves, even so early as the time of Constantine the Great; and renewed at intervals, in consequence of the frequent factions and dissentions of the inhabitants. The city, such as it was, when it came into the possession of the Turks, has been by them preserved, and undergone fewer alterations than took place while it continued in the hands of their predecessors. It does not, however, appear, that the changes produced, either by the one or the other, have in any degree affected that striking resemblance which it still bears to the ancient cities of the Greeks.

Under these impressions, I eagerly sought an opportunity to examine the interior of the seraglio; and, difficult as the undertaking may seem, soon found the means of its accomplishment. The harmony existing between England and the Porte at that critical juncture when Egypt was to be restored to the Turks by the valour of our troops, greatly facilitated the enterprize. I felt convinced, that, within the walls of the seraglio, many interesting antiquities were concealed from observation; and I was not disappointed.

The first place to which my observations were directed, was the imperial armoury: and here, to my great gratification, I beheld the weapons, shields, and military engines of the Greek emperors, exactly corresponding with those represented on the medals and bas-reliefs of the ancients, suspended as trophies of the capture of the city by the Turks. It is true, my stay there was not of sufficient duration to enable me to bring away any other than this brief representation of what I saw. A bostanghy soon put a stop to the gratification of my curiosity, and I was compelled to retreat; but even the transient view, thus obtained, was sufficient to excite a belief, that other interesting remains of the Palace of the Cæsars might also be similarly preserved. This conjecture was not without foundation: nor is it at all remarkable, that, in a lapse of time which does not exceed the period that has intervened since the armour of Henry the Sixth was deposited in the Tower of London, the reliques of Roman power should be thus discovered. It is only singular, that, during all the inquiries which have taken place respecting this remarkable city, such remains should have been unnoticed. In answer to my earnest entreaty for the indulgence of a few moments, to be employed in further examination, it was explained to me, that, if the old armour was an object of my curiosity, I might have full leisure to survey it, when carried on sumpter-horses, in the great annual procession of the grand signior, at the opening of the *Bairim*, which was shortly to take place, and where I afterward saw it exhibited.

Soon after this, some pages, belonging to the seraglio, brought from the sultan's apartments the fragments of a magnificent vase of jasper-agate, which, it was said, his highness had dashed to pieces in a moment of anger. As these fragments were cast away, and disregarded, they came at last into the hands of a poor lapidary, who earned a scanty livelihood by cutting and polishing stones for the signet rings of the Turks.* In one of my mineralogical excursions, the merchants of the *bezesten*, where jewels are sold, directed me to the laboratory of this man, to obtain the precious stones of the country in their natural state. He was then employed upon the fragments of this vase, and very gladly spared the labour which he would

* The Turks rarely write themselves: they employ scribes, who stand ready for hire in the streets; and afterward apply a signet, which has been previously rubbed over with Indian ink, by way of voucher for the manuscript.

otherwise have bestowed, by consigning, for a small sum, the whole of them to me. It is hardly possible to conceive a more extraordinary proof of the genius and industry of Grecian artists, than was presented by this vase. Its fragments are still in my possession; and have been reserved for annual exhibition, during a course of public Lectures in the University of Cambridge. When it is stated, that the treasury of Mithradates contained four thousand specimens of similar manufacture, all of which came into the hands of the Romans; and that the Turks are unable to execute any thing of the same nature; it is highly probable this curious relique originally constituted one of the number; which, after passing into the possession of the Turks at the conquest of the city, had continued to adorn the palace of their sovereigns. Such a conjecture is strengthened by the mythological figure, represented in exquisite sculpture, on the vase itself. It consists of an entire mass of green jasper-agate, beautifully variegated with veins and spots of a vermilion colour; so that part of it exhibits the ribon-jasper, and part the bloodstone. The handle is formed to represent the head of a griffin (carved in all the perfection of the finest caméo), whose extended wings and claws cover the exterior surface. The difficulty of working a silicious concretion of such extraordinary hardness needs not be specified: it may be presumed, that the entire life of the ancient lapidary, by whom it was wrought, could have been scarcely adequate to such a performance; nor do we at all know in what manner the work was effected. Yet there are parts of it, in which the sides of the vase are as thin as the finest porcelain.*

A second visit, which I made to the interior of the seraglio, was not attended by any very interesting discovery; but, as it enabled me to describe, with minuteness, scenes hitherto impervious to European eyes, the reader may be gratified by the observations made within those walls. Every one is curious to know what exists within recesses which have been long closed against the intrusion of Christians. In vain does the eye, roaming from the towers of Galata, Pera, and Constantinople, attempt to penetrate the thick gloom of cypresses and domes, which distinguishes the most beautiful part of Constantinople. Imagination magnifies things unknown: and when,

* I have seen similar instances of sculpture, executed even in harder substances; and the Chinese possess the art of perfecting such works. A vase of one entire piece of jade is in the collection of Mr. Ferguson; and a patera, exactly answering Mr. Ferguson's vase, was lately exposed for sale, in the window of a shop in the Strand.

in addition to the curiosity always excited by mystery, the reflection is suggested, that ancient Byzantium occupied the site of the sultan's palace, a thirst of inquiry is proportionably augmented. I promise to conduct my readers not only within the retirement of the seraglio, but into the charem itself, and the most secluded haunts of the Turkish sovereign. Would only I could also promise a degree of satisfaction, in this respect, adequate to their desire of information!

It so happened, that the gardener of the grand signior, during our residence in Constantinople, was a German. This person used to mix with the society in Pera, and often joined in the evening parties given by the different foreign ministers. In this manner we became acquainted with him; and were invited to his apartments within the walls of the seraglio, close to the gates of the sultan's garden. We were accompanied, during our first visit, by his intimate friend, the secretary and chaplain of the Swedish mission; who, but a short time before, had succeeded in obtaining a sight of the four principal sultanas and the sultan mother, in consequence of his frequent visits to the gardener. They were sitting together one morning, when the cries of the black eunuchs, opening the door of the charem, which communicated with the seraglio gardens, announced that these ladies were going to take the air. In order to do this, it was necessary to pass the gates adjoining the gardner's lodge; where an *arabat** was stationed to receive them, in which it was usual for them to drive round the walks of the seraglio, within the walls of the palace. Upon those occasions, the black eunuchs examine every part of the garden, and run before the women, calling out to all persons to avoid approaching or beholding them, under pain of death. The gardener, and his friend the Swede, instantly closed all the shutters, and locked the doors. The black eunuchs, arriving soon after, and finding the lodge shut, supposed the gardener to be absent. Presently followed the sultan mother, with the four principal sultanas, who were in high glee, romping and laughing with each other. A small scullery window, of the gardener's lodge, looked directly toward the gate, through which these ladies were to pass; and was separated from it only by a few yards. Here, through two small gimlet holes, bored for that purpose, they beheld very distinctly the

* A covered wagon upon four wheels, with latticed windows at the sides, formed to conceal those who are within. It is almost the only species of carriage in use among the Turks.

features of the women, whom they described as possessing extraordinary beauty. Three of the four were Georgians, having dark complexions and very long dark hair; but the fourth was remarkably fair; and her hair, also of singular length and thickness, was of a flaxen colour: neither were their teeth dyed black, as those of Turkish women generally are. The Swedish gentleman said, he was almost sure they suspected they were seen, from the address they manifested, in displaying their charms, and in loitering at the gate. This gave him and his friend no small degree of terror; as they would have paid for their curiosity with their lives, if any such suspicion had entered the minds of the black eunuchs. He described their dresses as rich beyond all that can be imagined. Long spangled robes, open in front, with pantaloons embroidered in gold and silver, and covered by a profusion of pearls and precious stones, displayed their persons to great advantage; but were so heavy, as actually to encumber their motion, and almost to impede their walking. Their hair hung in loose and very thick tresses, on each side their cheeks; falling quite down to the waist, and covering their shoulders behind. Those tresses were quite powdered with diamonds, not displayed according to any studied arrangement, but as if carelessly scattered, by handfuls, among their flowing locks. On the top of their heads, and rather leaning to one side, they wore, each of them, a small circular patch or diadem. Their faces, necks, and even their breasts were quite exposed; not one of them having any veil.

The german gardener, who had daily access to different parts of the seraglio, offered to conduct us not only over the gardens, but promised, if we would come singly, during the season of the *Ramadan*,* when the guards, being up all night, would be stupified during the day with sleep and intoxication, to undertake the greater risk of showing us the interior of the *charem*, or apartments of the women; that is to say, of that part of which they inhabit during the summer; for they were still in their winter chambers. We readily accepted his offer: I only solicited the further indulgence of being accompanied by a French artist of the name of Preaux, whose extraordinary promptitude in design would enable him to bring away

* The *Ramadan* of the Turks answers to our Lent, as their *Bairam*, does to Easter. During the month of the *Ramadan*, they impose upon themselves the strictest privation; avoiding even the use of tobacco, from sunrise to sun set. They feast all night during this season, and are therefore generally asleep during the day.

sketches of any thing we might find interesting, either in the charem, or gardens in the seraglio. The apprehensions of Monsieur Preaux were, however, so great, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could prevail upon him to venture into the seraglio; and he afterward, either lost or secreted, the only drawing which his fears would allow him to make while he was there.

We left Para, in a gondola, about seven o'clock in the morning; embarking at Tophana, and steering toward that gate of the seraglio which faces the Bosporus on the south-eastern side, where the entrance to the seraglio gardens and the gardener's lodge are situated. A bostanghy, as a sort of porter, is usually seated, with his attendants, within the portal. Upon entering the seraglio, the spectator is struck by a wild and confused assemblage of great and interesting objects: among the first of these are, enormous cypresses, massive and lofty masonry, neglected and broken sarcophagi, high rising mounds, and a long gloomy avenue, leading from the gates of the garden between the double walls of the seraglio. This gate is the same by which the sultanas came out for the airing before alluded to; and the gardener's lodge is on the right hand of it. The avenue extending from it, toward the west, offers a broad and beautiful, although solitary, walk, to a very considerable extent, shut in by high walls on both sides. Directly opposite this entrance of the seraglio is a very lofty mound. or bank. covered by large trees, and traversed by terraces, over which, on the top, are walls with turrets. On the right hand, after entering, are the large wooden folding doors of the grand signior's gardens; and near them lie many fragments of ancient marbles, appropriated to the vilest purposes; among others, a sarcophagus of one block of marble, covered with a simple, though unmeaning bas-relief. Entering the gardens by the folding doors, a pleasing *coup d'œil* of trelliswork and covered walks is displayed, more after the taste of Holland than that of any other country. Various and very despicable *jets d'eau*, straight gravel walks, and borders disposed in parallelograms, with the exception of a long greenhouse, filled with orange trees, compose all that appears in the small spot which bears the name of the seraglio gardens. The view, on entering, is down the principal gravel walk; and all the walks meet at the central point, beneath a dome of the same trelliswork by which they are covered. Small fountains spout a few quarts of water into large shells, or form parachutes over

lighted bougies, by the sides of the walks. The trelliswork is of wood, painted white, and covered by jessamine; and this, as it does not conceal the artificial frame by which it is supported, produces a wretched effect. On the outside of the trelliswork appear small parterres, edged with box, containing very common flowers, and adorned with fountains. On the right hand, after entering the garden, appears the magnificent kiosk, which constitutes the sultan's summer residence; and further on is the orangery before mentioned, occupying the whole extent of the wall on that side. Exactly opposite to the garden gates, is the door of the *charem*, or palace of the women belonging to the grand signior; a building not unlike one of the small colleges in Cambridge, and inclosing the same sort of cloistered court. One side of this building extends across the upper extremity of the garden, so that the windows look into it. Below these windows are two small greenhouses, filled with very common plants, and a number of Canary-birds. Before the charem windows, on the right hand, is a ponderous, gloomy, wooden door; and this, creaking on its massive hinges, opens to the quadrangle, or interior court of the charem itself. . . . . We will keep this door shut for a short time, in order to describe the seraglio garden more minutely; and afterward open it, to gratify the reader's curiosity.

Still facing the charem on the left hand, is a paved ascent, leading, through a handsome gilded iron gate, from the lower to the upper garden. Here is a kiosk, which I shall presently describe. Returning from the charem to the door by which we first entered, a lofty wall on the right hand supports a terrace with a few small parterres: these, at a considerable height above the lower garden, constitute what is now called the upper garden of the seraglio; and, till within these few years, it was the only one.

Having thus completed the tour of this small and insignificant spot of ground, let us now enter the kiosk, which I first mentioned as the sultan's summer residence. It is situated on the sea shore, and commands one of the finest views the eye ever beheld, of Scutary and the Asiatic coast, the mouth of the canal, and a moving picture of ships, gondolas, dolphins, birds, with all the floating pageantry of this vast metropolis, such as no other capital in the world can pretend to exhibit. The kiosk itself, fashioned after the airy fantastic style of eastern architecture, presents a spacious chamber, covered by a dome, from which, toward the sea, advances a raised platform sur-

rounded by windows, and terminated by a divan.* On the right and left are the private apartments of the sultan and his ladies. From the centre of the dome is suspended a large lustre, presented by the English ambassador. Above the raised platform hangs another lustre of a smaller size, but more elegant. Immediately over the sofas constituting the divân, are mirrors engraved with Turkish inscriptions; poetry, and passages from the Korân. The sofas are of white satin, beautifully embroidered by the women of the seraglio.

Leaving the platform, on the left hand is the sultan's private chamber of repose, the floor of which is surrounded by couches of very costly workmanship. Opposite to this chamber, on the other side of the kiosk, a door opens to the apartment in which are placed the attendant sultanas, the sultan mother, or any ladies in residence with the sovereign. This room corresponds exactly with the sultan's chamber, except that the couches are more magnificently embroidered.

A small staircase leads from these apartments, to two chambers below, paved with marble, and as cold as any cellar.—Here a more numerous assemblage of women are buried, as it were, during the heat of summer. The first is a sort of antechamber to the other; by the door of which, in a nook of the wall, are placed the sultan's slippers, of common yellow morocco, and coarse workmanship. Having entered the marble chambers immediately below the kiosk, a marble bason presents itself, with a fountain in the centre, containing water to the depth of about three inches, and a few very small fishes. Answering to the platform mentioned in the description of the kiosk, is another, exactly of a similar nature, closely latticed, where the ladies sit during the season of their residence in this place. I was pleased with observing a few things they had carelessly left upon the sofas, and which characterized their mode of life. Among these was an English writing box, of black varnished wood, with a sliding cover, and drawers; the drawers containing coloured writing paper, reed pens, perfumed wax, and little bags made of embroidered satin, in which their billets-doux are sent, by negro slaves, who are both mutes and eunuchs. That liqueurs are drunk in these secluded chambers is evident; for we found labels for bottles, neatly cut out with scissars, bearing Turkish inscriptions, with the

* The *divan* is a sort of couch, or sofa, common all over the Levant, surrounding every side of a room, except that which contains the entrance. It is raised about sixteen inches from the floor. When a *divan* is held, it means nothing more than that the persons composing it are thus seated.

words, "*Roseglio*," "*Golden Water*," and "*Water of Life*." Having now seen every part of this building, we returned to the garden, by the entrance which admitted us to the kiosk.

Our next and principal object was the examination of the CHAREM; and, as the undertaking was attended with danger, we first took care to see that the garden was cleared of bostanghies, and other attendants: as our curiosity, if detected, would, beyond all doubt, have cost us our lives upon the spot. A catastrophe of this nature has been already related by Le Bruyn.

Having inspected every alley and corner of the garden, we advanced, half breathless, and on tiptoe, to the great wooden door of the passage which leads to the inner court of this mysterious edifice. We succeeded in forcing this open; but the noise of its grating hinges, amidst the profound silence of the place, went to our very hearts. We then entered a small quadrangle, exactly resembling that of Queen's College, Cambridge, filled with weeds. It was divided into two parts, one raised above the other; the principal side of the court containing an open cloister, supported by small white marble columns. Every thing appeared in a neglected state. The women only reside here during summer. Their winter apartments may be compared to the late Bastile of France; and the decoration of these apartments is even inferior to that which I shall presently describe. From this court, forcing open a small window near the ground, we climbed into the building, and alighted upon a long range of wooden beds, or couches, covered by mats, prepared for the reception of a hundred slaves: these reached the whole extent of a very long corridor. From hence, passing some narrow passages, the floors of which were also matted, we came to a staircase leading to the upper apartments. Of such irregular and confused architecture, it is difficult to give any adequate description. We passed from the lower dormitory of the slaves to another above: this was divided into two tiers; so that one half of the numerous attendants it was designed to accommodate, slept over the other, upon a sort of shelf or scaffold near the ceiling. From this second corridor we entered into a third, a long matted passage; on the left of this were small apartments for slaves of higher rank; and upon the right a series of rooms looking toward the sea. By continuing along this corridor, we at last entered the great *chamber of audience*, in which the sultan mother receives visits of ceremony, from the sultanas, and other distinguished ladies of the charem.—

Nothing can be imagined better suited to theatrical representation than this chamber; and I regret the loss of the very accurate drawing which I caused Monsieur Preaux to complete upon the spot. It is exactly such an apartment as the best painters of scenic decoration would have selected, to afford a striking idea of the pomp, the seclusion, and the magnificence, of the Ottoman court. The stage is best suited for its representation; and therefore the reader is requested to have the stage in his imagination while it is described. It was surrounded with enormous mirrors, the costly donations of infidel kings, as they are styled by the present possessors. These mirrors the women of the seraglio sometimes break in their frolicks.*—At the upper end is the throne, a sort of cage, in which the sultana sits, surrounded by latticed blinds; for even here her person is held too sacred to be exposed to the common observation of slaves and females of the charem. A lofty flight of broad steps, covered with crimson cloth, leads to this cage, as to a throne. Immediately in front of it are two burnished chairs of state, covered with crimson velvet and gold, one on each side the entrance. To the right and the left of the throne, and upon a level with it, are the sleeping apartments of the sultan mother, and her principal females in waiting. The external windows of the throne are all latticed: on one side they look toward the sea, and on the other into the quadrangle of the charem; the chamber itself occupying the whole breadth of the building, on the side of the quadrangle into which it looks. The area below the latticed throne, or the front of the stage (to follow the idea before proposed,) is set a part for attendants, for the dancers, for actors, music, refreshments, and whatsoever is brought into the charem for the amusement of the court.—This place is covered with Persian mats; but these are removed when the sultana is here, and the richest carpets substituted in their place.

Beyond the great chamber of audience is the *assembly room* of the sultan, when he is in the charem. Here we observed the magnificent lustre before mentioned. The sultan sometimes visits this chamber during the winter, to hear music, and to amuse himself with his favourites. It is sur-

* The mischief done in this way, by the grand signior's women, is so great, that some of the most costly articles of furniture are removed, when they come from their winter apartments to this palace. Among the number, was the large coloured lustre given by the Earl of Elgin: this was only suspended during their absence; and even then by a common rope. We saw it in this state. The offending ladies, when detected, are whipped by the black eunuchs, whom it is their chief amusement to elude and to ridicule.

rounded by mirrors. The other ornaments display that strange mixture of magnificence and wretchedness, which characterize all the state chambers of Turkish grandees. Leaving the assembly room, by the same door through which we entered, and continuing along the passage as before, which runs parallel to the sea shore, we at length reached, what might be termed the *sanctum sanctorum* of this paphian temple, the baths of the sultan mother and the four principal sultanas. These are small, but very elegant, constructed of white marble, and lighted by ground glass above. At the upper end is a raised sudatory and bath for the sultan mother, concealed by lattice work from the rest of the apartment. Fountains play constantly into the floor of this bath, from all its sides; and every degree of refined luxury has been added to the work, which a people, of all others best versed in the ceremonies of the bath, have been capable of inventing or requiring.

Leaving the bath, and returning along the passage by which we came, we entered what is called the *chamber of repose.* Nothing need be said of it, except that it commands the finest view any where afforded from this point of the seraglio. It forms a part of the building well known to strangers, from the circumstance of its being supported, toward the sea, by twelve columns of that beautiful and rare breccia, the *vivide Lacedæmonium* of Pliny, called by Italians *Il verde antico.* These columns are of the finest quality ever seen; and each of them consists of one entire stone. The two interior pillars are of green Egyptian breccia, more beautiful than any specimen of the kind existing.

We now proceeded to that part of the charem which looks into the seraglio garden, and entered a large apartment, called *chalved yiertzy,* or, as the French would express it, *salle de promenade.* Here the other ladies of the charem entertain themselves, by hearing and seeing comedies, farcical representations, dances, and music. We found it in the state of an old lumber room. Large dusty pier glasses, in heavy gilded frames, neglected and broken, stood, like the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture, leaning against the wall, the whole length of one side of the room. Old furniture; shabby bureaus of the worst English work, made of oak, walnut, or mahogany; inlaid broken cabinets; scattered fragments of chandeliers; scraps of paper, silk rags, and empty confectionary boxes; were the only objects in this part of the palace.

From this room, we descended into the court of the charem: and, having crossed it, ascended, by a flight of steps, to an upper parterre, for the purpose of examining a part of the building appropriated to the inferior ladies of the seraglio. Finding it exactly upon the plan of the rest, only worse furnished, and in a more wretched state, we returned, to quit the charem entirely, and effect our retreat to the garden. The reader may imagine our consternation, on finding that the great door was closed upon us, and that we were locked in. Listening, to ascertain if any one was stirring, we discovered that a slave had entered to feed some turkeys, who were gobbling and making a great noise at a small distance. We profited by their tumult, to force back the huge lock of the gate with a large stone, which fortunately yielded to our blows, and we made our escape.

We now quitted the lower garden of the seraglio, and ascended, by a paved road, toward the *chamber of the garden of hyacinths*. This promised to be interesting, as we were told the sultan passed almost all his private hours in that apartment, and the view of it might make us acquainted with occupations and amusements, which characterize the man, devested of the outward parade of the sultan. We presently turned from the paved ascent, toward the right, and entered a small garden, laid out into very neat oblong borders, edged with porcelain, or Dutch tiles. Here no plant is suffered to grow, except the hyacinth; whence the name of this garden, and the chamber it contains. We examined this apartment by looking through a window. Nothing can be more magnificent. Three sides of it were surrounded by a divan, the cushions and pillows of which were of black embroidered satin. Opposite the windows of the chamber was a fireplace, after the ordinary European fashion; and on each side of this, a door covered with hangings of crimson cloth. Between each of these doors and the fireplace appeared a glass case, containing the sultan's private library; every volume being in manuscript, and upon shelves, one above the other, and the title of each book written on the edges of its leaves. From the ceiling of the room, which was of burnished gold, opposite each of the doors, and also opposite to the fireplace, hung three gilt cages containing small figures of artificial birds: these sung by mechanism. In the centre of the room stood an enormous gilt brazier, supported, in an ewer, by four massive claws, like vessels seen under sideboards in England. Opposite to the entrance,

on one side of the apartment, was a raised bench, crossing a door, on which were placed an embroidered napkin, a vase and bason, for washing the beard and hands. Over this bench, upon the wall, was suspended the large embroidered *porte-feuille*, worked with silver thread on yellow leather, which is carried in procession when the sultan goes to mosque, or elsewhere in public, to contain the petitions presented by his subjects. In a nook close to the door was also a pair of yellow boots; and on the bench, by the ewer, a pair of slippers of the same materials. These are placed at the entrance of every apartment frequented by the sultan. The floor was covered with gobelins tapestry; and the ceiling, as before stated, magnificently gilded and burnished. Groupes of arms, such as pistols, sabres, and poignards, were disposed, with very singular taste and effect, on the different compartments of the walls; the handles and scabbards of which were covered with diamonds of very large size: these, as they glittered around, gave a most gorgeous effect to the splendour of this sumptuous chamber.

We had scarce ended our survey of this costly scene, when, to our great dismay, a bostanghy made his appearance within the apartment; but, fortunately for us, his head was turned from the window, and we immediately sunk below it, creeping upon our hands and knees, until we got clear of the garden of hyacinths. Thence, ascending to the upper walks, we passed an aviary of nightingales.

The walks in the upper garden are very small, in wretched condition, and laid out in worse taste than the fore court of a Dutchman's house in the suburbs of the Hague. Small as they are, they constituted, until lately, the whole of the seraglio gardens near the sea; and from them may be seen the whole prospect of the entrance to the canal, and the opposite coast of Scutary. Here, in an old kiosk, is seen a very ordinary marble slab, supported on iron cramps: this, nevertheless, was a present from Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. It is precisely the sort of sideboard seen in the lowest inns of England: and, while it may be said no person would pay half the amount of its freight to send it back again, it shows the nature of the presents then made to the Porte by foreign princes. From these formal parterres we descended to the gardener's lodge, and left the gardens by the gate through which we entered.

I never should have offered so copious a detail of the scenery of this remarkable place, if I did not believe that an ac-

count of the interior of the seraglio would be satisfactory from the secluded nature of the objects to which it bears reference, and the little probability there is of so favourable an opportunity being again granted, to any traveller, for its investigation.

CHAP. II.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

Procession of the Grand Signior, at the opening of the Bairam —Observations on the Church of St. Sophia—Other Mosques of Constantinople—Dance of the Dervishes—Howling Dervishes—Cursory Observations—Bazar of the Booksellers—Greek Manuscripts—Exercises of the Athletæ—Hippodrome —Obelisk—Delphic Pillar.

One of the great sights in Constantinople is the procession of the grand signior, when he goes from the seraglio to one of the principal mosques of the city. At the opening of the bairam, this ceremony is attended with more than ordinary magnificence. We were present upon that occasion; and although a detail of the procession would occupy too much space in the text, it may be deemed unobtrusive, perhaps interesting, as a note.

Our ambassador invited us, on the preceding evening, to be at the British palace before sun-rise; as the procession was to take place the moment the sun appeared. We were punctual in our attendance; and being conveyed, with the ladies of the ambassador's family, and many persons attached to the embassy, in the small boats which ply at Tophana, landed in Constantinople; and were all stationed within the stall of a blacksmith's shop, which looked into one of the dirty, narrow streets near the hippodrome, through which the procession was to pass. It was amusing to see the representative of the king of Great Britain, with his family and friends, squatted upon little stools, among horse-shoes, anvils, old iron, and horse dung. Upon his first arrival, some cats, taking alarm, brought down a considerable portion of the tiling from the roof; and this, as it embarrassed his party, excited the laughter of the Turks in the neighbourhood, who seemed much amused with the humiliating figure presented by the groupe of infidels in the smithy.

We had not been long in this situation, before the janissaries, with their large felt caps and white staves, ranged themselves on each side of the street leading to the mosque; forming an extensive line of sallow-looking objects, as novel to an Englishman's eye as any in the Turkish empire.

About a quarter of an hour before the procession began, the *imâm*, or high priest, passed, with his attendants, to the mosque, to receive the sultan. They were in four covered wagons, followed by twenty priests on horseback. The procession then began, and continued, according to the order given below.* Afterward it returned in the same manner, although not with the same degree of regularity.

* *Procession of the* GRAND SIGNIOR, *at the opening of the Bairam.*

1. A Bostanghy, [the *Bostanghies* were originally gardeners of the seraglio, but are now the sultan's body guard. Their number amounts to several thousands] on foot, bearing a wand.—2. Four BALTAGHIES, or Cooks of the Seraglio.—3. Fifteen ZAIM, or Messengers of State.—4. Thirteen of the CHIAOUX, or Constables, with embroidered turbans.—5. A party of Servants of the Seraglio —6. Thirty CAPIGHI BASHIES, or Porters of the Seraglio, in high white caps, and robes of flowered satins, flanked by Baltaghies, or Cooks, on each side, who were on horseback, with wands.—7. Baltaghies, on foot, with caps of a conical form, and white wands.—8. Fourteen ditto, more richly dressed, and mounted on superb horses —9. Other Baltaghies, on foot.—10. Ten of the High Constables, on horseback.—11. Forty servants, on foot. —12. The TEFTIRDAGH, or Financier of the Realm, on horseback, most magnificently caparisoned.—13. Forty Servants, on foot.—14. The REIS EFFENDY, or Prime Minister, in a rich green pelisse, on a magnificent charger, with most sumptuous housings, &c.—15. Twenty Servants.—16. The great body of the Chiaux, or Constables, with magnificent dresses, and plumes on their heads.—17. The COLONEL of the JANNISSARIES, with a helmet covered by enormous plumes.—18. A party of Fifty Constables of the Army, in full uniform, with embroidered turbans.—19. Ten beautiful Arabian led Horses, covered with the most costly trappings.—20. The CAPUDAN PACHA, on one of the finest horses covered with jewelled housings, in a rich green pelisse, lined with dark fur, and a white turban.—21. Bostanghies, on foot, with white wands.—22. Ten Porters belonging to the Grand Vizier.—23. The KAIMAKAN, on horseback, as Representative of the Grand Vizier, in a rich crimson pelisse, lined with dark fur, and accompanied by the appendages of office.—24. Twenty servants, on foot, bearing different articles.—25. Twenty of the Grooms of State, on horseback, followed by slaves —26. The MASTER of the HORSE, in embroidered satin robes.—27. Servants on foot.—28. The Deputy Master of the Horse, in robes of embroidered satin.—29. Servants on foot.—30. Interior Chamberlains of the Seraglio, on horseback.—31. Bostanghies, with white wands, on foot.—32. The Sumpter-Horses of the Sultan, *laden with the ancient Armour taken from the Church of St. Irene in the Seraglio: among which were ancient Grecian bucklers and shields, magnificently embossed, and studded with gems.*—33. Forty Bostanghies, bearing two turbans of State, flanked on each side by Porters.—34. An Officer with a bottle of water.—35. Fifteen Bostanghies, in burnished helmets, bearing two stools of State, flanked on each side by Porters.—36. The GRAND CHAMBERLAIN, most sumptuously mounted.—37. Bostanghies, in burnished helmets covered by very high plumes.—38. Lofty waving Plumes, supported by Chamberlains on foot.—39. THE *GRAND SIGNIOR*, on a beautiful managed Arabian Horse, covered with jewels and embroidery, in a scarlet pelisse lined with dark fur, and a white turban; flanked on each side by tall Plumes, supported by Chamberlains.—40. Lofty waving Plumes, supported by Chamberlains on foot.—41. Slaves of the Seraglio, in black satin, having poignards in their girdles, whose handles were studded with pearls.—42. Bostanghies, on foot.—43. The SELIKTAR AGHA, or Sword bearer of State, carrying a magnificent sabre.—44 Party of Attendants on foot.—45. The AGNATOR AGHA, or High Chamberlain, on horseback, scattering *paras*, the small coin of the empire, among the people.—46. Party of Attendants, on foot.—47. The KISLAR AGHA, or Chief of the Black Eunuchs, on horseback, making his *salaams* to the people, and flanked on each side by a party of Bostan-

When the ceremony concluded, the grand signior, accompanied by the principal officers of state, went to exhibit himself in a kiosk, or tent, near the seraglio point, sitting on a sofa of silver. We were enabled to view this singular instance of parade, from a boat stationed near the place; and, after the sultan retired, were permitted to examine the splendid pageant brought out for the occasion. It was a very large wooden couch, covered with thick plates of massive silver, highly burnished. I have little doubt, from the form of it, as well as from the style in which it was ornamented, that this also constituted a part of the treasury of the Greek emperors, when Constantinople was taken from the Turks.

Among the misrepresentations made to strangers who visit Constantinople, they are told that it is necessary to be attended by a janissary in the streets of the city. In the first place, this is not true: in the second, it is the most imprudent plan a traveller can adopt. It makes a public display of want of confidence in the people; and, moreover, gives rise to continual dispute, when any thing is to be purchased of the Turks; beside augmenting the price of any article required, exactly in the proportion of the sum privately exacted by the janissary, as his share of the profit. Another misrepresentation is, that a *firmân* from the grand signior is requisite to gain admission to the mosque of St. Sophia; whereas, by giving eight piastres to the person whose business it is to show the building, it may be seen at any time.*

The architectural merits of St. Sophia and St. Peter's have

ghies.—48. Other Officers of the Seraglio, on horseback.—49. The SECRETARY of STATE, on horseback, bearing the Grand Signior's embroidered leathern *porte-feuille*.—50. A Party of Attendants.—51. The CHANNATOR AGHA, or second of the Black Eunuchs, on horseback.—52. Party of Attendants.—53. The Inferior Black Eunuchs of the Seraglio.—54. Attendants.—55. The TREASURER of STATE.—56. Black Eunuchs.—57. The CAIVEGHY BASHY, or Coffee-bearer of the Grand Signior.—58. Two Turbans of State, on Sumpter-horses.—59. Party of Black Eunuchs, in very magnificent dresses.—60. Officers of the Seraglio; followed by a numerous suite of Attendants, some of whom were leading painted mules, carrying carpets and various utensils.

* At the same time as a *firman* is necessary, in order to see the other mosques of the city, it may be proper to add, that having obtained one for the purpose of gaining admission to St. Sophia, it is also a passport to all the others. The words of the *firman* for seeing the mosques, when literally translated, are as follows:

"*To the Keepers and Priests of the Great St. Sophia, and other Holy Mosques of the Sultans.*

"*It being customary to grant, to the subjects of powerful Allies, permission to visit the Holy Mosque: and at this time, having taken into our consideration an application made by certain English Gentlemen travelling in these Countries, to enter the Mosques of this City, we hereby consent to their request; granting to them our permission to view the holy temple of St. Sophia, and other Mosques of the Sultans; also ordaining, upon their coming, accompanied by the respective guards appointed for that purpose, that you do conduct them every where, and allow them free observation of all things, according to established usage.*"

been often relatively discussed; yet they reasonably enter into no comparison. No accounts have been more exaggerated than those which refer to the former, whose gloomy appearance is well suited to the ideas we entertain of its present abject and depraved state. In the time of Procopius, its dome might have seemed suspended by a chain from heaven; but at present, it exhibits much more of a subterranean than of an aërial character; neither does it seem consistent with the perfection of an edifice intended to elevate the mind, that the entrance should be by a descent as into a cellar. The approach to the Pantheon at Rome, as well as to the spacious aisle and dome of St. Peter's, is by ascending; but, in order to get beneath the dome of St. Sophia, the spectator is conducted down a long flight of stairs. I visited it several times, and always with the same impression. There is, moreover, a littleness and confused Gothic barbarism in the disposition of the parts which connect the dome with the foundation; and in its present state it is bolstered on the outside with heavy buttresses like those of a bridge. Mosaic work remains very entire in many parts of the interior. The dome seems to have been adorned with an uniform coating of gilded *tesseræ*, which the Turks are constantly removing for sale; attaching superstitious virtues to those loose fragments of Mosaic, from the eagerness with which strangers strive to procure them. In the great arch, opposite to the principal entrance, the Mosaic is coloured, and represents the figures of saints, of the virgin, and groupes of enormous wings without bodies. I copied a few letters of an inscription in that part of the building, which were beyond all doubt coeval with the edifice itself; and therefore, although they offer a very imperfect legend, it is proper they should be preserved; nothing of the kind having hitherto been noticed in St. Sophia.

OCKAIXPYCOY
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The engravings published by Banduri, from drawings by Grelot, added to his own description, afford so accurate a representation of this building, that any further account of it would be superfluous. Many absurd stories have been circulated concerning the contents of the small chapels once used as oratories, the doors of which are seen in the walls of the

galleries. Great interest was making, while we remained in Constantinople, to have these chambers examined. A little gold soon opened all the locks; and we scrutinized not only the interior of these apartments, but also every other part of the building. They were all empty, and only remarkable for the Mosaic work which covered the ceilings. Some of the doors were merely openings to passages, which conducted to the leads and upper parts of the building; these were also either empty, or filled with mortar, dust, and rubbish. Still more absurd is the pretended phosphoric light, said to issue from a mass of *lapis lazuli* in one of the gallery walls. This marvellous phænomenon was pointed out by our guide, who consented, for a small bribe, to have the whole trick exposed. It is nothing more than a common slab of marble, which, being thin, and almost worn through, transmits a feeble light, from the exterior, to a spectator in the gallery. By going to the outside, and placing my hat over the place, the light immediately disappeared.

The other mosques of Constantinople have been built after the plan of St. Sophia; and particularly that of Sultan Solyman, which is a superb edifice, and may be said to offer a miniature representation of the model whence it was derived. It contains twenty-four columns of granite and of Cipolino marble, together with some very large circular slabs of porphyry. Four granite columns within the building are near five feet in diameter, and from thirty-five to forty in height. There are also two superb pillars of porphyry at the entrance of the court. The mosque of Sultan Bajazet is rich in ancient columns of granite, porphyry, *verde antico*, and marble: Two of them, within the mosque, are thirty feet high, and five feet in diameter. In the mosque called *Osmania* are pillars of Egyptian granite, twenty-two feet high, and three feet in diameter; and near it is the celebrated sarcophagus of red porphyry, called the *tomb of Constantine*, nine feet long, seven feet wide, and five feet thick, of one entire mass. This mosque is also famous for its painted glass, and is paved with marble. In the mosque of Sultan Achmed are columns of *verde antico*, Egyptian granite, and white marble. Several antique vases of glass and earthenware are also there suspended, exactly as they were in the temples of the ancients with the votive offerings.

In a mosque at Tophana was exhibited the dance of the dervishes; and in another, at Scutary, the exhibition of the howling priests; ceremonies so extraordinary, that it is neces-

sary to see them, in order to believe that they are really practised by human beings, as acts of devotion. We saw them both; and first were conducted to behold the dance at Tophana.

As we entered the mosque, we observed twelve or fourteen dervishes walking slowly round, before a superior, in a small space surrounded with rails, beneath the dome of the building. Several spectators were stationed on the outside of the railing; and being, as usual, ordered to take off our shoes, we joined the party. In a gallery over the entrance were stationed two or three performers on the tambourine and Turkish pipes. Presently the dervishes, crossing their arms over their breasts, and with each of their hands grasping their shoulders, began obeisance to the superior, who stood with his back against the wall, facing the door of the mosque. Then each, in succession, as he passed the superior, having finished his bow, began to turn round, first slowly, but afterward with such velocity, that his long garments flying out in the rotatory motion, the whole party appeared spinning like so many umbrellas upon their handles. As they began, their hands were disengaged from their shoulders, and raised gradually above their heads. At length, as the velocity of the whirl increased, they were all seen with their arms extended horizontally, and their eyes closed, turning with inconceivable rapidity. The music, accompanied by voices, served to animate them; while a steady old fellow, in a green pelisse, continued to walk among them, with a fixed countenance, and expressing as much care and watchfulness as if his life would expire with the slightest failure in the ceremony. I noticed a method they all observed in the exhibition; it was that of turning one of their feet with the toes as much inward as possible, at every whirl of the body, while the other foot kept its natural position. The elder of these dervishes appeared to me to perform the task with so little labour or exertion, that, although their bodies were in violent agitation, their countenances resembled those of persons in an easy sleep. The younger part of the dancers moved with no less velocity than the others; but it seemed in them a less mechanical operation. This extraordinary exercise continued for the space of fifteen minutes; a length of time, it might be supposed, sufficient to exhaust life itself during such an exertion; and our eyes began to ache with the sight of so many objects all turning one way. Suddenly, on a signal given by the directors of the dance, unobserved by the spectators, the dervishes all stop-

ped at the same instant, like the wheels of a machine, and, what is more extraordinary, all in one circle, with their faces invariably toward the centre, crossing their arms on their breasts, and grasping their shoulders as before, bowing together with the utmost regularity, at the same instant, almost to the ground. We regarded them with astonishment, not one of them being in the slightest degree out of breath, heated, or having his countenance at all changed. After this they began to walk, as at first; each following the other within the railing, and passing the superior as before. As soon as their obeisance had been made, they began to turn again. This second exhibition lasted as long as the first, and was similarly concluded. They then began to turn for the third time; and, as the dance lengthened, the music grew louder and more animating. Perspiration became evident on the features of the dervishes; the extended garments of some among them began to droop; and little accidents occured, such as their striking against each other: they nevertheless persevered, until large drops of sweat falling from their bodies upon the floor, such a degree of friction was thereby occasioned, that the noise of their feet rubbing the floor was heard by the spectators. Upon this, the third and last signal was made for them to halt, and the dance ended.

This extraordinary performance is considered miraculous by the Turks. By their law, every species of dancing is prohibited; and yet, in such veneration is this ceremony held, that an attempt to abolish it would excite insurrection among the people.

There is still another instance of the most extraordinary superstition perhaps ever known in the history of mankind, full of the most shameless and impudent imposture: it is the exhibition of pretended miracles, wrought in consequence of the supposed power of faith, by a sect who are called the *howling dervishes of Scutary.* I have before alluded to their orgies, as similar to those practised, according to sacred scripture, by the priests of Baal; and they are probably a remnant of the most ancient heathen ceremonies of eastern nations. The Turks hold this sect in greater veneration than they do even the dancing dervishes.

We passed over to Scutary, from Pera, accompanied by a janissary, and arrived at the place where this exhibition is made. The Turks called it a mosque; but it more resembled a barn, and reminded us of the sort of booth fitted up with loose planks by mendicant conjurors at an English fair. This resemblance was further increased, by our finding at the en-

trance two strange figures, who, learning the cause of our visit, asked if we wished to have the '*fire and dagger business*,' introduced among the other performances. We replied, by expressing our inclination to see as much of their rites as they might think proper to exhibit: upon this, we were told that we must pay something more than usual, for the *miracles*. A bargain was therefore made, upon condition that we should see *all* the miracles. We were then permitted to enter the mosque, and directed to place ourselves in a small gallery, raised two steps from the floor. Close to one extremity of this gallery, certain of the dervishes were employed in boiling coffee upon two braziers of lighted charcoal: this was brought to us in small cups, with pipes, and stools for seats. At the other extremity of the gallery, a party of Turks were also smoking, and drinking coffee. Upon the walls of the mosque were suspended daggers, skewers, wire scourges, pincers, and many other dreadful instruments of torture and penance. It might have been supposed a chamber of inquisition, if the ludicrous mummery around had not rather given it the air of a conjurer's booth. It was a long time before the ceremony began. At length, the principal dervish, putting on his robe of state, which consisted of a greasy green pelisse with half-worn fur, apparently a second-hand purchase from the rag market, opened the business of the exhibition. At first, they repeated the ordinary prayers of the Turks; in which our janissary joined, after having washed his head, feet, and hands. All strangers afterward withdrawing to the gallery, a most ragged and filthy set of dervishes seated themselves upon the floor, forming a circle round their superior.

These men began to repeat a series of words, as if they were uttering sounds by rote; smiling, at the same time, with great complacency upon each other: presently, their smiles were converted to a laugh, seemingly so unaffected and so hearty, that we sympathetically joined in their mirth. Upon this, our janissary and interpreter became alarmed, and desired us to use more caution; as the laughter we noticed was the result of religious emotion, arising from the delight experienced in repeating the attributes of the Deity. During a full hour the dervishes continued laughing and repeating the same words, inclining their heads and bodies backward and forward.—Then they all rose, and were joined by others, who were to act a very conspicuous part in the ceremony. These were some time in placing themselves; and frequently, after they had

taken a station, they changed their post again, for purposes to us unknown. Finally, they all stood in a semicircle before the superior, and then a dance began: this, without any motion of the feet or hands, consisted of moving in a mass from side to side, against each other's shoulders, repeating rapidly and continually the words *Ullah, hoo Ullah!* and laughing as before, but no longer with any expression of mirth; it seemed rather the horrid and intimidating grimace of madness. In the mean time the superior moved forward, until he stood in the midst of them, repeating the same words, and marking the measure of utterance, by beating his hands, accompanied with a motion of his head. At this time another figure made his appearance, an old man, very like the representations Spagnolet painted of Diogenes, and quite as ragged. Placing himself on the left of the semicircle, with his face toward the dervishes, he began to howl the same words, much louder, and with greater animation than the rest, and, beating time with all the force of his arm, encouraged them to exertions they were almost incapable of sustaining. Many of them appeared almost exhausted, tossing their heads about, while their laugh presented one of the most horrible convulsions of feature the human countenance is capable of assuming. Still the oscillatory motion and the howling continued, becoming every instant more violent; and the sound of their voices resembled the grunting of expiring hogs; until at length one of them gave a convulsive spring from the floor, and, as he leaped, called loudly and vehemently "*Mohammed!*" No sooner was this perceived, than one of the attendants taking him in his arms, raised him from the floor, and turned him three times round. Then a loud hissing noise, as of fire, proceeded from his mouth, which ceased on the superior placing his hand upon his lips. The same person then taking the skin of his throat between the finger and thumb of his left hand, pierced it through with an iron skewer he held in his right, and left him standing exposed to view in that situation, calling loudly upon Mohammed.

By this time, some of the others, apparently quite spent, affected to be seized in the same way, and were turned round as the other had been. The person who turned them supported them afterward in his arms, while they reclined their faces upon his right shoulder, and evidently were occupied in rincing their mouths with something concealed beneath his garments.—The same process took place respecting their hands, which were

secretly fortified in a similar way, by some substance used to prevent the effect of fire upon the skin.*

We now observed the attendants busied, on our right hand, below the gallery, heating irons in the brasiers used for boiling the coffee. As soon as the irons were red hot, they carried them glowing among the dervishes, who, seizing them with violence, began to lick them with their tongues. While we were occupied in beholding this extraordinary sight, our attention was suddenly called off to one of them, who was stamping in a distant part of the mosque, with one of the irons between his teeth.—This was taken from him by the superior; and the man falling into apparent convulsions, was caught by an attendant, and placed upon the floor, with his face to the earth. Some of the rest then jumped about, stabbing themselves in different parts of their bodies.

A noise of loud sobbing and lamentation was now heard in a latticed gallery above, where we were told women were stationed, who doubtless, being completely duped by the artifices which had been practised, were sufficiently alarmed. As we were already disgusted with such outrages upon religion, under any name, we descended from the gallery, and prepared to walk out; when the superior, fearing that his company might give him the slip, instantly put an end to the *léger-de-main*, and demanded payment. While this took place, it was highly amusing to see all the fire eaters, and the dagger-bearers, recover at once from their fainting and convulsions, and walk about, talking with each other in perfect ease and indifference.†

If what has been here stated is not enough to prove the contemptible imposture practised upon these occasions, a circumstance that occured afterward will put the matter beyond all doubt.

A Swiss gentleman, acting as goldsmith and jeweller to the grand signior, invited us, with a large party of English, to dine at his house in Constantinople. When dinner was ended, one of the howling dervishes, the most renowned for miraculous powers, was brought in, to amuse the company as a common conjurer. Taking his seat on a divan at the upper end of the

* It is the same used by conjurers in England, who pretend to be fire eaters. In the selections which have appeared from the Gentleman's Magazine, this nostrum is made public: it is prepared from sulphur.

† It has been deemed proper to insert this circumstance, because Mr. Dallaway has stated, that, "totally exhausted by pain and fatigue, they fall to the ground in a senseless trance, when they are removed to their chambers, and nursed with the greatest care until their recovery enables them to repeat so severe a proof of their devotion." See *Constantinople, Ancient and Modern, &c. by Dallaway*, p. 129.

room, he practised all the tricks we had seen at the mosque, with the exception of the hot irons, for which he confessed he was not prepared. He affected to stab himself, in the eyes and cheeks, with large poignards; but, upon examination, we soon discovered that the blades of the weapons were admitted by springs into their handles, like those used upon the stage in our theatres. A trick which he practised with extraordinary skill and address, was that of drawing a sabre across his naked body, after having caused the skin of the abdomen to lapse over it.

As soon as his exhibition ended, we were told by our host that the dervish should now bear testimony to a miracle on our part; and, as he had no conception of the manner in which it was brought about, it was probably never afterward forgotten by him. A large electrical apparatus stood within an adjoining apartment; the conductors from which, passing into the room, as common bell wires, had been continued along the seat occupied by the dervish, reaching the whole length of the divan. As soon as he began to take breath, and repose himself from the fatigue of his tricks, a shock from the electrical machine was communicated, that made him leap higher than ever he had done for the name of Mohammed. Seeing no person near, and every individual of the company affecting the utmost tranquillity and unconcern, he was perfectly panic struck. Ashamed, however, that an inspired priest, and one of the guardians of the miracles of Islamism, should betray causeless alarm, he ventured once more to resume his seat; whence, as he sat trembling, a second shock sent him fairly out of the house; nor could any persuasion of ours, accompanied by a promise of explaining the source of his apprehension, prevail upon him to return, even for the payment which was due to him.

A few cursory observations will now conclude almost all that remains of the notes made during the author's first residence in Constantinople.

Every thing is exaggerated that has been said of the riches and magnificence of this city. Its inhabitants are ages behind the rest of the world. The apartments in their houses are always small. The use of coloured glass in the windows of the mosques, and in some of the palaces, is of very remote date; it was introduced into England, with other refinements, by the crusaders; and perhaps we may attribute to the same people the style of building observed in many of our most ancient

dwelling houses; where, in the diminutive panelling of the wainscot, and the form of the windows, an evident similarity appears to what is common in Turkey. The khans for the bankers seem to rank next to the mosques, among the public edifices of any note. The *Ménagerie* shown to strangers is the most filthy hole in Europe, and chiefly tenanted by rats. The pomp of a Turk may be said to consist in his pipe and his horse: the first will cost from twenty to twenty thousand piastres. That of the Capudan Pacha had a spiral ornament of diamonds from one end to the other; and it was six feet in length. Coffee cups are adorned in the same costly manner. A saddle cloth embroidered and covered with jewels, stirrups of silver, and other rich trappings, are used by their grandees to adorn their horses. The boasted illuminations of the *Ramadan* would scarcely be perceived, if they were not pointed out. The suburbs of London are more brilliant every night in the year.

As to the antiquities of Constantinople, those which are generally shown to strangers have been often and ably described. There is a method of obtaining medals and gems which has not however been noticed; this is, by application to the persons who contract for the product of the common sewers, and are employed in washing the mud and filth of the city. In this manner we obtained, for a mere trifle, some interesting remains of antiquity; among which may be mentioned, a superb silver medal of Anthony and Cleopatra; a silver medal of Chalcedon of the highest antiquity; and an intaglio onyx, representing the flight of Æneas from Troy. There is every reason to believe, that, within the precincts of this vast city, many fine remains of ancient art may hereafter be discovered. The courts of Turkish houses are closed from observation; and in some of these are magnificent sarcophagi, concealed from view, serving as cisterns to their fountains. In the floors of the different baths are also, in all probability, many inscribed marbles; the characters of which, being turned downward, escape even the observation of the Turks. In this manner the famous trilingual inscription was discovered in Egypt. No monument was, perhaps, ever more calculated to prove the surprising talents of ancient sculptors, than the column of Arcadius, as it formerly stood in the forum of that emperor. According to the fine representations of its bas-reliefs, engraved from Bellini's drawings for the work of Banduri, the characteristic features of the Russians were so admi-

rably delineated in the figures of the Scythian captives, that they are evident upon the slightest inspection.*

It is somewhat singular, that, amongst all the literary travellers who have described the curiosities of Constantinople, no one has hitherto noticed the market for manuscripts; yet it would be difficult to select an object more worthy of examination. The bazar of the booksellers does not contain all the works enumerated by D'Herbelot; but there is hardly any oriental author, whose writings, if demanded, may not be procured; although every volume offered for sale is manuscript. The number of shops employed in this way, in that market and elsewhere, amounts to a hundred: each of these contain, upon an average, five hundred volumes; so that no less a number than fifty thousand manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, are daily exposed for sale. One of my first endeavours was to procure a general catalogue of the writings most in request throughout the empire; that is to say, of those works which are constantly on sale in the cities of Constantinople, Aleppo, and Cairo, and also of their prices. This I procured through the medium of a dervish.† The causes of disappointment, which has so often attended the search after manuscripts by literary persons sent out from the academies of Europe, may be easily explained. These men have their residence in Pera, whence it is necessary to go by water to Constantinople. The day is generally far spent before they reach the place of their destination; and when arrived, they make their appearance followed by a janissary. The venders of manuscripts, who are often emirs, and sometimes dervishes, beholding an *infidel* thus accompanied, gratifying what they deem an impertinent, and even sacrilegious curiosity, among volumes of their religion and law, take offence, and refuse not only to sell, but to exhibit any part of their collection. The best method is to employ a dervish, marking in the catalogue such books as he may be required to purchase; or to go alone, unless an interpreter is necessary. I found no difficulty in obtaining any work that I could afford to buy. The manuscript of "*The Arabian Nights*," or, as it is called, *Alf Lila o Lila*, is not easily procured, and for this reason: it is a compilation, made according to the taste and opportunity of the

* *Imperium Orientale*, tom. ii. p. 521. The reader, referring to the work, is requested to attend particularly to the portraits of the Scythian monarch and of one of his nobles, in the third plate.

† This catalogue may be considered as offering a tolerable view of the general state of oriental literature; such, for example, as might be obtained of the literature of Britain, by the catalogues of any of the principal booksellers of London and Edinburgh

writer, or the person who orders it of the scribes, found only in private hands, and no two copies contain the same tales. I could not obtain this work in Constantinople, but afterward bought a very fine copy of it in Grand Caïro.* It was not until the second winter of my residence in Pera, that I succeeded, by means of a dervish of my acquaintance, in procuring a catalogue from one of the principal shops. The master of it was an emir, a man of considerable attainment in oriental literature, from whom I had purchased several manuscripts, which are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Whenever I had applied to this man for works relating to poetry or history, he was very willing to supply what was wanted; but if I ventured only to touch a Koran, or any other volume held sacred in Turkish estimation, my business terminated abruptly for that day. There are similar manuscript markets in all the Turkish cities, particularly those of Aleppo and Cairo. Many works, common in Cairo, are not to be met with in Constantinople. The Beys have more taste for literature than the Turks; and the women, shut up in the charems of Egypt, pass many of their solitary hours in hearing persons who are employed to read for their amusement.

Nor is the search after Greek manuscripts so unsuccessful as persons are apt to imagine. By employing an intelligent Greek priest, I had an opportunity of examining a great variety of volumes, brought from the Isle of Princes, and from the private libraries of Greek princes resident at the *Phanár*.† It is true, many of them were of little value; and

* This manuscript was unfortunately so damaged by the wreck of the Princessa merchantman, that I have never since been able to get it transcribed, although I sent it to Constantinople for that purpose. It contained one hundred and seventy two tales, divided into a thousand and one nights.

† GREEKS *of the* PHANAR.

"There are six Greek families of more note than the rest, who live at the Phanar, a district in the northern part of the city, near the sea; their names are, Ipsilandi Moroozi, Callimachi, Soozo, Handtzerli, and Mavrocordato. These have either aspired to, or obtained in their turns, the situation of hospodar, or prince of Walachia, and Moldavia. In 1806, the Porte was persuaded, by the French, to believe that Ipsilandi and Moroozi, the hospodars of the two provinces, were in the interest of Russia, and in the Month of September of that year, they were removed; Soozo, and Callimachi being appointed in their room, by the interference of Sebastiani the French ambassador. Moroozi, on his recal, came back to Constantinople; but Ipsilandi went to Russia, and thus brought on his family the vengeance of the Porte. His father, aged seventy-four, who had been four times Prince of Walachia, was beheaded January the 25th, 1807, while I was at Constantinople. Among the articles of accusation brought against him, it was alleged, that he had fomented the rebellion of the Servians; and that, at the time when the troops of the Nizam Jedit were about to march against the janissaries of Adrianople, he had given intimation of this, through Mustapha Bairacter, a chief in the northern provinces of Turkey, to the janissaries, who had accordingly prepared themselves for the designs of the Porte.

"The only persons in the Turkish empire, who could in any way promote the cultivation of ancient literature, and excite the Greeks to shake off that ignorance in

others, of some importance, the owners were unwilling to sell. The fact is, it is not money which such men want. They will often exchange their manuscripts for good printed editions of the Greek classics, particularly of the orators. Prince *Alexander Bano Hantzerli* had a magnificent collection of Greek

which they are plunged, are the Greek nobles of the Phanar. But, instead of using their influence with the government, to enable them to encourage and patronize schools in parts of the levant, they are only pacing in the trammels of political intrigue, and, actuated by the 'lust of lucre,' or of power, are doing what they can to obtain the offices of interpreter to the Porte, or of patriarch; or to succeed as princes of Walachia and Moldavia. Excepting a dictionary of modern Greek, which was published under the patronage of one of the Mavrocordato family; and a φροντιστήριον, or *school*, the expenses of which were defrayed by one of the Moroozi family; all that has been done, to increase a knowledge of their language among the Greeks, has been effected by the liberal and patriotic exertions of Greek merchants, living at Venice, Trieste, or Vienna. An undertaking which would have been attended with great advantage, had it not been frustrated by political interference, was a translation of the travels of Anacharsis into modern Greek, accompanied with proper maps. This was only begun; the Greek who was employed in it was put to death by the Porte: another Greek, of Yanina, called Sakellaris, has, I believe, translated the whole.—Works of this kind would be productive of greater utility to the mass of the reading and industrious Greeks, than such performances as a translation of Virgil's Æneid into Greek hexameters, which I saw at Constantinople, published by the Greek bishop, Bulgari, who resided in Russia.

"The Greeks of the Phanar are themselves very conversant with the authors of ancient Greece, and well understand most of the modern languages of Europe. There is an affectation of using words and phrases of old Greek, instead of the modern, even among the servants and inferior people at the Phanar. The learned Coray is exciting his countrymen, by his writings and example, to a study of their ancient language; and the Greek merchants, who are led to visit the different cities of the continent, return to their country with information and useful knowledge, which is gradually diffused among the Greeks connected with them.

"The following advertisement, of an exhibition of waxwork at Pera, may give the reader a notion of the common Greek used at that place.

ΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ.

Ὁ Κύριος Καμπιόνης λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν νὰ εἰδοποίησῃ τὴν εὐγενεστάτην κοινότητα, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἐδῶ μὲ ἕνα μέγα σύλλογον τεσσαράκοντα καὶ περισσοτέρων ἀγαλμάτων, τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος των Μοναρχων τῆς Εὐρωπης, καὶ πολλον ἄλλων περιφήμων ὑποκειμένων, ἐν οἷς εὑρίσκεται καὶ μία Ἀφροδίτη. Ὅλα αὐτὰ εἰς μέγεθος φυσικὸν, καὶ ἐνδεδυμένα ἕκαστον κατὰ τὸν βαθμὸν τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ.

Αὐτὰ τὰ ἀγάλματα παῤῥησιάζονται καθ' ἑκάστην ἀπὸ τὸ πουρνὸ ἕως εἰς τὰς πέντε τῆς νυκτὸς, εἰς τὸ σταυροδρόμι, ἔνδον τοῦ ὀσπιτίου τῆς Κυρίας Τομαζίνας, ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ Ἐργαστῆρι ἑνὸς Κουφετιέρη. Τὰ εὐγενὴ ὑποκείμενα θέλει πληρωσουν κατὰ τὴν πλουσιοπάροχον αὐτων προαίρεσιν. Ἡ δὲ συνήθης τιμὴ εἶναι γρόσι ἕνα εἰς καθε ἄνθρωπον.

(TRANSLATION.)

NOTICE.

'*Mr. Campioni has the honour to inform the nobility and gentry, that he is arrived here, with a large collection of forty and more Figures; the greater part of the kings of Europe, and many other illustrious personages. Among them is a Venus. All these are of the size of nature, and dressed, each according to the quality of the person.*

'*These figures are exhibited every day, from the morning to eleven at night, in the staurodromo, in the house of Mrs. Thomasina, above a confectioner's shop. The nobility*

manuscripts, and long corresponded with me after my return to England.* I sent him, from Paris, the original edition of the French Encyclopédie; and no contemptible idea may be formed of the taste of men, who, situated as the Greek families are in constantinople, earnestly endeavour, by such publications, to multiply their sources of information. Some of the Greek manuscripts now in the bodleian were originally in his possession; particularly a most exquisite copy of the four gospels, of the tenth or eleventh century, written throughout, upon vellum, in the same minute and beautiful characters.

The exercises of the *Athletæ*, whether derived or not by the Turks from the subjugated Greeks, are still preserved, and often exhibited, in the different towns of the empire.† The

and gentry will pay according to their liberal dispositions; but the customary price is a piastre a head.'

To confirm what I have said above, relating to the knowledge which some of the noble Greeks possess of their ancient language, I refer the reader to the elaborate performance of Nicolas Mavrocordato who was Prince of Walachia, written in ancient Greek: the title of which is, περὶ Καθηκόντων. This work was printed at Bucharest in 1719: it contains nineteen chapters, and embraces a variety of moral and religious topics, relating, as its title imports, to the *duties of man*. The following paragraph is taken at random from the work, as a specimen of the language:

Γῆ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἀρδευομένη συνέχει μὲν ἐν κόλποις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὰ σπέρματα, ἀλλ' ἀνίσχυρός ἐστιν αὐξῆσαι καὶ εἰς φως αὐτὰ προαγαγεῖν· καὶ νοῦς κἀν εὐφυως ἔχῃ, τῆς ἔξωθεν μέντοι γε ἀρδείας ἀμοιρήσας, ἢ ὅλως ἐστείρωται πρὸς ἐνέργειαν των καλων, ἢ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὀργων καὶ σφαδάζων, ἀκολασταίνει, μὴ παιδαγωγούμενος, μήτε τυπούμενος εἰς κρίσιν καὶ αἵρεσιν ἀρετῆς.

Nam et terra, cum non rigatur, continet quidem sinu suo, ut ita dicam, semina, sed ad ea vegetanda, et in lucem edenda, invalida est; et mens quamvis habilis, si destituatur irrigatione, aut plane sterilescit ad bonus actus, aut per se turgens et lasciviens proterve agit, dum non instituitur et formatur ad discernendam et eligendam virtutem.

"The library of Nicolas Mavrocordato was stored with manuscripts procured from the different monasteries in Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago; and so valuable was it in every respect, that Sevin, who had been sent, by the government of France, to collect manuscripts in the levant, in a letter from Constantinople to Maurepas, dated Dec. 22, 1728, thus expresses himself: 'La bibliotheque du Prince du Valachie peut aller de pair avec celles des plus grands princes; et depuis deux ans il a employe deux cent mille ecus en achats des manuscrits Turcs, Arabes, et Persans."—*Walpole'e MS. Journal.*

* It was through his means that I procured for Mr. Cripps, at the particular instigation of the late Professor Porson, who read his letter upon the subject, the superb copy of the Orators, now in the possesion of Dr. Burney.

† "The combats of wrestling, which I have witnessed near Smyrna, are the same as those which the ancient writers describe; and nothing strikes a traveller in the East more than the evident adherence to customs of remote ages.

"The habit of 'girding the loins' was not formerly more general than it is now, in the countries of the Levant. The effect of this on the form of the body cannot fail of being observed at the baths, in which the waists of the persons employed there are remarkable for their smallness. The long sleeve worn at this time in all the East is mentioned by Strabo, and Herodotus, lib. vii. The head was shorn formerly, as now; and the persons of common rank wore a lower sort of turban, and those of dignity a high one: as is the case to this day in Turkey. (*Salm. Plin. Exc.* 392.) The following passage in Plutarch (*Vit. Themist.*) describes a custom with which every one is acquainted: '*The Persians carefully watch not only their wives, but their slaves and concubines: so that they are seen by no one: at home, they live shut up; and when on a journey they ride in chariots covered in on all sides.*' We find that antimony, the *stibium* of Pliny which is now employed by the women in the East, who draw a small wire dipped in it between the two eye lids and give the eye an expression much admired by them, was used in former times. Jezabel 'put her eyes in paint,' (2 *Kings*, ix. 30.)

combatants appear with their bodies oiled, having no other clothing than a tight pair of greasy leathern breeches. So much has been already written upon these subjects, that any further detail would be superfluous. Belon, in his interesting work, composed near three centuries ago, appropriated an entire chapter to a description of the Turkish wrestling matches.*

The same observation is not applicable to the *hippodrome*; now called *atmeidan*, which also signifies the *horse-course*; because many erroneous statements have appeared with regard to the antiquities it contains, particularly the absurd story, generally propagated, concerning the blow given by Mahomet, with his battle ax, to the famous delphic pillar of three brazen serpents; which, it is said, smote off the heads of one of them. This place preserves nearly the state in which it was left by the Greeks; and as no accurate view of it had been engraved, I accompanied an artist to the spot, that a faithful representation might be here given. The mosque in front, near the obelisk, is that of Sultan Achmed; and the more distant one that of St. Sophia. Not a single object has been either added or removed, to interfere with the fidelity of the delineation: every thing is represented exactly as it appeared to us at the time; although we were under some apprehension from the Turks, who will suffer nothing of this kind to be taken, with their consent.

A representation of the hippodrome is given in bas-relief upon the base of the obelisk: by this it appears, there were originally two obelisks, one at each extremity of the course. That which remains is about fifty feet in height, according to Tournefort,† of one entire block of Egyptian granite. The manner in which this immense mass was raised, and placed upon its pedestal, by the emperor Theodosius, is represented also, in a series of bas-reliefs upon its base. The workmen appear employed with a number of windlasses, all brought, by means of ropes and pulleys, to act at once upon the stone.

and Xenophon calls this, ὀφθάλμων ὑπογραφή. (*De Cyri Inst.*) The corn is now trodden out by oxen or horses, in an open area, as in the time of Homer; (*Il.* T. v. 495.) and a passage of that poet, relating to fishing, would have been understood, if the commentators had known, that the Greeks, in fishing, let the line with the lead at the end run over a piece of horn fixed on the side of the boat; this is the meaning of κατ' ἀγραύλοιο βοὸς κέρας ἐμβεβαυῖα. (*Il.* Ω. v. 81.) The flesh of the camel, which bears in taste a resemblance to veal, is now eaten by the Turks, as also by the Arabians, on days of festivity, as it was by the Persians in the time of Herodotus." (Clio.)

Walpole's MS. Journal.

* De la Luiete de Turquie, chap. xxxviii. liv. iii. *des Singular. observees par Belon*, p. 201. Par. 1555.

† Tournefort, lett. 12. According to Bondelmont, its height is fifty-eight feet; and this nearly coincides with the statement of Mr. Dallaway, who makes it equal to sixty. See *Dall. Constant.* p. 67.

There is nothing either grand or beautiful in the remains of the brazen column, consisting of the bodies of three serpents twisted spirally together. It is about twelve feet in height; and being hollow, the Turks have filled it with broken tiles, stones, and other rubbish. But in the circumstances of its history, no relique of ancient times can be more interesting. It once supported the golden tripod at Delphi, which the Greeks, after the battle of Platæa, found in the camp of Mardonius. This fact has been so well ascertained, that it will probably never be disputed. "The guardians of the most holy relics," says Gibbon,* "would rejoice, if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged upon this occasion." Its original consecration in the temple of Delphi is proved from Herodotus and Pausanias; and its removal to Constantinople, by Zosimus, Eusebius, Socrates Ecclesiasticus, and Sozomen. Thevenot, whose work is known only as a literary imposture, relates the story of the injury it had sustained from the battle ax of Mahomet. The real history, however, of the loss of the serpent's heads is simply and plainly related by Chishull.† "The second pillar," says he, "is of wreathed brass, not above twelve feet high; lately terminated at the top with figures of *three serpents rising from the pillar, and with necks and heads forming a beautiful triangle.* But this monument was rudely broken, from the top of the pillar, *by some attendants of the late Polish ambassador*, whose lodgings were appointed in the cirque, opposite to the said pillar."

* Vol. ii. c. 17. not. † Travels in Turkey, p. 40. Lond. 1747.

CHAP. III.

FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE PLAIN OF TROY.

Arrival of an American Frigate—Departure from Constantinople—Dardanelles—Situation of Sestus—Dismissal of the Corvette—Visit to the Pacha—Voyage down the Hellespont—Appearance caused by the waters of the Mender—Udjek Tape—Koum-kale.

THE arrival of an American frigate, for the first time, at Constantinople, caused considerable sensation, not only among the Turks, but also throughout the whole diplomatic corps stationed at Pera. This ship, commanded by captain Bainbridge, came from Algiers, with a letter and presents from the dey to the sultan and capudan pacha. The presents consisted of tigers and other animals, sent with a view to conciliate the Turkish government whom the dey had offended. When she came to an anchor, and a message went to the Porte that an American frigate was in the harbour, the Turks were altogether unable to comprehend where the country was situated whose flag they were to salute. A great deal of time was therefore lost in settling this important point, and in considering how to receive the stranger. In the mean time we went on board, to visit the captain; and were sitting with him in his cabin, when a messenger came from the Turkish government, to ask whether America were not otherwise called the New World; and, being answered in the affirmative, assured the captain that he was welcome, and would be treated with the utmost cordiality and respect. The messengers from the dey were then ordered on board the capudan pacha's ship; who, receiving the letter from their sovereign with great rage, first spat, and then stamped upon it; telling them to go back to their master, and inform him, that he would be served after the same manner, whenever the Turkish admiral met him. Captain Bainbridge was however received with every mark of attention, and rewarded with magnificent presents. The fine order of his ship, and the healthy state of her crew, became topics of general conversation in Pera; and the different ministers strove who should first receive him in their palaces. We accompanied him in his

long boat to the Black Sea, as he was desirous of hoisting there, for the first time, the American flag; and upon his return, were amused by a very singular entertainment at his table during dinner. Upon the four corners were as many decanters, containing fresh water from the four quarters of the globe. The natives of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, sat down together to the same table, and were regaled with flesh, fruit, bread, and other viands; while, of every article, a sample from each quarter of the globe was presented at the same time. The means of accomplishing this are easily explained, by his having touched at Algiers, in his passage from America, and being at anchor so near the shores both of Europe and Asia.

Soon after, news came to Constantinople of the expedition to Egypt, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and intelligence of the safe arrival of the British fleet, with our army, in the bay of Marmorice. The capudan pacha, on board whose magnificent ship, the Sultan Selim, we had been with our ambassador previous to the sailing of the Turkish squadron for Egypt, ordered a corvette to be left for us to follow him; having heard that my brother, Captain George Clarke, of the Braakel, was with the fleet in Marmorice, to whom he expressed a desire of being afterward introduced. Nothing could exceed the liberality of the Turkish admiral upon this occasion. He sent for the captain of the corvette, and in our presence, gave orders to have it stored with all sorts of provisions, and even with wines; adding also, that knives, forks, chairs, and other conveniencies, which Turks do not use, would be found on board.

We sailed in this vessel on the second of March; and saluting the seraglio as we passed with twenty-one guns, the shock broke all the glass in our cabin windows. Our Turkish crew, quite ignorant of marine affairs, ran back at the report of their own cannon; trusting entirely to a few Greeks and some French prisoners, to manage all the concerns of the vessel. We were not sorry to get away from the unwholesome place in which we had lived, and to view the mosques and minarets of Constantinople, disappearing in the mists of the sea of Marmora, as we steered with a fair wind for the Hellespont.* Toward even-

* "I quitted Constantinople at the end of autumn, 1806, for the purpose of visiting the Troad a second time, and examining it with more accuracy than in the spring of the year. The Greek vessel in which I embarked was bound to Triechiri, a little town on the coast of Thessaly. The Greek vessels are in general filled with great numbers of Greeks, all of whom have a share, large or small, in the ship, and its merchandize. The vast profits which the Greeks reaped about ten years past, when they carried corn to the ports of France and Spain, from the Black Sea and Greece, particularly Thessaly, and from Caramania, excited a spirit of adventure and enterprise, which

ing, the wind strengthening, the crew lowered all the sails, and lay to all night. In the morning, having again hoisted them, I found, at nine o'clock A. M. that we had left *Marmora*, a high mountain, far behind us. The Isle of Princes appeared, through a telescope, to consist wholly of limestone. I wished much to have visited the ruins of Cyzicum, but had no opportunity. The small isthmus, near which they are situated, is said to have accumulated in consequence of the ruins of two ancient bridges, which formerly connected an island with the main land. Recently, above a thousand coins had been found on the site of Parium in Mysia, and sold by the peasants to the master of an English merchant vessel: I saw the greater part of them; they were much injured, and of no remote date, being all of bronze, and chiefly of the late emperors. Between Marmora and the Dardanelles, and nearer to the latter on the European side, appears a remarkable tumulous, on the top of a hill near the shore. The place is called Hexamil; and, according to the map of De L'Isle, was once the site of Lysimachia.

soon showed itself in the building of many hundred vessels, belonging chiefly to the two barren islands of Spezzia and Hydra, situated on the eastern side of the Morea. Vessels are to be seen navigated by Greeks, carrying twenty-two guns: one of this size I met in the Archipelago, off Andros, in company with other smaller ships; all sailing before the wind, with large extended sails of white cotton, forming a beautiful appearance. The Greeks on board the Tricchiriote vessel were not very numerous. My fellow companions were three Turks: one was going to Eubœa; another to a village near Thermopylæ; and the third was a Tartar, who profited by the northerly wind that was blowing, and was going to the Morea. At sun set, the Greeks sat on the deck, round their supper of olives, anchovies, and biscuits, with wine: and in the cabin, a lamp was lighted to a tutelar saint, who was to give us favourable weather. The wind that bore us along was from the N. E. to which as well as the East, the name of the *Levanter* is given. This wind is generally very strong; and the epithet applied by Virgil, '*Violentior Eurus*, is strictly appropriate. After a little more than a day's sailing, we found ourselves opposite to a village on the European coast of the Sea of Marmora, called Peristasis. The distance from Constantinople we computed to be about forty leagues. I was informed that a Greek church at this place was dedicated to St. George. This explains the reason why that part of the Propontis, which is now called the Bay and strait of Gallipoli, was formerly designated by the appellation of St. George's Channel. At the distance of eighteen or twenty miles to the south of Gallipoli, are the remains of a fort, Χοιριδικαστρο (Pig's-fort,) which a Turkish vessel, as it tacked near us, saluted; for here, it is said, the Turks first landed, when they came under Soliman into Europe.

"The ship anchored off the castle of the Dardanelles, on the Asiatic side, according to the custom enforced by the Turks on all ships, excepting those of war, which pass southward. At this time, and ever since the Mamluks had shown dispositions hostile to the Ottoman government established in Egypt, under Mahomed Ali, the actual viceroy, all ships and vessels, particularly Greek, which might be supposed to be the means of conveying supplies of Circassians to the Mamluks, to increase their numbers, were strictly searched.

"The population of the town, *Chanak kalesi*, on the Hellespont, where I landed, consists of Mahometans, Jews, and a few Greeks; amounting, in all, to about 3000. It derives its name from a manufactory of earthenware; *chanak* signifying a plate or dish. The houses are mean, and built chiefly of wood. From this place I took a boat, and sailed down the Hellespont, to Koum-kale (the Sand castle,) situated between the mouth of the Simois and the Sigean promontory." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

The entrance to the canal of the Hellespont, from the sea of Marmora, although broader than the Thracian Bosporus, has not the same degree of grandeur. Its sides are more uniform, less bold, and are not so richly decorated. The only picturesque appearance is presented by the European and Asiatic castles, as the straits become narrower. Before coming in sight of these, the eye notices a few houses and windmills, belonging to the present village of *Lamsaque*, which are all that remains of the ancient Lampsacus. The wine of the place no longer retains its pristine celebrity.

We came to anchor about three miles above the castles. I went on shore, and walked to the town of Dardanelles. In my way, I observed the shafts of several pillars of granite; some of these had been placed upright in the earth, as posts, on which to fasten vessels; others were dispersed and neglected. In the recess of a small bay, before reaching the town, is the best situation for viewing the narrow part of the strait, where Xerxes is believed to have passed with his army; and here the two castles have a very striking appearance. Tournefort objects to the story of Leander's enterprise, reasoning on the impossibility of a man's swimming so great a distance as that which seperated Abydus from Sestus. The servant of the imperial consul at the Dardanelles performed this feat, more than once, in a much wider part of the straits, passing from the Asiatic side to the European castle; whence, after resting himself a few minutes, he swam back again.

When we arrived, we found all the shops shut. The Turkish fleet had passed the day before; and the greatest terror prevailed among the inhabitants, who upon these occasions are exposed to plunder from the promiscuous multitude of barbarians, drained from the provinces of Anatolia to man the fleet. It often happens that these men have never seen the sea, until they are sent on board. Whenever the fleet comes to anchor, they are permitted to go ashore, where they are guilty of the greatest disorders. The capudan pacha himself told me that it was in his power to bring them to order, by hanging ten or a dozen a day; "but then," said he, "how am I to spare so many men?"

The wine of Dardanelles is sent to Constantinople, to Syrmna, to Aleppo, and even to England. It will keep to a great age, and, if the vintage be favourable, is preferable to that of Tenedos. Both sorts are of a red colour. That of the Dardanelles, after it has been kept twenty or thirty years, loses

its colour, but not its strength. It is made chiefly by Jews, and called, in Italian (the language spoken throughout the Levant,) *Vino della Lege;* because it is pretended, that the Jews, by their law, are prohibited the adulteration of wine. Its price, when of a good quality, equals eight *parâs* the *oke;* about twopence a bottle.

On the European side of the straits, precisely on the spot where it is believed Sestus was situated, and where it is laid down by D'Anville, are three tumuli. Concerning these a silly fable is related by the Turks, which affirms that they were formed by the straw, the chaff, and the corn, of a dervish, winnowing his grain. The largest is called *Sest' Tepe. Sest,* in Turkish, signifies *an echo;* but there is no echo, either at the tomb, or near it; whence it is not too much to conclude that *Sestus* afforded the original etymology of this name, and perhaps the site of it may be thus ascertained. Near it is a place called Akbash, where there are said to be ruins, and where a dervish resides, who has frequently brought medals and other antiquities, found there, to the Dardanelles. Farther up the straits, toward the sea of Marmora, at about the distance of three English miles from Akbash, and on the same side, are the remains of a mole, having the remarkable appellation of *Gaziler Eschielesy,* the *Pier* or *Strand of the Conquerors;* whether with allusion to the passage of the Getæ, who from Phrygia and Mysia, crossing the Hellespont, first peopled Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece; or to the Persic invasion, many ages after; or to the conquests of the Turks themselves; cannot now be determined. That this people have retained in their language the original interpretation of many ancient appellations, may be proved by various examples, in the names of rivers and places.

Having procured at the Dardanelles proper persons to attend us as guides, during our intended expedition to the plain of Troy, and a four-oared boat to conduct us thither by day break on the following morning, we returned on board the corvette. I informed the captain, as well as the crew, that it would not be possible for us, consistently with the plan we had in contemplation, to sail for the Mediterranean in less than a fortnight. Our ambassador had sent his cook on board, with money for the army, and had previously urged the impropriety of delaying the vessel during her voyage; therefore, as all seemed desirous to overtake the Turkish fleet, which we were informed had not passed Tenedos, we resolved to send an express by land to Constantinople, to ensure a passage, upon our return from Troas, in

a small merchant vessel, belonging to an Englishman of the name of Castle. This we had left lading with stores for the troops destined to Egypt. It had been, originally, nothing more than a bomb-boat, captured by Sir Sidney Smith from the French; yet the desire of gratifying our curiosity with the sight of the highly classical territory, then within our reach, subdued all our fears of venturing across the Mediterranean in this little bean-cod; and we resolved to dismiss the corvette, with all the capudan pacha's intended liberality, as soon as daylight should appear.

In the morning, therefore, we took leave of the crew, and landed again. Upon the shore we were met by messengers from the pacha of the Dardanelles, who desired to see us. Being conducted to his palace, and through an antechamber filled with guards, we entered an apartment in which we found him seated on a very superb divan. He placed me opposite to him; and the Russian consul, beeing on his knees by my side, acted as interpreter. The attendants in the mean time supplied us with coffee, conserves, and rich pipes of jasmine. The pacha was dressed in a robe of green embroidered satin. He told us he was going to Esky Stamboul (*Alexandria Troas,*) and would take us with him in his boat, in order to entertain us there. Fearing the interruption this might occasion, we begged to be excused: upon this he added, that he had an estate in the recesses of Mount Ida, and begged we would visit him there. This we also declined, and afterward had reason to regret that we had done so; for his services would have materially assisted our researches in the country. We then had some further conversation, in which he mentioned the names of Englishmen whom he had seen, and expressed great desire to procure some English pistols, for which he said he would give all the antiquities in Troas. After this we retired. The pacha went on board his boat, and as we followed him in ours, the guns fired a salute from the castle.

The day was most serene; not a breath of wind was stirring, nor was there a cloud to be seen in the sky. No spectacle could be more grand than the opening to the Ægean Sea. The mountainous Island of Imbros, backed by the loftier snow-clad summits of Samothrace, extended before the Hellespont, toward the northwest. Next, as we advanced, appeared Tenedos upon the west, and those small isles which form a group opposed to the Sigean promontory. Nothing, excepting the oars of our boat, ruffled the still surface of the water; no other sound was

heard. The distant islands of the Ægean appeared as if placed upon the surface of a vast mirror. In this manner we passed the Rhœtean promontory upon our left, and beheld, upon the sloping side of it, the tumulus, considered, and with reason, as will presently appear, *the tomb of Ajax.* Coming opposite a sandy bay, which Pliny, speaking of that tomb, précisely alludes to as the naval station of the Greeks,* we beheld, at a distance upon the Sigean promontory, those other *tumuli*, which have been called the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. Upon a sand-bank, advanced into the Hellespont, and formed by the deposit of the principal river here disembogued, which I shall for the present designate by its modern appellation of *Mender*, appeared the town of *Koum-kalè.*

A very singular appearance takes place at the mouth of this river: as if it refused to mix with the broad and rapid current of the Hellespont, it exhibits an extensive circular line, bounding its pale and yellow water: this line is so strongly traced, and the contrast of colour between the salt and the fresh water so striking, that at first I believed the difference to originate in the shallowness of the current, at the river's mouth, imperfectly concealing its sandy bottom; but, upon sounding, this was not the case. An appearance so remarkable, characterizing these waters, would not escape an allusion at least, in the writings of a poet who was lavish in the epithets he bestowed upon the Scamander and the Hellespont. It has been reserved for the learning and ingenuity of Mr. Walpole, to show that the whole controversy, as far as it has been effected by the expression Πλατυς Ελλησποντος, is founded in misconstruction; and that instead of '*broad Hellespont,*' the true reading is '*salt Hellespont.*'†

Coming opposite to the bay, which has been considered as the naval station used by the Greeks during the war of Troy,

* How exactly does this position of the *Portus Achæorum* coincide with the remark made by Pliny in the following passage: "*Ajace ibi sepulto* XXX *stad. intervallo a Sigeo, et ipso in statione classis suæ.*" Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. p 278. *L. Bat.* 1635.

† "It has been objected, that Homer would not have applied the epithet πλατὺς to the Hellespont. Commentators have anticipated the objection, and urged, that although the Hellespont, near Sestus and Abydus, is not πλατὺς, but only a mile in breadth, yet that in its opening toward the Ægean, at the embouchure of the Scamander, it is broad. Περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Σκαμάνδρου, are the words of the Venetian scholiast. See also the Lexicon of Apollonius; and Eustathius, p. 432. But the objection, if it be one, should have been answered at once, by saying, that πλατὺς Ἑλλήσποντος is the '*Salt Hellespont.*' Πλατὺς, in this sense, is used three times by Aristotle, in Meteor, lib. iii. and Hesychius gives the same meaning. It may be observed, that Damm and Stephanus have not mentioned it in their Dictionaries."

Walpole's MS. Journal.

and which is situated on the eastern side of the embouchure of the *Meander*, the eye of the spectator is attracted by an object predominating over every other, from the singularity of its form, as well as the peculiarity of its situation, so admirably contrived to overlook that station, and all the low coast near the mouth of the river. It is a conical mound, rising upon a line of elevated territory, which appears behind the bay and the mouth of the river. It has therefore been pointed out as the tomb of Æsyetes, and is now called Udjek Tape. If I had never heard or read a single syllable concerning the war of Troy, or the works of Homer, it would have been impossible not to notice the remarkable appearance presented by this tumulus; so peculiarly placed as a post of observation, commanding all approach to the harbour and the river.* I afterward observed, that it afforded a survey of all the Trojan plain; and that, from whatsoever spot it was regarded, this cone, as a beacon, was the most conspicuous object in the view.

After these few observations, concluding this short chapter, the reader is, perhaps, better prepared for the inquiry which may now be introduced. Notwithstanding the numerous remarks which have appeared upon the subject, it is my wish to assure him, that our local knowledge of the country is still very imperfect; that the survey carried on by travellers has always, unfortunately, been confined to the western side of the river; that my researches will add but little to his stock of information; but that, while much remains to be done, it is

* "The difficulty of disposing exactly the Grecian camp is very great. This is owing to the changes on the coast, and the accretion of soil mentioned by Strabo, which, however, the stream of the Hellespont will prevent being augmented. If, as Herodotus asserts, the country about Troy was once a bay of the sea, (lib. ii. c. 10.) the difficulties of determining the precise extent and form of coast are considerable. In examining the country at the embouchure of the Meander, where the soil has increased to the distance of six miles since the days of Strabo, I was struck with the difficulty of determining the direction of the coast, as it was to be seen in the days of Darius, and Alexander; in the time of Strabo, and Pliny; and the Emperor Manuel, who encamped there in 866. Yet this difficulty does not lead me to doubt the events that took place there and at Miletus, any more than I should doubt the encampment of the Greeks at Troy, because I could not arrange it in agreement with the present face of the coast.

"The situation of the Grecian camp by a marsh, has been objected to. But what is the fact? Homer says, the illness and disease, which destroyed the Greeks, were inflicted by Apollo (the Sun). They were, without doubt, the same with the putrid exhalations which now arise from marshes on each side of the river; and which bring with them fevers to the present inhabitants of the coast, when the N. N. E. wind blows in summer, and the South in the beginning of autumn.

"It is to be regretted, that the Empress Eudocia is so concise in what she says about Troy, and the plain which she visited in the eleventh century. She says, "the foundation stones of the city are not left;" but, as she adds in an expression from the Gospels, ἡ ὡραιωτα μεμαρτύρηκεν, she was able probably to give some particulars which would have been now interesting. See *Villoison Anec. Grac.* tom. i."

Walpole's MS. Journal.

something for him to be informed, there still exists sufficient evidence of Homer's frequent allusion to this particular territory, to remove, from the mind of any admirer of truth, all doubt upon the subject.

We landed at *Koum-kalé*, literally signifying *Sand-castle*, and hired horses for our expedition. The neck of land on which this place has been built is usually considered of recent formation, and it is true, that no soil has been yet accumulated. The castle stands, as its name implies, upon a foundation of sand; but it may be noticed, that the rapidity with which the waters of the Hellespont pass these straits, must prevent any considerable deposit from the river near its mouth.

CHAP. IV.

THE PLAIN OF TROY.

General Observations on the Topography of Grecian Cities—Evidence of the Trojan War independent of Homer—Identity of the Plain—Importance of the Text of Strabo—Plan of the Author's Expedition—River MENDER—*Tomb of Ajax—Cement used in the* AIANTEUM—*Plants—Hall'l Elly—Inscription—Thymbreck—Tchiblack—Remarkable Ruins—Probable Site of* PAGUS ILIENSIUM—*and of* CALLICOLONE—*Route from the* BEYAN MEZALEY—*Ancient Sepulchre and Natural Mound—Opinion concerning Simoïs—Prevalent Errors with regard to Scamander—Ruins by the* CALLIFAT OSMACK—*Inscriptions—Village of Callifat—Medals—Remains of New Ilium.*

A PECULIAR circumstance characterized the topography of the cities of ancient Greece; and this, perhaps, has not been considered so general as it really was. Every metropolis possessed its citadel and its plain; the citadel as a place of refuge during war; the plain as a source of agriculture in peace. To this were some exceptions, as in the instance of Delphi, whose celebrity originated in secondary causes; but they were few, and may be omitted. In the provinces of Greece, at this day, the appearance caused by a plain, flat as the surface of

the ocean, surrounded by mountains, or having lofty rocks in its centre or sides, serves to denote the situation of ruins proving to be those of some ancient capital. Many of these plains border on the sea, and seem to have been formed by the retiring of its waters. Cities so situated were the most ancient; Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, are of the number. The vicinity of fertile plains to the coast offered settlements to the earliest colonies, before the interior of the country became known. As population increased, or the first settlers were driven inward by new adventurers, cities more Mediterranean were established; but all of these possessed their respective plains. The physical phenomena of Greece, differing from those of any other country, present a series of beautiful plains, successively surrounded by mountains of limestone; resembling, although upon a larger scale, and rarely accompanied by volcanic products, the craters of the Phlegræan Fields. Everywhere their level surfaces seem to have been deposited by water, gradually retired or evaporated; they consist, for the most part, of the richest soil, and their produce is yet proverbially abundant.

In this manner stood the cities of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, Megara, Eleusis, Athens, Thebes, Amphissa, Orchomenus, Cherones, Lebadea, Larissa, Pella, and many others. Pursuing the inquiry over all the countries bordering the Ægean, we find every spacious plain accompanied by the remains of some city, whose celebrity was proportioned to the fertility of its territory, or the advantages of its maritime position. Such, according to Homer, were the circumstances of association characterizing that district of Asia Minor, in which Troy was situated.

With these facts in contemplation, it is unreasonable to suppose, that a plain, boasting every advantage which nature could afford, would offer an extraordinary exception to customs so general among ancient nations; that it should remain untenanted and desolate; and no adventurers occupy its fertile soil. It is still more difficult to believe, when the monuments of a numerous people, and the ruins of many cities, all having reference, by indisputable record, to one more ancient, as their *magna parens*, have been found in such a plain, that the compositions of any bard, however celebrated, should have afforded the sole foundation of a belief that such a people and city did really exist. Among the gems, vases, marbles, and medals, found in other countries representing subjects connected with

the Trojan war, yet destitute of any reference to the works of Homer, we meet with documents proving the existence of traditions independent of his writings;* and in these we have evidence of the truth of the war, which cannot be imputed to his invention.† With regard to other antiquities where coincidence may be discerned between the representation of the artist and the circumstances of the poem, it may also be urged, that they could not all originate in a single fiction, whatever might have been the degree of popularity that fiction had obtained. Every sculptured onyx, and pictured patera, derived from sepulchres of most remote antiquity in distant parts of all the isles and continents of Greece, cannot owe the subjects they represent to the writings of an individual. This were to contradict all our knowledge of ancient history and of mankind. It is more rational to conclude, that both the artist and the poet borrowed the incidents they pourtray from the traditions of their country; that even the bard himself found, in the remains of former ages, many of the subjects afterward introduced by him among his writings. This seems evident from his description of the shield of Achilles; and, if it should be remarked, that works of art cannot be considered as having afforded representations of this nature in the early period to which allusion is made, it would be expedient to dwell upon this particular part of Homer's poem, and, from the minuteness of the detail, derive, not only internal evidence of an exemplar whence the imagery was derived, but also of the perfection attained by the arts of Greece in the period when the description was given.‡ Later poets, particularly Virgil and Ovid, evidently borrowed the machinery of their poems from specimens of ancient art, which even their commentators are

* "That the ancients differed as to the circumstances of the Trojan war, is well known; and that some variations, even in the accounts of those who were actors in that scene, left the poet at liberty to adopt or reject facts, as it best suited his purpose, is highly probable..... Euripides chose a subject for one of his plays, which supposes that Helen never was at Troy; ..... yet we cannot suppose that he would have deserted Homer without any authority ..... As the first poets differed with regard to the Trojan war, so their brother artists adopted variations. ..... Polygnotus did not always follow Homer." *Wood's Essay on Homer*, pp. 183, 184.

† When the Persians, laying claim to all Asia, alleged, as the occasion of their enmity to the Greeks, the hostile invasion of Priam, and the destruction of Troy by Agamemnon, it cannot be said they borrowed the charge from the poems of Homer. *Vid. Herodot.* lib. i.

‡ See also the remarkable description of Nestor's cup, in the eleventh book of the Iliad; and the observations relating to it, in my Grandfather's Work upon Roman and Saxon coins. Cowper acknowledged himself indebted to the learning and ingenuity of my ancestor for the new version introduced by him of a long-mistaken passage in Homer's description of that cup.

allowed to contemplate;* and in the practice existing at this day among itinerant bards of Italy, who recite long poems upon the antiquities of the country, we may observe customs of which Homer himself afforded the prototype.† These observations are applicable only to the question of the war of Troy, so far as the truth of the story is implicated. The identity of the place where that war was carried on, so many ages ago, involves argument which can be supported only by practical observation, and the evidence of our senses. It will be separately and distictly determined, either by the agreement of natural phenomena with the locality assigned them by Homer, or of existing artificial monuments with the manners of the people whose history has been by him illustrated. To this part of the inquiry the attention of the reader is therefore now particularly requested.

It seems hardly to admit of doubt, that the plain of Anatolia, watered by the Mender, and backed by a mountainous ridge, of which *Kazdaghy* is the summit, offers the precise territory alluded to by the poet. The long controversy, excited by Mr. Bryant's publication, and since so vehemently agitated, would probably never have existed, had it not been for the erroneous maps of the country, which, even to this hour, disgrace our geographical knowledge of that part of Asia.

According to Homer's description of the Trojan territory, it combined certain prominent and remarkable features, not likely to be affected by any lapse of time. Of this nature was the Hellespont; the island of Tenedos; the plain itself; the river by whose inundations it was occasionally overflowed; and the mountain whence that river issued. If any one of these be found retaining its original appellation, and all other circumstances of association characterize its vicinity, our knowledge of the country is placed beyond dispute. But the island of Tenedos, corresponding in all respects with the position assigned to it by Homer, still retains its ancient name unaltered; and the inscriptions, found upon the Dardanelles, prove those straits to have been the Hellespont. The discovery of ruins, which I shall presently show to have been those of the ILIUM of Strabo, may serve not only to guide us

* Witness the discovery of the "*capud acris equi*" at the building of Carthage, and the death of Laocoon, as described by Virgil; as well as the metamorphoses of Ovid, whose archetypes are still discernible upon the gems of Greece.

† These men, called *improvisatori*, are seen in the public streets of cities in Italy. A crowd collects around them, when they begin to recite a long poem upon a *cameo* or an *intaglio* put into their hands. I saw one, in the principal square at Milan, who thus descanted for an hour upon the loves of Cupid and Psyche

in our search after objects necessary to identify the locality alluded to by Homer, but perhaps to illustrate, in a certain degree, even the position of Troy itself; concerning whose situation, no satisfactory evidence has, in my opinion, resulted from any modern investigation. That it was not altogether unknown in the time of Augustus, is proved by the writings of Strabo, who, more than once, expressly assigns to the ancient city, the place then occupied by the *village* of the Iliensians. The text of that author may now be considered as affording a safer clue in reconciling the description of Troas given by Homer with the existing realities of the country, than the poems of the bard himself; because the comment afforded by Strabo combines all the advantages of observation made eighteen centuries ago, both with regard to the country and the reference borne to its antiquities, by documents, written in a language which may be considered as his own. The traditions of the country concerning the Trojan war were not then more remote from their origin, than are at this hour the oral records of England with regard to its first invasion by the Danes or Normans. Comparing the site of the place called *Ilium* in his time, with that of ancient Troy, Strabo says, (Ilus) "did not build the city *where it now is*, but nearly *thirty stadia further eastward*, toward Ida and Dardania, *where the Iliensian village is now situated.*" If, therefore, I shall hereafter succeed in ascertaining precisely the locality of the Ilium of Strabo, by the discovery of ruins which bear evidence of their being the remains of that city, a beacon will be established, whence with his bearings and distances, we may search with reasonable expectation of being able to point out some even of the artificial monuments belonging to the plain. But further, if, with reference to the situation of Troy itself, having pursued the clue thus afforded, we find any thing to indicate the site of the *village*, where it was believed, in the time of Strabo, and where he maintains, that ancient Ilium stood, we cannot be very far from the truth.

Previously, however, to the introduction of observations relating rather to the conclusion of our examination of the country, the reader may feel his curiosity gratified by an account of our expedition, from the moment in which we landed at Koum-kalé. We had resolved to penetrate those recesses of the mountains, whence the principal river derives its origin; a region then unexplored by any traveller: and afterward, by ascending Kazdaghy, the loftiest ridge of the whole chain, at

that time covered with snow, ascertain, from the appearance of the plain, and the objects connected with it, whether its summit might be deemed the Gargarus of Homer; described as being upon the left of the army of Xerxes, during its march from Antandrus to Abydus.* But as the Thymbrius, a river still retaining its ancient name, in the appellation *Thymbreck*, and which here disembogues itself near the embouchure of the *Mender*, has been confounded by Dr. Chandler with the Simois of Homer, we determined first upon an excursion along its banks, to the ruins situated at a place now called *Halil Elly*; and to *Thymbreck Keuy*, or the village of Thymbra.

We crossed the *Mender* by a wooden bridge, immediately after leaving *Koum-kalé*; and ascertained its breadth, in that part, to equal one hundred and thirty yards. We then entered an immense plain, in which some Turks were engaged hunting wild boars. Peasants were also employed in ploughing a deep and rich soil of vegetable earth. Proceeding toward the east, and round the bay distinctly pointed out by Strabo,† as the harbour in which the Grecian fleet was stationed, we arrived at the sepulchre of Ajax, upon the ancient Rhœtean promontory. Concerning this tumulus, there is every reason to believe our information correct. If we had only the text of Strabo for our guidance, there would be little ground for incredulity; and, by the evidence afforded in a view of the monument itself, we have the best comment upon his accuracy. It is one of the most interesting objects to which the attention of the literary traveller can possibly be directed. Instead of the simple Stélé, usually employed to decorate the summit of the most ancient sepulchral mounds, all writers, who have mentioned the tomb of Ajax, relate, that it was surmounted by a shrine, in which the statue of the hero was preserved.‡ Religious regard for this hallowed spot continued through so many ages, that even to the time in which christianity decreed the destruction of the Pagan idols, the sanctity of the AIANTEUM was maintained and venerated.§ Such importance was annexed to the inviolability of the monument, that after Anto-

* Herodot. lib. vii.

† Strab. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 859. Ed. Ox.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, describing the visit paid by Alexander the Great to the Tomb of Achilles, says he anointed the Stele with perfumes, and ran naked round it with his companions. At the Tomb of Ajax he performed rites and made offerings; but no mention occurs of the Stele. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. xvii.

§ See the proofs adduced, in regular series, by Chandler, in his *History of Ilium*. Lond. 1802.

ny had carried into Egypt the consecrated image, it was again recovered by Augustus, and restored to its pristine shrine.* These facts may possibly serve to account for the present appearance of the tomb, on whose summit that shrine itself, and a considerable portion of the superstructure, remain unto this hour. Pliny, moreover, mentions the situation of the tomb as being in the very station of the Grecian fleet; and, by giving its exact distance from Sigeum, not only adds to our conviction of its identity, but marks at the same time, most decisively, the position of the *Portus Achæorum*.† In all that remains of former ages, I know of nothing likely to affect the mind by emotions of local enthusiasm more powerfully than this most interesting tomb. It is impossible to view its sublime and simple form, without calling to mind the veneration so long paid to it; without picturing to the imagination a successive series of mariners, of kings and heroes, who from the Hellespont, or by the shores of Troas and Chersonesus, or on the sepulchre itself, poured forth the tribute of their homage; and finally, without representing to the mind the feelings of a native, or of a traveller, in those times, who, after viewing the existing monument, and witnessing the instances of public and of private regard so constantly bestowed upon it, should have been told the age was to arrive when the existence of Troy, and of the mighty dead entombed upon its plain, would be considered as having no foundation in truth.

The present appearance of the shrine, and of a small circular superstruction, do not seem to indicate higher antiquity than the age of the Romans. Some have believed, from the disclosure of the shrine, that the tomb itself was opened; mistaking it for a vault, although its situation near the summit might have controverted the opinion. This was perhaps constructed when Augustus restored the image Antony had taken from the Aianteum. A cement was certainly employed in the work; and the remains of it to this day offer an opportunity of confuting very prevailing error concerning the buildings of the ancients. The Greeks erected many of their most stupendous edifices without cementation; hence it has been supposed that the appearance of mortar in a building precludes its claim to antiquity. This notion is however set aside at once

* Strab. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 858. Ed. Ox.

† "*Fuit et Acantium, a Rhodiis conditum in altero cornu (Rhœteo) Ajace ibi sepulto, xxx. stadiorum intervallo a Sigeo, et ipso in statione classis suæ.*" Sic..leg. Casaubo in Plin. lib. v. c. 30.

by reference to the pyramids of Egypt; in building these, mortar was undoubtedly used.*

The view here afforded of the Hellespont and the plain of Troy is one of the finest the country affords. Several plants, during the season of our visit,† were blooming upon the soil. Upon the tomb itself we noticed the silvery mezereon, the poppy, the beardless hypecoum, and the field star of Bethlehem.‡

From the *Aïanteum* we passed over a heathy country to *Halil Elly*, a village near the Thymbrius, in whose vicinity we had been instructed to seek the remains of a temple once sacred to the Thymbrean Apollo. The ruins we found were rather the remains of ten temples than of one.§ The earth to a very considerable extent was covered by subverted and broken columns of marble, granite, and of every order in architecture. Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian capitals, lay dispersed in all directions, and some of these were of great beauty. We observed a bas-relief representing a person on horseback pursued by a winged figure; also a beautiful representation, sculptured after the same manner, of Ceres in her car drawn by two scaly serpents. Of three inscriptions which I copied among these ruins, the first was engraven upon the shaft of a marble pillar. This we removed, and brought to England. It is now in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge; and commemorates the public services of a Phrontistes of Drusus Cæsar.‖ The names of persons belonging to the family of Germanicus occur frequently among inscriptions found in and near the Troas. Drusus, the son of Germanicus, was himself appointed to a government in the district. The second inscription has been once before printed, but most erroneously: it may therefore be again presented to the public, in a more accurate form.** Whatsoever tends in any degree to illustrate the origin of the ruins in which it was discovered, will be considered interesting; although, after all, we must remain in a state of the greatest uncertainty with regard to the *city* alluded to in either of these documents. Possibly it may have been *Scamandria;*

* To prove this, the author brought specimens from the spot, of the mortar employed in building the greater pyramid.

† March 3d.

‡ *Daphne argentea, Anemone coronaria, Hypecoum imberbe, Ornithogalum arvense.*

§ Our artist, *Monsieur Preaux*, as well as another of our company, *Don Tita Lusieri*, of Naples, then employed in making drawings for the British Ambassador, although both accustomed to the view of architectural remains, declared, they could reconcile the ruins at Halil Elly to no account yet given of the country, ancient or modern.

‖ This inscription has been already published in the account given of the Greek marbles at Cambridge. See p. 43. No. XXI. of that work.

** It was also since copied by Mr. Walpole, from whose copy it is here given, accompanied by his notes. See the following page.

but in the multitude of cities belonging to Troas, a mere conjecture, without any positive evidence, is less pardonable than silence. The inscription, offering our only remaining clue, sets forth, that the tribe *Attalis* commemorated Sextus Julius Festus, a magistrate of the *city*, and præfect of the Flavian cohort, who had been gymnasiarch, and given magnificently and largely, to the senators and all citizens, oil and ointment for some public festival.

ΗΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ ΦΥΛΗ
ΣΕΞΤΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΦ.
.ΤΟΝΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΗΣΠ
ΟΛΕΩΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΣΠΕΙΡΗΣ
ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΗΣΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡ
ΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΛΑΜΠΡΩΣΚΑΙΦΙ
ΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΤΩΝΑΠΑΙΩΝΟΣΚΑΙ
ΜΕΧΡΙΝΥΝΜΟΝΟΝΕΛΑΙ
ΟΜΕΤΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΣ
ΤΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΑΣΚΑΙΠΟ
ΛΕΙΤΑΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΛ
ΕΙΨΑΝΤΑΕΚΛΟΥΤΗΡΩΝ
ΔΗΜΕΙ

The third inscription, and perhaps the most important, had these remarkable words:

ΟΙΙΛΙΕΙΣ
ΤΟΝΠΑΤΡΙΟΝΘΕΟΝ
ΑΙΝΕΙΑΝ

"THE ILIEANS TO THEIR COUNTRY'S GOD, ÆNEAS."

If this had been found by a late respectable and learned author,* it might have confirmed him in the notion that the Thymbrius was in fact the Simois, as he believed; and perhaps have suggested, in the present name of the place, *Halïl Ili*, (or, as I have written it, *Halïl Elly*, to conform to the mode of pronunciation,) and etymology† from ΙΛΙΟΝ.

From the ruins at *Halïl Elly* we proceeded through a delightful valley, full of vineyards, and almond-trees in full bloom, intending to pass the night at the village of Thymbreck. We found no antiquities, nor did we hear of any in the neighbourhood. The next day, returning toward Halïl Elly, we left it upon our right, and crossed the Thymbrius by a ford. In summer this river becomes almost dry; but during winter it often presents a powerful torrent, carrying all before it. Not one of the maps, or of the works yet published upon Troas, has informed us of its termination: according to some, it empties itself into the Meander near its embouchure; others describe it as forming a junction near Tchiblack; a circumstance of considerable importance; for if this last position be true, the ruins at Tchiblack may be those of the temple of the Thymbræan Apollo. Strabo expressly states the situation of the temple to be near the place where the Thymbrius discharges itself into the Scamander.‡ After we had passed the ford, we ascended a ridge of hills, and found the remains of a very ancient paved way. We then came to the town or village of Tchiblack, where we noticed very considerable remains of ancient sculpture, but in such a state of disorder and ruin, that no precise description of them can be given. The most remarkable are upon the top of a hill called *Beyan Mezaley*, near the town, in the midst of a beautiful grove of oak trees, toward the village of Callifat. Here the ruins of a Doric temple of white marble lay heaped in the most striking manner, mixed with broken stélæ, cippi, sarcophagi, cornices and capitals of very enormous size, entablatures, and pillars.—All of these have reference to some peculiar sanctity by which this hill was anciently characterized. It is of a conical form, and stands above the town of Tchiblack, appearing as large as

* The author of the History of Ilium, &c. &c.

† *Elly*, in the language of the country, signifies *a district*; so that the name of this place admits a literal interpretation, signifying "*The District of Halil*;" which may be further interpreted, "*The District of the Sun*," from one of the names of Apollo, ΑΙ΄Ι΄Ι΄Ι

the Castle Hill at Cambridge. The first inquiry that suggests itself, in a view of this extraordinary scene, naturally involves the original cause of the veneration in which the place was anciently held. Does it denote the site of *Pagus Iliensium*, whose inhabitants believed that their village stood on the site of ancient Troy?* This place was distant thirty stadia† from the New Ilium of Strabo; and the distance corresponds with the relative situation of this hill and *Palaio Callifat*, or *Old Callifat*, where New Ilium stood; as will hereafter be proved. Or may it be considered the eminence‡ described by Strabo as the beautiful *colone*, five stadia§ in circumference, near which Simois flowed; and Tchiblack, the *Pagus Iliensium?* It was rather more than a mile distant‖ from the *Village of the Ileans*, and stood above it; exactly as this hill is situated with regard to Tchiblack.**

It will now be curious to observe, whether an inscription we discovered here does not connect itself with these inquiries. It was found upon the fluted marble shaft of a Doric pillar two feet in diameter; so constructed, as to contain a cippus, or inscribed slab, upon one side of it;†† presenting the following characters:

* Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 861. Ed. Ox.
† Three English miles and six furlongs.
‡ Ἡ καλη Κολωνη λοφος τις.
§ Rather more than half a mile.
‖ Ten stadia.
** It is a feature of Nature so remarkable, and so artificially characterized at this hour, that future travellers will do well to give it due attention. In our present state of ignorance concerning *Troas*, we must proceed with diffidence and caution; nothing has been decided concerning the side of the plain on which this hill stands, and where all the objects most worthy of attention seem to me concentrated. I do not hesitate in expressing a conviction, that when the country shall have been properly examined on the northeastern side of the *Mender*, instead of the southwestern, many of the difficulties impeding a reconciliation of Homer's Poems with the geography of the country, will be done away. This has not yet been attempted.
†† The cippus, or inscribed part of the pillar, was two feet eleven inches long, and two feet four inches wide.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΩΙΚΔΑΥΔΙΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΙΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΙΣΕΒΑ
ΣΤΗΙΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚ
ΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΗΣΥΙ.
ΚΑΙΤΗΙΑΘΗΝΑΤΗΙΙΛΙΑΔ
ΙΔΗΜΩ*ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣΚΑΙ.
.ΦΑΝΟΥΣΥΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΚΑ
ΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΛΑΥΔ...
ΙΝΟΣΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΠΑΡΜΕΝ....
ΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΝΑΥΤΗΙΠΑ
ΝΤΑΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΕ
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

The inscription records the consecration of a STOA, and all things belonging to it, to Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Germanicus, the emperor, and to Julia Augusta Agrippina, his wife, and their children, and to Minerva of Ilium. The reason why the Emperor Claudius and his children were honoured by the Ilienses, is given by Suetonius and Tacitus.* Eckhel mentions, I know not on what authority, a fane consecrated to the Ilian Minerva, as having existed in the *Pagus Iliensium*, which Alexander adorned after his victory at Granicus.† Arrian states merely the offerings to Minerva of Ilium, making no mention of the fane; but Strabo, who expressly alludes to the temple, places it in the Iliensian city.‡ But whence originated the sanctity of this remarkable spot, still shaded by a grove of venerable oaks, beneath whose branches a multitude of votive offerings yet entirely cover the summit of the hill? An inscription commemorating the pious tribute of a people in erecting a portico to the family of Claudius Cæsar and the Ilican Minerva, can only be referred to the in-

* "Iliensibus Imperator Claudius tributa in perpetuum remisit, oratore Nerone Cæsare. Eckhel. Doctrina Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 483. *Vindob.* 1794.
† Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 483. *Vindob.* 1794.
‡ Τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλιέων πόλιν τὴν νῦν. Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 895. Ed. Ox.

habitants of that district of Troas who were styled *Iliensés*. It has been shown, that Claudius, after the example of Alexander,* had perpetually exempted them from the payment of any tribute. In their district stood the *Pagus Iliensium*, with the (callicolone) *beautiful hill;* and nearly thirty stadia† farther toward the west, reversing the order of the bearing given by Strabo,‡ the *Iliensium Civitas*. If, therefore, this hill, so pre-eminently entitled to the appellation of *Callicolone*, from the regularity of its form, and the groves by which it seems for ages to have been adorned, be further considered, on account of its antiquities, an indication of the former vicinity of the *Iliensian village*, it should follow, that observing a westward course, the distance of three miles and three quarters, or nearly so, would terminate in the site of the *Iliensian city;* and any discovery ascertaining either of these places would infallibly identify the position of the other. This line of direction we observed in our route, advancing by a cross road into the plain.

There were other inscriptions, commemorating the good offices of Roman emperors; but these were so much mutilated, that no decisive information could be obtained from them. Upon one we read:

ΗΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΣΦΥΛΗ
ΣΕΞΤΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟ . . .
ΝΑΤΟΝΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΣΠΕΙ
ΡΗΣΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΗΣ

"THE ALEXANDRIAN TRIBE HONOUR SEXTUS JULIUS, THE MAGISTRATE OF THE CITY, PRÆFECT OF THE FLAVIAN COHORT," &c.

Another, inscribed upon the cover of a large marble sarcophagus, mentioned a portico, and the daughter of some person for whom both the ΣΤΟΑ and the ΣΟΡΟΣ had been constructed.

As we journeyed from this place, we found, in a corn field below the hill, a large block of inscribed marble; but owing to

* Arrian Expedit. lib. i.
† Three miles and three quarters.
‡ Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii.

the manner in which the stone was concealed by the soil, as well as the illegibility of the inscription, we could only discern the following characters, in which the name of Julius again occurs:

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ.....
ΑΡΧΟΝ.....
.....ΚΟΣΜΟΝ.

sustaining what was before advanced, concerning the prevalence of names belonging to the family of Germanicus, or of persons who flourished about his time. Upon a medal of Claudius, described by Vaillant,* belonging to *Cotyæium*, a city of Phrygia, bordering upon Troas,† we read the words ΕΙΠ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ΤΙΟΥ ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ. We proceeded hence toward the plain; and no sooner reached it, than a tumulus of very remarkable size and situation drew our attention, for a short time, from the main object of our pursuit.

This tumulus, of a high conical form, and very regular structure, stands altogether insulated. Of its great antiquity no doubt can be entertained by persons accustomed to view the everlasting sepulchres of the ancients.‡ On the southern side of its base is a long natural mound of limestone: this, beginning to rise close to the artificial tumulus, extends toward the village of Callifat, in a direction nearly from north to south across the middle of the plain. It is of such height, that an army, encamped on the eastern side of it, would be concealed from all observation of persons stationed upon the coast, by the mouth of the Mender. It reaches nearly to a small and almost stagnant river, hitherto unnoticed, called *Callifat Osmack*, or Callifat Water, taking its name from the village near which it falls into the Mender: our road to that place afterward led us along the top of the mound. Here then both art and nature have combined to mark the plain by circumstances

* Numism. Imperat. August et Cæs. p. 12. par. 1698.

† See the observation of Mentelle, (*Encyclop. Method. Geogr. Ancienne.* Par. 1787.) who thus places it on the authority of Pliny. This position of the city does not, however, appear warranted by any explicit declaration of that author. Pliny's words are: "*Septentrionali sui parte Galatiæ contermina, Meridiana Lycaoniæ, Pisidiæ, Mygdoniæque, ab oriente Cappadociam attingit. Oppida ibi celeberrima, præter jam dicta, Ancyra, Andria, Celænæ, Colossæ, Carina, Cotiaion, Ceranæ, Iconium, Midaion.*" Plin. Hist. Nat. tom. i. lib. v. p. 284. Ed. *L. Bat.* 1635.

‡ "Mr. Bryant says, the tumuli on the plain of Troy are Thracian. In addition to the passages in Strabo which prove the Phrygians, the inhabitants of the country, to have been in the custom of erecting tumuli, the following passage from Athenæus may be added: 'You may see every where in the Peloponnesus, but particularly at Lacedæmon, large heaps of earth, which they call the tombs of the Phrygians, who came with Pelops.' l. xiv. p. 625." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

of feature and association not likely to occur elsewhere; although such as any accurate description of the country might well be expected to include: and if the poems of Homer, with reference to the Plain of Troy, have similarly associated an artificial tumulus and a natural mound, a conclusion seems warranted, that these are the objects to which he alludes. This appears to be the case in the account he has given of the *tomb of Ilus* and the *mound of the plain.**

Upon the surface of the tomb itself, in several small channels caused by rain, we found fragments of the vases of ancient Greece.† I know not any other cause to assign for their appearance, than the superstitious veneration paid to the tombs of Troas in all the ages of history, until the introduction of christianity. Whether they be considered as the remains of offerings and libations made by Greeks or Romans, they are indisputably not of modern origin. The antiquity of earthenware, from the wheel of a Grecian potter, is as easily cognizable as any work left for modern observation; and, as a vestige of that people, denoting the site of their cities, towns, and public monuments, may be deemed perhaps equal in importance to medals and inscriptions.

From this tomb we rode along the top of the mound of the plain, in a southwestern direction, toward Callifat. After we had proceeded about half its length, its inclination became southward. Having attained its extremity in that direction, we descended into the plain, when our guides brought us to the western side of it, near its southern termination, to notice a tumulus, less considerable than the last described, about three hundred paces from the mound, almost concealed from observation by being continually overflowed, upon whose top two small oak trees were then growing. This tumulus will not be easily discerned by future travellers, from the uniformity of its appearance at a distance with the rest of the vast plain in which it is situated, being either covered with corn, or fur-

* The Trojans were encamped (ἐν θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο) upon, or near, the mound of the plain (Il. K. 160.); and Hector holds his council with the chiefs, apart from the camp, at the tomb of Ilus (Il. K. 415.); which was therefore near the mound. Their coincidence of situation induced Mr. Chevalier to conclude they were one and the same. *Descript. of the Plain of Troy*, p. 113. Mr. Bryant combated this opinion. *Observations upon a Treatise*, &c. p. 9. Mr. Morritt very properly derides the absurdity of supposing the council to be held at a distance from the army. *Vindicat. of Homer*, p. 96.

† These are still in our possession, and resemble the beautiful earthenware found in the sepulchres of Athens, and at Nola in Italy. The durability of such a substance is known to all persons conversant in the arts; it is known to have resisted the attacks of water and air, at least two thousand years.

rowed by the plough. The view it commands of the coast, toward the mouth of the Mender, may possibly entitle it to their subsequent consideration, with reference to the sepulchre of Myrinna.

We now proceed to the *Callifat Osmak*, or Callifat Water, a river that can scarce be said to flow toward the Mender; yet so deep, that we were conducted to a ford in order to pass. Hundreds of tortoises, alarmed at our approach, were falling from its banks into the water, as well as from the overhanging branches and thick underwood, among which these animals, of all others the least adapted to climb trees, had singularly obtained a footing. Wild fowl also were in great abundance, and in the corn land partridges were frequently observed. I have no hesitation in stating, that I conceive this river to be the Simois; nor would there perhaps remain a doubt upon the subject, if it were not for the prejudice excited in consequence of a marvellous error, which has prevailed throughout all the recent discussion concerning Troas, with regard to the sources of the Scamander. Pope seems first of all to have fallen into the notion of the double origin of that river: since his time, Wood, Chevalier, and their followers, have maintained that the Scamander had two sources, one of which was hot, and the other cold. The whole of this representation has been founded upon a misconstruction of the word THFAI.* The Scamander has therefore been described as having its rise† from two sources in the plain near the Scæan gate of the city; hence all the zeal which has been shown in

* An expression occurs in the Prometheus of Æschylus, ποταμῶν τε πηγαί, (v. 89. p. 8. Ed. Blomf.) where the same word is used; not with reference to the *main* heads, or original sources, of rivers; but to all those springs by which they are augmented.

† Thus described in Pope's translation of the twenty-second book of the Iliad:

> "Next by Scamander's *double source* they bound;
> "Where two *fam'd* fountains burst the parted ground."

There is nothing in the original, either of the *double source* or of the *fame* of the fountains. Homer's words are;

> Κρουνὼ δ' ἵκανον καλλιρρόω, ἔνθα δὲ πηγαὶ
> Δοιαὶ ἀναΐσσουσι Σκαμάνδρου δινήεντος.

Mr. Bryant (*Observat. &c.* p. 28.) interpreted this passage thus: "They arrived at two basons of fine water, from which two fountains of the Scamander issue forth,"—but combats the notion of their having any other relation to the river. Cowper seems to have succeeded more happily in affording the spirit and design of the original;

> "And now they reach'd the running riv'let's clear,
> "Where from Scamander's dizzy flood arise
> "Two fountains."

giving to the springs of Bonarbashy the name of those sources, although they are many in number, and all of them warm springs, as will hereafter appear. Having once admitted this palpable delusion concerning the sources of the Scamander, notwithstanding the very judicious remonstrances of Mr. Bryant upon this part of the subject, and the obvious interpretation of the text of Homer, the wildest theories ensued.* All attention to the plain of Troas on the northeastern side of the Mender was abandoned; nothing was talked of excepting Bonarbashy, and its warm fountains; and these being once considered as the sources of the Scamander, were further reconciled with Homer's description, by urging the absurdity of believing Achilles to have pursued Hector on the heights of Ida, when the chace is said to have happened near the walls of Troy. But the plain matter of fact is, that Homer, in no part of his poems, has stated either the *temperature* of the Scamander at its source, or its *double origin*. In no part of his poems is there any thing equivocal, or obscure, concerning the place whence that river issues, or the nature of its torrent. It is with him, 'Scamander, flowing from Idean Jove;'† ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ ΒΑΘΥΔΙΝΗΣ, '*the great vortiginous river*,'‡ 'bearing on his giddy tide the body of Polydorus *to the sea*;'§ 'the angry Scamander.'‖ The springs by which Achilles pursues Hector were two fountains,** or rivulets, near the bed of the river, as expressly stated by the poet; but they had no connexion with the source of the Scamander, and therefore the rise of that river in Mount Ida causes no objection to Homer's narrative. The whole country abounds both with hot and with cold springs; so that, unauthorized by the poet to ascend to the source of the Scamander, in search of them, we may rest satisfied with their position elsewhere.

Continuing along the southern side of Callifat Water,†† after having crossed the ford, we came to some ruins upon its banks, by which the ground was covered to a considerable extent. These consisted of the most beautiful Doric pillars, whose

* Among others, that of making the heights of Bonarbashy a part of the chain of Mount Ida, with which they have no connexion.

† Iliad Φ.

‡ Iliad M. 74.

§ Iliad Φ.

‖ Iliad Φ.

** Δειαὶ ῥηγα. Il. X. 147.

†† The only person by whom the Callifat Water has been noticed, is the engineer Kauffer. In the map he drew up by order of Count Ludolf, the Neapolitan minister at the Porte, and since published by Arrowsmith after our return to England, it is indeed introduced; but in so slight a manner, as to appear a much less stream than the "*Scamander vel Xanthus*," which is not the case.

capitals and shafts, of the finest white marble, were lying in the utmost disorder. Among them we also noticed some entire shafts of granite. The temples of Jupiter being always of the Doric order, we might suppose these ruins to mark the site of a fane consecrated to Idean Jove; but Doric was evidently the prevailing order among the ancient edifices of the Troas, as it is found every where in the district, and all the temples in that part of Phrygia could not have been consecrated to the same deity. The ruins by the Callifat Water have not been hitherto remarked by any traveller; although Akerblad obtained, and published in a very inaccurate manner, an inscription I also copied there. It is as old as the Archonship of Euclid.*—Having already twice before published it, both in the account of the Greek marbles preserved in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge,† and also in the appendix to the dissertation on the soros of Alexander,‡ the introduction of the original legend here would be deemed an unnecessary repetition. It was inscribed upon the lower part of a plain marble pillar: this we removed to the Dardanelles, and afterward sent to England. The interpretation sets forth, that "THOSE PARTAKING OF THE SACRIFICE, AND OF THE GAMES, AND OF THE WHOLE FESTIVAL, HONOURED PYTHA, DAUGHTER OF SCAMANDROTIMUS, NATIVE OF ILIUM, WHO PERFORMED THE OFFICE OF CANEPHORAS IN AN EXEMPLARY AND DISTINGUISHED MANNER, FOR HER PIETY TOWARD THE GODDESS." In the conjecture already offered, that the stream, on the banks of which those edifices were raised, and these *vows* offered, was the Simois of the ancients, some regard was necessarily intended, both to the ruins here situated, and the inscription to which reference is now made. A certain degree of collateral, although no positive evidence, may possibly result from the bare mention of places and ceremonies, connected by their situation, and consecrated by their nature, to the history of the territory where Simois flowed.

Near the same place, upon a block of Parian marble, I found

* See the late Professor Porson's opinion, as given in the author's account of "Greek Marbles" at Cambridge, p. 50.
† Ibid.
‡ "Tomb of Alexander."

another inscription, but not equally perfect. The following letters were all I could collect from the most careful examination of the stone:

ΑΣΤΩΘΥΓΙΣΙ
ΣΜΗΤΩΝΑΕΛΥΣΑΙ
ΠΑΤΗΡΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑ
ΘΗΚΙΗΝΕΣΕΠΙΚΡΙΜΤΟ
ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΟΥΣΟΥΠΟ
ΤΑΜΙΟΥΚΑ
ΑΠΟΛΕ

We afterward proceeded to the Greek village of Callifat, situated near the spot where the Callifat Osmack joins the Mender. In the streets and courtyards of this place were lying several capitals of Corinthian pillars; and upon a broken marble tablet, placed in a wall, I noticed part of an inscription in metre; the rest of the characters having perished:

..ΙΔΥΣΙΝΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝΙΚ
.ΠΡΟΚΛΟΝΥΜΟ . . . . . .
..ΡΟΣΤΟΣΟΥ . . . . . .

While I was copying this, some peasants of the place came to me with Greek medals. They were all of copper, in high preservation, and all medals of Ilium, struck in the time of the Roman emperors.* On one side was represented the figure of Hector combating, with his shield and spear, and the words ΕΚΤΩΡΙΛΙΕΩΝ; and upon the other, the head either of Antoninus, Faustina, Severus, or some later Roman emperor or empress. As there were so many of these Ilican medals, I asked where they were found; and was answered in modern Greek,

* The copper coinage of Greece was not in use until toward the close of the Peloponnesian war. It was first introduced at Athens, at the persuasion of one Dionysius; thence called Χαλκοῦς; according to Athenæus, lib. xv. c. 3. & lib. ii. c. 12.

at *Palaio Callifat*, Old Callifat, a short distance from the present village, in the plain toward the east.* I begged to be conducted thither; and took one of the peasants with me as a guide.

We came to an elevated spot of ground, surrounded on all sides by a level *plain* watered by the Callifat Osmack, and which there is every reason to believe the *Simoisian*. Here we found, not only the traces, but also the remains of an ancient citadel. Turks were then employed raising enormous blocks of marble, from foundations surrounding the place; possibly the identical works constructed by Lysimachus; who fenced new Ilium with a wall. The appearance of the structure exhibited that colossal and massive style of architecture which bespeaks the masonry of the early ages of Grecian history. All the territory within these foundations was covered by broken pottery, whose fragments were part of those ancient vases now held in such high estimation. Here the peasants said they found the medals they had offered to us, and most frequently after heavy rains. Many had been discovered in consequence of the recent excavations made there by the Turks, who were removing the materials of the old foundations, for the purpose of constructing works at the Dardanelles. As these medals, bearing indisputable legends to designate the people by whom they were fabricated, have also, in the circumstances of their discovery, a peculiar connexion with the ruins here, they may be considered as indicating, with tolerable certainty, the situation of the city to which they belonged. Had we observed, in our route from Tchiblack, precisely the line of direction mentioned by Strabo, and continued a due course from east to west, instead of turning toward the south in the Simoisian plain to visit the village of Callifat, we should have terminated the distance he has mentioned, of thirty stadia, (as separating the city from the village of the Iliensians) by the discovery of these ruins. They may have been the same which Kauffer noticed in his map,† by the title of *Ville de Constantine;* but evidently appear to be the remains of *New Ilium;* whether we regard the testimony afforded by their situation, as accordant with the text of Strabo; or the dis-

* Every traveller who has visited Greece will be aware of the importance of profiting by the mention of the word *Palaio*, as applied to the name of any place. It is a never-failing indication of the site of some ancient city; and so it proved in the present instance.

† See the map published by Arrowsmith of *The Plain of Troy*, from an original design by Kauffer.

covery there made of medals of the city. Once in possession of this important point, a light breaks in upon the dark labyrinth of Troas; we stand with Strabo upon the very spot whence he deduced his observations concerning other objects in the district; looking down upon the Simoisian plain, and viewing the junction of two rivers ("one flowing toward Sigeum, and the other toward Rhæteum," precisely as described by him) in front of the Iliensian city: being guided, at the same time, to Callicolone, the village of the Ilieans, and the sepulchres of Æsyetes, Batieia, and Ilus, by the clue he has afforded. From the natural or artificial elevation of the territory on which the city stood, (an insulated object in the plain) we beheld almost every landmark to which that author has alluded. The splendid spectacle presented toward the west by the snow-clad top of Samothrace, towering behind Imbrus, would baffle every attempt of delineation: it rose with indescribable grandeur to a height beyond all I had seen for a long time; and while its etherial summit shone with inconceivable brightness in a sky without a cloud, seemed, notwithstanding its remote situation, as if its vastness would overwhelm all Troas, should an earthquake heave it from its base. Nearer to the eye appeared the mouth of the Hellespont, and Sigeum. On the south, the tomb of Æsyetes, by the road leading to Alexandria Troas;* and less remote the Scamander, receiving Simois, or *Callifat Water*, at the boundary of the Simoisian plain.—Toward the east, the Throsmos, with the sepulchres of Batieia and Ilus: and far beyond, in the great chain of Ida, Gargarus opposed to Samothrace,† dignified by equal if not superior altitude, and beaming the same degree of splendour from the snows by which it was invested.

* Ὁ οὖν δεικνύμενος τοῦ Αἰσυήτου τάφος κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁδόν.
Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 863. Ed. *Ox.*

† It is only by viewing the stupendous prospect afforded in these classical regions, that any adequate idea can be formed of Homer's powers as a painter, and of the accuracy which distinguishes what Mr. Wood (Essay on Homer, p. 132.) terms his "*celestial geography*." Neptune placed on the top of Samothrace, commanding a prospect of Ida, Troy, and the fleet, observes Jupiter, upon Gargarus, turn his back upon Troas. What is intended by this averted posture of the god, other than that Gargarus was partially concealed by a cloud, while Samothrace remained unveiled; a circumstance so often realized? All the march of Juno, from Olympus, by Pieria and Æmathia, to Athos: from Athos, by sea, to Lemnos; and thence to Imbros and Gargarus; is a correct delineation of the striking face of nature, in which the picturesque wildness and grandeur of real scenery is further adorned by a sublime poetical fiction. Hence it is evident that Homer must have lived in the neighbourhood of Troy; that he borrowed the scene of the Iliad (as stated by Mr. Wood, p. 182) from ocular examination; and the action of it, from the prevailing tradition of the times.

CHAP. V.

DISTRICT OF TROAS.

Ford of the Mender—Fountains of Bonarbashy—their Temperature—Possible Allusion to them in Homer—Antiquities of Bonarbashy—Heights called the Acropolis—Ancient Tumuli—Probable Origin of the supposed Acropolis—Observations by the Polar Star—Journey to the Source of the Mender—Basalt Pillars—Ænia—Remarkable Tomb—Plain of Beyramitch—Turkmanlé—Bonarbashy of Beyramitch—Warm Springs—Beyramitch—Antiquities—Kûchûnlû Tèpe—Temple and Altars of Jupiter—Evgillar—Ascent to the Summit of Gargarus—Oratories of Hermits—View from the highest Point of the Mountain—Errors in the Geography of the Country—Appearance of the Idæan Chain toward Lectum—Dangerous Situation of the Author.

It was now time to visit Bonarbashy, a place of which so much has been written and said. It had long been a conspicuous object in sight; and appeared at a distance toward the south-east, upon an eminence commanding a very extensive view of all Troas. Returning, therefore, to Callifat we took the ordinary road to it from *Koum-kalè*, and soon arrived at a ford of the Mender; at this time so broad and deep, that we were glad to hail some Turks at a considerable distance up the opposite shore, and ask if it were passable. They answered in the affirmative; but we narrowly escaped being carried off, horses and all, by the torrent. We rode quite up to the girths, across a place two hundred feet wide, and the current was extremely rapid. It reminded me of those rivers in the north of Sweden, which fall into the Gulph of Bothnia. It was at this ford that my friend Mr. Gell, in a very different season of the year, was in danger of losing all the fruits of his journey, by letting his papers fall into the river.* He stated the breadth of it as somewhat more than a hundred feet. In certain periods of the year, it inundates all the neighbouring

* *Topography of Troy*, p. 15. See also the very accurate representation of the Ford, with a view, from it, of Bonarbashy, in the 24th plate, p. 70. of the same work. I am able and anxious to bear ample testimony to Mr. Gell's accuracy, in all the engravings which have been made from his drawings. We were together in Constantinople, in 1800, and both visited Troas in the following year. Our journey took place in March, 1801; Mr. Gell did not arrive until December.

territory; and the marks of such an inundation, caused by the branches of trees, reeds, and rushes, left by the water on the land, were visible a considerable distance from its banks, at the time we passed. It has been usual to consider this river bearing every character of the Scamander, as the Simois of Homer, for which I can find no authority whatsoever:* indeed, there is positive evidence to the contrary. All the principal battles of Homer were fought either on the banks of the Simois, or very near it; that is to say, within the Simoisian plain. Homer enumerating the rivers brought to act against the Grecian rampart, thus characterizes the Simois:

——— "Thy stream,
"Simois, whose banks with helmets and with shields
"Were strew'd, and chiefs of origin divine."

If then we can point out any other passage which decides the position of the Scamander with regard to the Simois, we may identify the two rivers, without any reference to the circumstances of their origin, merely by the geography of the country. Such a passage occurs in the eleventh book of the Iliad, where it is recorded of Hector, that

——— "on the left of all the war,
"He fought beside Scamander"———

The Scamander being therefore on the left of the Trojan army, and the battle in the Simoisian plain, having in front the Grecian camp and the sea, the nature of the territory is sufficient to decide the relative position of the two rivers. The scene of action can only be reconciled with the plain of *Callifat Osmack*, bounded on the *left*, to a person facing the Hellespont, by the Mender;† which river as necessarily is proved to have been the Scamander of Homer.

* It is quite amusing to observe the freedom of citation and palpable errors, which have been tolerated. In Mons. Chevalier's *Description of the Plain of Troy*, we find the author (p. 3.) supporting the following observations, by references to the text of Homer: "I shall distinguish the *impetuous* course of the *rapid* Simois, and the *limpid stream* of the divine Scamander." In the margin, the reader is directed to the 12th book of the Iliad, v. 21, 22; the 21st, v. 307; the 7th, v. 329; and also to the 12th, v. 21, &c. for authorities concerning the epithets thus given to the two rivers. If he takes for granted the fidelity of M. Chevalier, it is all very well; but the slightest examination of the passages referred to, dispels the illusion. Nothing is there said, either of *impetuous* and *rapid* Simois, or of the *limpid stream* of the Scamander. Yet the same author had found in Bayle's Dictionary, under the article '*Scamander*,' (see p. 48) that Julia, the daughter of Augustus, met with the fate of Mr. Gell's Journals, which we also narrowly escaped, in fording the torrent of the Mender.

† Mr. Wood (Essay on Homer, p. 89.) was thoroughly impressed with the necessity of admitting the Simois to be on the eastern side of the Scamander, by the remarks made upon Mr. Pope's map, in which the engraver had reversed the position, not only of the rivers, but also of the two promontories, Rhæteum and Sigeum; "*so that*," says he, "*the Scamander runs on that side of Troy which belongs to the Simois.*"

After having passed the ford, we galloped up to the agha's mansion at Bonarbashy, the name of which place, literally translated, signifies '*The head of the springs.*'* Immediately on my arrival, I hastened to them, keeping a thermometer exposed and pendent the whole way, as the sun was then setting, and a avourable opportunity offered for an accurate investigation of their temperature. Some peasants who conducted me, related the tradition concerning the supposed heat and cold of the different sources; *one* only being, as they said, a hot spring. I desired to examine that first, and for this purpose was taken to a place about half a mile from the agha's house; to the most distant of the several springs; for in fact there are many, bursting from different crevices, through a stratum of *breccia*, or puddingstone, covered by a superincumbent layer of limestone. From the number of the springs, the Turks call the place *Kirk Geuse*, or '*Forty Eyes.*' I then asked the peasants if this was the hot spring, as it evidently was not the same described by Mons. Chevalier. They replied, that its greatest heat might be observed during winter, and therefore that it must be now hot.† It was a shallow pool of water, formed by the united product of many small streams, issuing from several cavities in the rock I have mentioned. This pool was quite overshadowed by some distant hills, behind which the sun was then setting; it was therefore a proper time for ascertaining the temperature, both of the air and the water. A north wind had prevailed during the day, but the sky had been more than usually serene, and without a cloud: not a breath of air was then stirring. I first tried the water with my hand; it felt warm, and even the rock near and above the surface of the water was sensibly affected by heat. I then had recourse to my thermometer; it was graduated according to the scale of Celsius; but I shall give the result according to the corresponding elevation of Fahrenheit; being more adapted to common observation in England. When exposed to the external air, the mercury stood at 48°; or sixteen degrees above the freezing point. I then placed it in one of the crevices whence the water issued, so as to immerse both the tube and scale: in two minutes, the mercury rose to 62°, and there remained. I then tried the same experiment in all the other crevices, and found the heat of the water the same, although

* Places are named in Wales exactly after the same manner; as, PEN THE FFENNYN '*The head of the three springs.*'

† Almost the only winter the Turks had in 1801 was during the month of March. The peasants believe the heat to be greater at that season of the year, merely because the external air is colder. The temperature of the water is always the same.

the temperature of the external air was lowered to 47°. From hence I proceeded to the hot spring of M. Chevalier; and could not avoid being struck by the plausible appearance it offered, for those who wished to find here a hot and cold spring, as fountains of the Scamander. It gushes perpendicularly out of the earth, rising from the bottom of a marble and granite reservoir, and throwing up as much water as the famous fountain of Holywell in Flintshire. Its surface seems vehemently boiling; and during cold weather, the condensed vapour above it causes the appearance of a cloud of smoke over the well. The marble and granite slabs around it are of great antiquity; and its appearance, in the midst of surrounding trees, is highly picturesque. The mercury had now fallen, in the external air, to 46°, the sun being down; but when the thermometer was held under water, it rose as before, to 62°. Notwithstanding the warmth of this spring, fishes were seen sporting in the reservoir. When held in the stream of either of the two channels which conduct the product of these springs into a marsh below, the temperature of the water diminished, in proportion to its distance from the source whence it flowed. I repeated similar observations afterward, both at midnight, and in the morning before sunrise; but always with the same results. Hence it is proved, that the fountains of Bonarbashy are warm springs; of which there are many, of different degrees of temperature, in all the district through which the Mender flows, from Ida to the Hellespont. That the two channels which convey them toward the Scamander may have been the ΔΟΙΑΙ ΠΗΓΑΙ of Homer,* is at least *possible*: and when it is considered, that a notion still prevails in the country, of one being hot, and the other cold; that the women of the place bring all their garments to be washed in these springs, not according to the casual visits of ordinary industry, but as an ancient and established custom, in the exercise of which they proceed with all the pomp and songs of a public ceremony; it becomes perhaps *probable*.† The remains of customs belonging to the most remote ages are discernible in the shape and construction of the wicker cars, in which the linen is brought upon these occasions, and which are used all

* The following is a literal translation of the words of the Venetian scholiast, upon Il. X. 148. "Two fountains *from* the Scamander rise in the plain; but the fountains of the Scamander are not in the plain."

† The full description of such a ceremony occurs in the sixth book of the Odyssey, where it is related, that the daughter of Alcinous, with all the maidens of her train, proceeds to wash the linen of her family. According to Pausanias, there was an ancient picture to be seen in his time, in which this subject was represented.

over this country. In the first view of them, I recognised the form of an ancient car, of Grecian sculpture, in the vatican collection at Rome; and which, although of Parian marble, had been carved to resemble wicker-work; while its wheels were an imitation of those solid circular planes of timber used at this day in Troas, and in many parts of Macedonia and Greece, for the cars of the country. They are expressly described by Homer, in the mention made of Priam's litter, when the king commands his sons to bind on the chest, or coffer, which was of wicker-work, upon the body of the carriage.*

Returning to the house of the agha, the prospect of the plain was becoming dim in the twilight. Samothrace still appeared; and as the moon rose over all, the minuter traces of the scene were no longer discernible; but the principal objects, in fine distinct masses, remained long visible.

In the morning I observed a number of antiquities in and about the place, such as fragments of Doric and Ionic pillars of marble, some columns of granite, broken bas-reliefs, and, in short, those remains so profusely scattered over this extraordinary country; serving to prove the number of cities and temples, once the boast of Troas, without enabling us to ascertain the position of any one of them. There is every reason to believe some ancient town was originally situated at Bonarbashy; not only by these remains, but by the marks of ancient turrets, as of a citadel, in the soil immediately behind the house of the agha. The reliques of very ancient pavement may also be observed in the street of the village; and in the front of it, upon a large block of Parian marble, used as a seat, near the mosque, Mr. Walpole observed a curious inscription, which is here subjoined, in an extract from his Journal.†

* Iliad Ω. This wicker chest, being movable, is used or not, as circumstances may require.

† "I shall here give an inscription which I copied at Bonarbashy, and which has never yet been published. It is on a piece of marble, now serving as a seat, and very interesting, being found on the supposed site of Troy; but to what city of the Troad it belonged, cannot be determined from any fact mentioned in it. From the omission of the ἱῶτα adscript, it may be referred to the time of the Romans; (See *Chishull, Antiq. Asiat.*) and a form of expression precisely similar to one in the inscription is to be found in the answer of the Romans to the Teians, in Chishull, p. 102.

. . . . . ΕΝΠΑΝΤΙΚΑΙΡΩΠΕΡΙΤΗΣ
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΘΕΙΟΝΕΤΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΜΑΛΙΣΤΑΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΑΘΗΝΑΝ
ΕΚΤΗΣΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΓΡΑΦΕΙΣΗΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣΠΡΟΣΤΜΑΣΠΕ
ΠΕΙΣΜΑΙΠΑΣΙΦΑΝΕΡΟΝΠΕ
ΦΥΚΕΝΑΙΚΑΘΗΝΤΑΣΤΕΒΟΤΣΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΣΒΟΥΚΟΛΟΥΣ . . . .

At a distance from Bonarbashy, and not in any way connected either with the antiquities there, or with the place itself, are the heights, which recent travellers, and several of my particular friends, after the example of M. Chevalier, have thought proper to entitle the acropolis of ancient Troy. Not having my own mind satisfied upon the subject, I should be extremely deficient in duty to my readers, if any sense of private regard induced me to forego the stronger claim they have to my sincerity. Having already shown the nature of the error concerning the source of the Scamander, which first induced M. Chevalier to adapt appearances at Bonarbashy to the history of Ilium, I am particularly called upon to point out his other misrepresentations. One of the most glaring is that which concerns the temperature of the springs;* another is in describing the heights to which I now allude, as a part of the chain of Mount Ida, although seperated from it by the whole plain of Beyramitch, which intervenes toward the east; and a third, that of representing the heights to which the supposed acropolis belonged, as a continuation of the ascent on which Bonarbashy is placed; so that the reader supposes a gradual rise to take place from what he has defined as the relative situation of the lower to the upper city; although a deep and rocky dingle intervenes, never yet subjected to any effort of human labour, which might serve to connect the two places with each other. The antiquities on these heights are certainly very remarkable, and worthy every degree of attention a traveller can bestow upon them. I shall now proceed to describe their appearance.

Proceeding in a southeasterly direction from the sloping eminence on which Bonarbashy is situated, we crossed the dingle I have mentioned; and then began to climb the steep, on which it has been supposed the citadel of Priam stood. Upon the very edge of the summit, and, as it were, hanging over it, is an ancient tumulus, constructed entirely of stones, heaped, after the ordinary manner, into a conical shape, and of the usual size of such sepulchres: this, although various, may be averaged according to a circumference, for the base, equal to

" This inscription seems to have formed part of a message to the citizens or magistrates of the place; and the writer refers in it to something formerly addressed to them concerning piety toward the gods, but particularly toward Minerva; and mention is made of oxen, which may have been offered up to the goddess; as Xerxes, we find from Herodotus, sacrificed to her, when at Troy, a thousand oxen; ἱθυσε χιλίας βοῦς." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* " The one of these sources is in reality *warm*, &c. and the other is always *cold*." *Chevalier's Descript. of Plain of Troy*, p. 127.

an hundred yards; and these are nearly the dimensions of the base of this tumulus, which has been called the tomb of Hector.* That this name has been inconsiderately given, will be evident from the statement of a single fact; namely, that it stands on the outside of the remains, insignificant as they are, of the wall once surrounding the hill on which it is placed; although that wall has been described as the ancient inclosure of the supposed citadel. The evidence of one is therefore nearly sufficient to contradict the other; for, although Homer is not explicit as to the situation of Hector's tomb, there is every other reason to suppose it was erected within the walls of the city. But there are other tumuli upon these heights, equally entitled, by their size and situation, to the distinction so hastily bestowed upon this. It will therefore be curious to ascertain the cause of its present appellation, and show how very little foundation it had in reality. This tumulus has been formed entirely of loose stones,† and the coincidence of such a circumstance with Homer's description of the tomb of Hector, was deemed a sufficient ground of discovery as to the identity of the tomb itself.‡ A little further attention, however, to these monuments, would have proved that they were all constructed after the same manner; the stones of the other tumuli being only concealed from observation by a slight covering of soil. From this spot the whole Isle of Tenedos is in view, and a most magnificent prospect of the course of the Scamander to the sea, with all Troas, and every interesting object it contains. This consideration,§ together with the remarkable character of the hill itself, surrounded by precipices above the river,‖ and, still more, the erroneous opinions entertained of the springs at Bonarbashy, superseded every objection urged concerning its distance from the coast, and the utter impossibility of reconciling such a position of the city with the account given by Homer of the

*It is ninety-three yards in circumference.

† Here we found a new species of *orchis*, which we have called ORCHIS HEROICA. *Orchis labello emarginato, obcordato latissimo: petalis suberectis ovato oblongis; bracteis germine longioribus: cornu adscendente subulato germine breviore: foliolis carinatis subensiformibus: bulbis ovatis.* By the side of it grew *ornithogalum luteum*, or *yellow star of Bethlehem*; and *hyacinthus racemosus*, the *grape hyacinth*. On other parts of these heights we found, moreover, a new species of *cardamine*, which has received the name of *cardamine tenella*. The following is the description of it: *Cardamine foliis simplicibus, ternatis, pinnatisque ciliatis pilosis: foliolis basi inaequalibus subrensiformibus: siliquis linearibus longis.* Other plants, interesting only in their locality, were, *anemone apennina, teucrium polium, anemone hortensis*, and *sedum cepea*.

‡ Iliad Ω. See also *Chevalier's Description*, &c. p. 125.

§ "Est in conspectu Tenedos."——

‖ Whence the Trojans were invited to cast down the Grecian horse.

manner in which Hector was pursued around its walls by Achilles.*

One hundred and twenty-three paces from the tumulus, called by Chevalier, and others, the tomb of Hector, is a second; a more regular and more considerable artificial heap of the same nature, and in every respect having a better title to the name bestowed upon the first. The base of this is one hundred and thirty-three yards in circumference. An hundred and forty-three paces further on, upon the hill, is a third, the circumference of whose base measured ninety yards. Names have been already bestowed upon them all; the first being called, as before stated, the tomb of Hector; the second, that of Priam; and the third, that of Paris. After passing these tumuli, appear the precipices flanking the southeastern side of the hill above the Scamander, which winds around its base.—So much has been already written and published upon the subject, that it is not necessary to be very minute in describing every trace of human labour upon this hill. The extent of its summit is eight hundred and fifty yards: its breadth, in the widest part, equals about two hundred and fifty. The foundations of buildings, very inconsiderable in their nature, and, with no character of remote antiquity, may be discerned in several parts of it: the principal of these are upon the most elevated spot toward the precipices surrounding its southeastern extremity; where the appearances, as well of the soil as of masonry, certainly indicate the former existence of some ancient superstructure. But the remains are not of a description even to ascertain the site of a Roman citadel: they seem rather to denote one of the retreats of those numerous pirates which in different ages have infested the Hellespont; and whose dispersion in the time of Drusus Cæsar, gave occasion to the memorial of gratitude before noticed, as inscribed upon one of the marbles we removed from the ruins at Halil Elly.† This remark applies solely to the buildings. The tumuli upon these heights undoubtedly relate to a very different period: and whether their history may be carried back to the events of the Trojan war, or to the settlement of Milesian colonies upon the coast, is a point capable of some elucidation, whenever future travellers have an opportunity to examine their interior.

* Iliad X'. Some, misled by Virgil, (Æn. I. 487.) have affirmed that Achilles dragged the body of Hector thrice round the city.

† See the preceding chapter, p. 51.

Thus far of Bonarbashy, its springs and its antiquities.—During the rest of our residence in the place, we made several excursions into the plain, revisiting the objects before described. I crossed the whole district, in different directions, not less than seventeen times; but have preferred giving the reader the result of my observations in a continued narration rather than in the exact order of their occurrence; as this must necessarily have introduced superfluous and wearisome repetitions.* I took the following bearings by the polar star. Due north of Bonarbashy stands the hill of Tchiblack. To the west lies Tenedos; and in the same line, nearer to the eye, is the tomb of Æsyetes. The springs are toward the south; and the tumuli, upon the heights behind Bonarbashy, to the southeast. Lemnos, and a line of islands, are seen from the heights, bearing from southeast toward the northwest.

On the eighth of March, the memorable day on which our troops under General Abercrombie were landed in Egypt, and while that event was actually taking place, we left Bonarbashy, determined, if possible, to trace the Mender to its source, in Mount Ida, about forty miles up the country. Distances in Turkey being everywhere estimated according to the number of hours in which caravans of camels, preceded by an ass, are occupied in performing them, the reader is requested to consider every such hour as equivalent to three of our English miles. After riding, according to this estimate, an hour and a half toward the southeast, we descended to the village of Araplar. We afterward proceeded through a valley, where we observed, in several places, the appearance of regular basaltic pillars. Thence, entering a defile of the mountains, very like some of the passes in the Tirol, we were much struck with the grandeur of the scenery. Shepherds were playing their reed pipes among the rocks, while herds of goats and sheep were browsing on the herbage near the bed of the torrent. We passed a place called *Sarmo saktchy cupré*, an old cemetery, on the left-hand side of the road. In this, by way of gravestone, was placed a natural basaltic

* During these excursions, I collected several plants which deserve notice. *Leontice leontopetalum*, or *true lion's leaf*, flourished in different parts of the plain. The blossoms are yellow, with a tinge of green, in large leafy bunches; the leaves almost like those of a pæony, and the root of a bulb, resembling that of the cyclamen, but larger. This curious and beautiful plant is not yet introduced into any English garden. Also *scirpus holoschœnus*, the *cluster-headed clubrush*. This is found in England, upon the coast of Hampshire, and in Devonshire. *Trifolium uniflorum*, or *solitary flowered trefoil*. *Atractylis humilis*, the *dwarf rayed thistle*. *Hypecoum imberbe*, the *beardless horned cumin*, described by Dr. Smith in the Prodromus to Dr. Sibthorpe's *Flora Græca*. A nondescript *horned cumin*, with very sharp leaves, and much-branched flower-stalks. The poppy, *anemone coronaria*, was common every where.

pillar, upright in the soil, among fragments of others. The pillar was hexagonal; about seven feet in height, and ten inches diameter; of hard black basalt, without any horizontal fissures, like those seen in the pillars of the Giant's Causeway in Ireland, but as regular in its sides and angles as the finest specimen of crystalized emerald. Having attended particularly to the appearances presented by basalt in many parts of the world, in the beds of rivers, in lakes, and in the sea; and having traced them almost the whole way from the north coast of Ireland, through all the Hebrides, to Iceland; I am persuaded the regularity of this structure is entirely owing to crystalization. The original deposit whence the pillars in this place were derived, does not lie far from the road. The strata on each side consisted, for the most part, of *limestone;* but we observed a subjacent bed of *schistus*, containing greenish *asbestus*, like that found on the western coast of Inverness-shire in Scotland. A wild race of mountaineers appeared occasionally descending the heights into the defile; or seated by the banks of the river, with sandals on their feet, made of undressed bulls' hides, bound with thongs of the same materials around their ancles and insteps. Such was the *caliga*, or military shoe, as we now see it represented on Grecian bronzes and medals; and it is probable that from these mountains a costume might be selected, exhibiting the appearance of the people in the same district, over whom Æneas, retiring up the country, is said to have reigned, after the capture of Troy.* At four hours' distance from Bonarbashy we came to the town of *Ænē*, the ΑΙΝΕΙΑ of Strabo,† situated upon a river falling into the Mender, which Mr. Wood described as being itself the Scamander.‡ The appearance of the town is very pleasing, being ornamented with cypresses, and backed by lofty rocks and mountains. We were surprised in finding a place of so much consequence so remotely situated. Its remarkable appellation, still commemorating the name of *Æneas*, and having borne the same appellation in the time of Augustus, speaks more forcibly the truth of the story of Troy, than any written document. It is an existing evidence, against which there is no possible appeal. Its situation exactly corresponds with the position assigned to it by Strabo, who relates its distance from *Palæ Scepcis*, a name

* Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p 873. Ed. *Ox.*

† Ibid. p. 869. Φησὶ γὰρ τὴν Παλαισκῆψιν τῆς μὲν Αἰνείας διέχειν πεντήκοντα σταδίους. κ. τ. λ.

‡ *Descript. of the Troade*, p. 323.

also preserved in the modern apppellation, *Esky Skûpshu.** Upon the right hand, in the approach to Æne, is a most stupendous tumulus, called *Æné Tepê*, literally *Æneas' Tomb.* Some Jews called it also *Sov'ran Têpe*, or *Tomb of the King.* The word *Sov'ran* has been perhaps taken from the Italian. *Têpe*, signifying, in Turkish, *an heap* or *tomb*, is evidently the same with Ταφος: and tradition seems to afford, with regard to this tomb, as good foundation for believing it the sepulchre of Æneas, as Strabo found in the authority of Demetrius of Scepsis for his royalty in the country. The inhabitants of *Æné* say they find medals in considerable number: we could hear of none, however, that had been seen of gold or silver; therefore these medals cannot be of very ancient date. In the wall of the Khan, or Inn, I observed a marble, on which was the following imperfect inscription:

ΑΤΣΙΕ
ΟΠΑΤΗΡ
ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ
ΗΣΕΔΑΚΡΤΩΙ
ΓΑΙΟΣ

In a cemetery close to the road leading from Æné to *Turkmanlé*, the inhabitants had used natural as well as artificial pillars for grave stones. We saw several columns of basalt upright in the earth, mixed with others of granite. There were no less than twelve of the latter, of the Doric order. This part of our journey, from Æné to *Turkmanlé*, conducted us through part of the beautiful plain of *Beyramitch;* appearing to the eye one of the happiest territories in nature, cultivated like a garden, regularly inclosed, and surrounded by mountains. The distance between the two places is said to be two hours and a half. We frequently met camels and dromedaries, and observed buffaloes everywhere used in tillage. The road in some places consisted of ancient pavement, to a considerable extent. We also crossed an ancient bridge. Before entering *Turkmanlé*, we observed the appearances of mounds heaped upon the soil, together with a few granite pillars, some of which were still standing, and other remains denoting the site of some ancient citadel or temple. Various antiquities may be noticed

* Fifty stadia, or six miles and a quarter. The Greek word Πάλαι and the Turkish *Esky* have the same signification. The Turks often translated epithets connected with the names of places into their own language, while they retained the substantive unaltered. Thus the *Palæ Scepsis* of Strabo still bears the name with them of *Esky Skupshu.*

in the whole of this route: they are very abundant in and about the town of Turkmanlé. As we drew nigh to this place, the view of Gargarus, the highest of all the chain of mountains belonging to Ida, appeared in great grandeur; but so invested by snow, that we entertained great fear of being unable to reach its summit. The north wind blowing at the same time piercingly, we had reason to apprehend our difficulties would rather increase than diminish. We continued our journey, however, and arrived at Turkmanlé. Here we experienced that cleanly hospitality, and simple welcome, often characterizing the inhabitants of mountainous districts. Our host received us in a large and airy room, upon whose spacious hearth he had heaped together the entire trunks of trees, all of which were in a blaze. A sheep was instantly killed, and dressed; not only for our present meal, but to serve as provision for our journey. Instead of torches or candles, lighted splinters of wood were used. The interior of our chamber reminded us of the halls of our oldest English mansions; in which all the members of the family, from the highest to the lowest, met together. I have often suspected that our ancestors borrowed the style of their dwelling houses from the east, during the crusades. The custom of suspending armour, weapons, and instruments for the chace, upon the walls, is quite oriental; so is that of the raised platform, for superior guests, constituting the upper extremity of the apartment. To these may be added the small panneled wainscot, full of little cupboards, and the latticed windows, nearer to the roof than to the floor. Several of the inhabitants came to pay their respects, and welcome the strangers. They had never before seen Englishmen; but they gave us an account of certain Frenchmen, who had endeavoured, without success, to visit the top of Gargarus, which they called *Kazdaghy*. From this place a road leads to *Beyram*, anciently Assos, upon the Adramyttian Gulph, now called *Ydramit*. The ruins of Assos were described to us as sufficient to employ any person two days in a mere survey. Many inscriptions are said to exist there, hitherto unobserved by European travellers.

Half an hour after leaving Turkmanlé we came to *Bonarbashy of Beyramitch*, the second place we had seen of that name; and so called, like the first, from its vicinity to the *fountain head* of some very remarkable warm springs, three of which gush with great violence from artificial apertures, into a marble reservoir entirely constructed of ancient materials.

This beautiful bason is shaded by the oldest and finest oriental plane trees. Its waters take their course into the plain, where they fall into the Mender. The people of the place relate the same story of these springs as of the others at Bonarbashy, the supposed site of Ilium. They affirm, that they are cold in summer, and hot in winter, when it is said smoke ascends from them. The frost was on the ground at the same time we tasted the water, which was quite warm; yet buffaloes were swallowing it greedily, and seemed to delight in the draught they made. Its temperature is probably always the same. We found it equal to 69° of Fahrenheit. The shafts of two pillars of granite, of the Doric order, stood, one on each side of the fountains: and half the *operculum* of a marble soros* lay in the wall above them. Peasants brought us a few barbarous medals of the lower ages, with effigies of saints and martyrs.

An hour after leaving this place we came to Beyramitch, a city belonging to the pacha of the Dardanelles, and present capital of all Troas. It is a large place filled with shops. The houses seemed better built, and more regularly disposed than in Constantinople. All the land around belongs to the pacha before mentioned, whom the Porte has nearly ruined by extorted contributions. In the yard of the khan, or inn, is a marble column, exhibiting a style of the Doric order, which I have observed no where but in Troas. Instead of being fluted, the shaft is bevelled, so as to present a polygonal surface. Others, of the same kind, were among the antiquities lying on the hill at Tchiblack. This column stands in the middle of a bason, serving as a public conduit, wholly constructed of ancient materials. All these, together with an astonishing quantity of substances for building, were derived from ruins lately discovered upon a lofty hill, which we were told we should pass immediately after leaving Beyramitch, in our journey toward the source of the Mender; the pacha having made very considerable excavations, in search of marbles, and other materials, there buried. In the streets of Beyramitch we noticed more than one soros of entire blocks of granite, which the inhabitants had procured from the same place. One of the inhabitants told us he had recently brought from thence certain

*The substitution of *soros* for *sarcophagus* is not made with the smallest disposition to pedantry, but as it strictly applies to the ancient Greek tomb. Some remarks upon this subject will be found in the following chapter.

broken pieces of sculpture, to which we should be welcome, if we could get permission from the pacha for their removal. This we afterward obtained, and brought them to England.*

The place where all these antiquities have been discovered is rather a conical mountain than a hill, bearing the name of *Kûchûnlû Têpe*, at two hours' distance from Beyramitch, toward Gargarus. Indeed, it has been placed by nature so as to resemble a sort of advanced position at the base of that mountain, immediately beneath its summit. The Mender, or Scamander, flows at its foot. This river is here generally called Kasdaghy, from the name now given to Gargarus, the mountain whence it issues. The principal site of the antiquities upon *Kûchûnlû Têpe* is about half way up the side of the immense cone bearing that name; but very remarkable remains may be traced thence all the way to the summit. These will be described in the sequel. Having arrived at the base of the cone, we left our horses by the side of the river, and ascended to the ruins. The first appearance that struck us was an oblong area, ninety-two yards long and fifty-four wide, covered with fragments of *terra cotta*, and also with pieces of ancient glass, such as broken lachrymatories, and other small vessels. On the north side, part of a wall remained by which the area was originally inclosed, about fourteen feet in height. The work seemed to be of the age of the Romans, from the baked titles, four inches thick, and the cement used in its construction. On the western extremity of the area were considerable remains of baths, whose stuccoed walls and earthenware conduits were still entire in several places. An excavation had been made by the Turks, on the south side, for the stones of the foundation, to the depth of twenty-two feet. By the appearance of the foundation, the walls, on this side at least, were double, and admitted a passage between them. Above this area (perhaps that of a temple), toward the north, were tombs. We entered an arched vault, thirteen yards long, and five wide, and saw near it the remains of a bath, wanting only the roof. Here lay some columns sixteen inches in diameter, among pieces of broken amphoræ, fragments of marble, granite, basalt, blue chalcedony, and jasper. The

* They are now in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge. One of them represents the lower half of a female figure, the drapery of which is exquisitely fine; the other is a bust of Juno, in Parian marble. See "*Greek Marbles*," &c. p. 38. No. XVI. and p. 48. No. XXVI.

following letters, of the only inscription we could find, on a broken slab of marble, afford no other information than that the language in use here was Grecian; and even this evidence must not here be disregarded:

. . . . . ΟΣ
. . . . . ΑΙΟΝ
. . . . : . . ΡΙΟΤ

We presently came to the cornice of a Doric entablature, of such prodigious size, that our artist, Mons. Preaux, said he had seen nothing like it in Athens. There were other Doric remains; and the shaft of one Corinthian column, twenty-two inches diameter, distinguished from the Doric in having the edges of the canelure flat instead of sharp. Higher upon the hill we found the remains of another temple: the area of this measured one hundred and forty yards long, and forty-four wide. Here the workmen had taken up about a hundred blocks of stone and marble: every one of these measured five feet eleven inches in length, and was eighteen inches thick. We afterward found an angle of the foundation of this temple; a bath, whose roof was yet entire; and another fragment of the Doric entablature before mentioned. As the temples of Jupiter were all of the Doric order, it is very probable, whatever may be the antiquity of these works, that here was the situation of the temple and altars of Idæan Jove, mentioned by Homer,* by Æschylus,† and by Plutarch.‡ Their situation, with respect to Gargarus, precisely agrees with Homer's description. According to Æschylus, they were ΕΝ ΙΔΑΙΩΙ ΠΑΓΩΙ; and the highest point of all the Idæan chain extends itself into the plain, in such a manner, that the hill at its base, upon which these ruins appear, is, in fact, a part of Gargarus itself. The baths point out the history of the place, and there are warm springs in the neighbourhood. The original temple was, therefore, probably, a very ancient one of *Jupiter Liberator*, situated near the heights of Ida, on the site of which, in later ages, these buildings were accumulated.

* Iliad. Θ. 47.

† Æschyl. in Niob. Vid. *Strab. Geogr.* lib. xii. p. 580.

‡ Παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ ὄρος Ἴδη, τὸ πρότερον δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Γάργαρον, ὅπου Διὸς καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν βωμοὶ τυγχάνουσιν. "Adhæret ipsi mons Ide, qui prius vocabatur Gargarus, ubi Jovis et Matris Deorum altaria occurrunt." *Plutarch de Fluv.* p. 44. Ed. *Tolosæ ap Bosc.* 1615.

The most remarkable part of the description is now to be related, as it seems to refer pointedly to superstitions concerning the summit of that mountain bearing the name of Gargarus; held by the ancients in such veneration, as the seat of the immortal gods.* A spacious winding road, sixteen yards in breadth, rises from the remains of these temples to the top of the Kûchûnlû. All the way up may be noticed traces of former works; but upon the summit, a small oblong area, six yards in length, and two in breadth, exhibits marks of the highest antiquity. The stones forming the enclosure are as rude as those of the walls of Tiryuthus in Argolis; and the whole is encircled by a grove of venerable oaks, covering the top of the cone. The entrance to this area is from the south: upon the east and west, on the outside of the trees, are stones ranged like what we, in England, call Druidical circles. From hence the view is grand indeed. Immediately before the eye is spread the whole of Gargarus; seeming, from its immense size, and the vastness of its features, as if those who were stationed on this spot might hold converse with persons upon its clear and snowy summit. A bold and sweeping ridge descends from its top to the very base of the cone of *Kûchûnlû Têpe;* and this, as a natural altar, stands before the mountain. Far below is seen the bed and valley of the Scamander, bearing a westward course, from the place of its origin.

* Vibius Sequester, in his treatise *de Montibus*, speaks of Gargarus as the summit of mount Ida: "*Gargarus in Phrygia Idæ montis cacumen.*" And Maussacus in his notes upon Plutarch *(De Fluv.)* who cites this passage, also observes, as a comment upon the word Γάργαρον, "*Non Ida, sed ejus cacumen aut fastigium Gargarus dictum fuit. Hesychius, Grammaticorum princeps,* Γάργαρον, ἀκρωτήριον ὄρους Ἴδης." The fact is, however, that an actual view of the country affords the best comment upon the ancient geographers, who have not clearly pointed out the nature of this part of Phrygia. The district called Ida consists of a chain of different mountains, one of which, separately considered, bore the name of Gargarus; and this is higher than any of the rest. Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Quintus Curtius, affirms, that places thick set with trees were anciently called IDÆ: "*Nam condensa arboribus loca Idas antiqui dixere.*" Quint. Curt. Suppl. lib. ii. Freinsh.

In Mr. Walpole's Journal I find a note upon this subject, which I shall here insert.

"Ida is allowed, in Herodotus, to mean the summit of Gargarus. Now, from comparing the above passages with Strabo, p. 843. where Gargarus is said to be a town on Gargarus, a height of Ida, (see Casaubon's note, there;) and p. 872. where it is said to be a promontory of the Adramyttian Gulph; and consulting Hesychius, where Gargarum is a height of Ida, and a city of the Trojan district, *near Antandros*, we get the following particulars relating to this summit of Ida. It was near the coast, for it was near Antandros, which was on the coast, in a recess of it (Strabo, p. 872.) and the town Gargara on the coast was upon this mountain; so that Xerxes, on passing by Antandros, would pass by this mountain on his left; and on coming into the Ilian territory, would have some way to go before he reached Troy; for Alexandria Troas was thirty-five miles from Antandros (Anton. Itin.) and Troy was still farther." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

As I descended, I found my companions busied among the ruins before described. They had excavated a very beautiful column, part of which they discovered buried in the soil, and had found a bronze medal of the city of Corinth. Our artist had also completed some very interesting views. We passed the night at the foot of Gargarus, three hours distant from this place, in one of the most wretched villages of Turkey, called *Eegillar*. Our coming at first excited suspicion among the inhabitants, who regarded us as French spies, and even proceeded to menaces, in some degreee alarming; but our *firmân* being produced, and the object of our journey explained, we experienced from these simple and honest mountaineers every good office it was in their power to bestow.

On the following morning by day break, the sky being cloudless, we began to ascend toward the summit of the mountain.—During the greatest part of the year, Gargarus, like Ætna, is characterized by a triple zone; first, a district of cultivated land; afterward, an assemblage of forests; and lastly, toward the summit, a region of snow and ice. Passing through the first on horseback, we ascended by the banks of the river. The scenery was uncommonly fine; it resembled the country in the neighbourhood of Vietri, upon the Gulph of Salerno, where Salvato Rosa studied and painted the savage and uncouth features of nature, in his great and noble style. During the first hour, we passed the remains of some small Greek chapels, the oratories of ascetics, whom the dark spirit of superstition, in the fourth century of the christian æra, conducted, from the duties of civil society, to the wildest and most untrodden solitudes. Secluded from scenes of war and revolutionary fury, these buildings remain nearly as they were left when the country became a part of the Turkish empire; nor would it have been marvellous if a mouldering skeleton, at the foot of a forsaken altar, had exhibited the remains of the latest of its votaries. One of them, indeed, placed above the roaring torrent, in a situation of uncommon sublimity, was so entire, that a painting of the Virgin, upon the stuccoed wall of the eastern extremity, still preserved its colours.

We now began to traverse the belt of forests, and were enabled to get half way through this part of the ascent upon our horses: the undertaking afterward became more tedious and difficult, and we were compelled to proceed on foot. Half congealed snow lying among the rocks, and loose stones, rendered the way dubious and slippery. In this region of Gargarus there

are many wild boars, the traces of whose ploughing were very fresh in many places. Higher up, our guides showed to us marks left by the feet of tigers. They find also leopards in these wilds, and are obliged to take their skins, when any are killed, to the pacha of the Dardanelles. The extensive survey we should enjoy from the heights was occasionally disclosed by partial openings in this scene of forests. Already the whole island of Tenedos was in view, and all the Trojan plain. Our guides began to talk of the impossibility of reaching the top of the mountain, and murmured their alarms of chasms and precipices in the glacier above: at this I did not wonder, having often been accustomed to such treatment in similar enterprises. I expected to be deserted by them in the end, and it proved to be the case; although I confess I was not prepared for what I encountered afterward. At length we cleared the zone of forests: all above was icy, bleak, and fearful. Our little party, by the number of stragglers, was soon reduced to a small band. Neither the Jewish interpreter, whom we had brought from the Dardanelles, nor the artist, would go a step farther. One of the guides, with Mr. Cripps, and our Greek servant, remained with me. We were reduced to the necessity of advancing upon our hands and feet, neither of which made the smallest impression upon the icy surface of the snow. Soon afterward we found ourselves hanging over the brink of a precipice, so tremendous, that the slightest slip of one of our feet would, we perceived, afford a speedy passage to eternity. Here our servant refused to proceed, and the guide was only prevented from leaving me by brandy. I therefore prevailed on Mr. Cripps, much against his inclination, to remain behind; and by making holes for our hands and feet, advanced with the guide. The mountain has four points of eminence toward the summit, each of which is higher than the other. Our progress led us to the third of these; the lowest, except one; and this point we attained in the manner I have described. From hence the transition to the base of the second point, over the frozen snow along the ridge of the mountain, was made without difficulty: although the slope on each side presented a frightful precipice of above a thousand feet. At the base of the second point, viewing the sheet of ice before him, my guide positively refused to proceed; and finding me determined to make the trial, he began to scream with all his might, breaking off with his feet some nodules of the frozen snow, in order to intimidate me, by showing how the smallest fragment set in motion was carried into the

gulph on either side below us. The ascent was, to be sure, somewhat critical, and could only be effected by a ladder of ice. I cut holes for my hands and feet, my face touching the surface of the steep as I continued climbing. The north wind blew with a degree of violence that made the undertaking more difficult; for my fingers, almost frozen, lost their feeling. A tiger, when the snow was fresher, had left the impression of his feet; and these marks proved a valuable guidance to me, in showing the direction I was to pursue. In this manner I reached the second point. Still a long and laborious track was before me; but the greatest difficulty was over. I advanced with eagerness over an aërial ridge, toward the highest point of all, where no vestige of any living being could be discerned. Here the ascent was easier than before; and in a few minutes I stood upon the summit. What a spectacle! All European Turkey, and the whole of Asia Minor, seemed as it were modeled before me on a vast surface of glass. The great objects drew my attention first; afterward I examined each particular place with minute observation. The eye, roaming to Constantinople, beheld all the sea of Marmora, the mountains of Prusa, with Asiatic Olympus, and all the surrounding territory, comprehending, in one wide survey, all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the shores of Thrace and Chersonesus, all the north of the Ægean, Mount Athos, the islands of Imbrus, Samothrace, Lemnos, Tenedos, and all beyond, even to Eubœa; the gulph of Smyrna, almost all Mysia, and Bithynia, with part of Lydia and Ionia. Looking down upon Troas, it appeared spread as a lawn before me. I distinctly saw the course of the Scamander through the Trojan plain to the sea. The visible appearance of the river, like a silver thread, offered a clue to other objects. I could discern the tomb of Æsyetes, and even Bonarbashy. At the base of the mountain, and immediately below my eyes, stood the conical hill of Kuchunlu Tepe, on whose sides and summit are the ruins before described. Nothing could be better calculated to show the erroneous nature of all the maps published of the country than my situation here. The Adramyttian gulph is so close to the mountain, that it may be said to skirt its base; inclining toward the northeast, and bearing so much round upon the northeastern side, that the extremity of it is concealed by that part of the Idæan Chain. Thus it would seem impossible for any one to pass in a direct line from the end of the gulph to the Dardanelles, without leaving not only the chain of Ida, but

even Gargarus, upon the left hand. I had before obtained this information from the people of the country; so that, if my ascent had been impracticable, the fact would have been tolerably well ascertained. The satisfaction, however, of confirming the truth by actual observation, was now obtained; and the difficulties raised of reconciling the history of Xerxes' march from Adramyttium to Abydus,* with the real geography of the country, were done away. The fact is, that an ordinary route of caravans, from Ydramitt (Adramyttium) to the Dardanelles, now confirms the accuracy of the historian. In the observance of this route, Gargarus, and all the chain of Ida toward Lectum, are upon the left. I have subjoined a statement of this route, and the several distances, in a note below.† There is yet another singular appearance from the summit of this mountain; and as this is pointedly alluded to by Homer, it seems to offer strong reason for believing that the poet had himself beheld it from the same place. Looking toward Lectum, the tops of all the Idæan chain diminish in latitude by a regular gradation, so as to resemble a series of steps, conducting to Gargarus, as the highest point of the whole. Nothing can, therefore, more forcibly illustrate the powers of Homer as a painter, in the display he has given of the country, and the fidelity with which he delineates every feature in its geography, than the description of the ascent of Juno from Lectum to Gargarus;‡ by a series of natural eminences, unattainable indeed by mortal tread but presenting, to the great conceptions of poetical fancy, a scale adequate to the power and dignity of superior beings.

On all the points of this mountain, former adventurers have raised heaps of stones, as marks of their enterprise.§ These were now nearly buried in snow. I availed myself of one of them to ascertain the temperature of the atmosphere, by placing my thermometer in the shade. It was now mid-day, and the

* Herodot. lib. vii. p. 530.

	Hours
† Ydramitt to Ballia — —	9
Ballia to Carabe — —	7
Carabe to Bazar Keuy —	6
Bazar Keuy to Kirisle —	8
Kirisle to the Dardanelles —	8
Total — — — —	38

‡ Iliad Ξ. 283.

§ During the heat of summer, the glacier on this mountain is dissolved, and the ascent rendered thereby much more easy. The earl of Aberdeen informed me that he afterward succeeded in visiting the summit without difficulty, by choosing a more advanced season of the year. The guides, however, thought proper to relate that they never had been able to reach the highest point; perhaps to avoid the trouble to which the attempt would expose them.

sky without a cloud. The mercury soon fell to the freezing point, but did not sink lower during the time I remained. As I descended, not a trace of my feet could be discerned, and I unfortunately passed without noticing the particular part of the steep leading to the third point of the mountain, where I had gained the height. In this manner I lost my way, and wandered about for three hours, over dreadful chasms and icy precipices, in a state of painful anxiety; until at last, overcome with excessive fatigue, thirst, and cold, I sunk down upon a bleak ridge, and moistened my mouth by eating snow. To my great comfort, I experienced both refreshment and warmth; my benumbed fingers recovered their sensation, and I again endeavoured to walk. Looking down toward the southwest, I perceived, at an immense depth below, the very guide who had deserted me, endeavouring to climb toward the third point of the mountain, but always returning back, and at last giving up the attempt. Exerting every effort, I succeeded in making this man hear me; he then remained as a mark, directing me to the ridge on which I ascended. When I came to this horrid place, all my resolution forsook me. I could not persuade myself I had climbed a steep so terrible; but presently perceived the holes before made for my feet. Upon this, striking my heels into the hardened snow, so as to form a stay for my support, I sat down, and by slow degrees ventured off the declivity; sliding sometimes for a yard or two, and then stopping, so as not to acquire a greater velocity than I could check, by forcing in the staff of my pipe* and one of my heels at the same time. A slip to the right or left would infallibly have carried me over a precipice on either side, the ridge whereon I descended resembling in its form the roof of a house. The guide was now heard bawling to me to steer this way, or that, as he fancied I inclined too much to one side or to the other, and acting as a beacon for my course, until I reached the spot where he stood; when, having caught me in his arms, he cried out with great joy, "*Allâ! Allâ!*" There was still much to be done; and this we happily got over. About a mile lower down we found our companions. Having in vain tried to light a fire, they were all huddled together near the higher boundary of the second region of the mountain, waiting in the utmost inquietude. Here our flaggon of brandy was soon emptied; and the guide, who had accompanied me, proved that old customs still pre-

* The Turkish pipe is sometimes fashioned to serve also as a walking staff. It is then tipped with horn.

vailed in the country, by vowing to sacrifice a fat ram, for the events of the day, as soon as he reached the village. It was two hours after dark before we arrived at Evgillar.

CHAP. VI.

DISTRICT OF TROAS.

Second excursion upon Gargarus—Greek Chapels—Source of the Scamander—Journey to Alexandria Troas—Bergas—Chamalé—Decomposition of Granite—Stupendous Column—Hot Baths—Form of the Sepulchre called SOROS—*Alexandria Troas—Splendid remains of public* BALNEÆ—*Other Vestiges of the City—Votive Tablet to Drusus Cæsar—Udjek—Tomb of Æsyetes—Erkessy—Interesting Inscription—Sigeum—Antiquities—Mount Athos—Tombs mentioned by Strabo—Return to the Dardanelles—Summary of Observations made in Troas.*

ON the eleventh of March, having collected our guides and horses as upon the preceding day, we set out again from Evgillar, and proceded up the mountain, to visit the cataract, which constitutes the source of the Mender, on the northwest side of Gargarus. Ascending by the side of its clear and impetuous torrent, we reached, in an hour and a half, the lower boundary of the woody region of the mountain. Here we saw a more entire chapel than either of those described in our excursion the preceding day, situated upon an eminence above the river. Its form was quadrangular, and oblong. The four walls were yet standing, and part of the roof: this was vaulted, and lined with painted stucco. The altar also remained, in an arched recess of the eastern extremity: upon the north side of it was a small and low niche, containing a marble table. In the arched recess was also a very ancient painting of the Virgin; and below, upon her left hand, the whole length portrait of a saint, holding an open volume. The heads of these figures were encircled by a line of glory. Upon the right hand side of the Virgin there had been a similar painting of some other saint, but part of the stucco, whereon it was painted, no

longer remained. The word ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΝ, written among other indistinct characters, appeared upon the wall. The dimensions of this building were only sixteen feet by eight. Its height was not quite twelve feet, from the floor to the beginning of the vaulted roof. Two small windows commanded a view of the river, and a third was placed near the altar.—Its walls, only two feet four inches in thickness, afforded, nevertheless, space for the roots of two very large fir trees: these were actually growing upon them. All along the banks of this river, as we advanced toward its source, we noticed appearances of similar ruins; and in some places, among rocks, or by the sides of precipices, were seen remains of several habitations together; as if the monks, who retreated hither, had possessed considerable settlements in the solitudes of the mountain. Our ascent, as we drew near to the source of the river, became steep and stony. Lofty summits towered above us, in the greatest style of Alpine grandeur; the torrent, in its rugged bed below, all the while foaming upon our left. Presently we entered one of the sublimest natural amphitheatres the eye ever beheld; and here the guides desired us to alight. The noise of waters silenced every other sound. Huge craggy rocks rose perpendicularly, to an immense height; whose sides and fissures, to the very clouds, concealing their tops, were covered with pines; growing in every possible direction, among a variety of evergreen shrubs, wild sage, hanging ivy, moss, and creeping herbage. Enormous plane trees waved their vast branches above the torrent. As we approached its deep gulph, we beheld several cascades, all of foam, pouring impetuously from chasms in the naked face of a perpendicular rock. It is said the same magnificent cataract continues during all seasons of the year, wholly unaffected by the casualties of rain, or melting snow. That a river so ennobled by ancient history should at the same time prove equally eminent in circumstances of natural dignity, is a fact worthy of being related. Its origin is not like the source of ordinary streams, obscure and uncertain; of doubtful locality and indeterminate character; ascertained with difficulty, among various petty subdivisions, in swampy places, or amidst insignificant rivulets, falling from different parts of the same mountain, and equally tributary: it bursts at once from the dark womb of its parent, in all the greatness of the divine origin assigned to it by Homer.* The early

* Iliad. Φ. 1.

christians, who retired or fled from the haunts of society to the wilderness of Gargarus, seem to have been fully sensible of the effect produced by grand objects, in selecting, as the place of their abode, the scenery near the source of the Scamander; where the voice of Nature speaks in her most awful tone: where, amidst roaring waters, waving forests, and broken precipices, the mind of man becomes impressed, as by the influence of a present deity.*

The course of the river, after it thus emerges, with very little variation, is nearly from east to west. Its source is distant from Evgillar about nine miles; or, according to the mode of computation in the country, three hours: half this time is spent in a gradual ascent from the village. The rock whence it issues consists of micaceous schistus, containing veins of soft marble. While the artist was employed in making drawings, ill calculated to afford adequate ideas of the grandeur of the scenery, I climbed the rocks, with my companions, to examine more closely the nature of the chasms whence the torrent issues. Having reached these, we found, in their front, a beautiful natural bason, six or eight feet deep, serving as a reservoir for the water in the first moments of its emission. It was so clear, that the minutest object might be discerned at the bottom. The copious overflowing of this reservoir causes the appearance, to a spectator below, of different cascades, falling to the depth of about forty feet, but there is only one source. Behind are the chasms whence the water issues. We entered one of these, and passed into a cavern. Here the water appeared, rushing with great force, beneath the rock, toward the bason on the outside. It was the coldest spring we had found in the country; the mercury in the thermometer falling, in two minutes, to thirty four, according to the scale of Fahrenheit. When placed in the reservoir immediately above the fall, where the water was more exposed to the atmosphere, its temperature was three degrees higher. The whole rock about the source is covered with moss. Close to the bason grew hazel and plane trees; above were oaks and pines; all beyond was a naked and fearful precipice.†

* Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum,
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem!

† Upon Gargarus we found a beautiful new species, both of *crocus*. and of *anemone*. The first we have called *crocus candidus*, and the second *anemone formosa*. They may be thus described:

Crocus *foliis lanceolato linearibus, flore brevioribus stigmatibus antheras subæquantibus profundissime multipartitis, radicum tunica fibroso co ista; corollæ laciniis ellipticis.*

About one hundred and fifty yards below the source, is a hot spring, close to the bed of the river, exactly of the same temperature as those before described at Bonarbashy. We returned from this expedition to Evgillar; and leaving the village, went again to *Kûchûnlû Têpe*, to complete our survey of the ruins there. We were told that the pacha of the Dardanelles had built a mosque, the tomb of a dervish, a bridge of three inches, and all the new works at Beyramitch, with marbles and other materials from this place. As we passed through this last town, a Turk offered me a sardonyx for sale, exhibiting three distinct layers of brown and of white chalcedony: upon the upper layer was an intaglio, representing the well-known figure of Mercury with the purse; a subject extremly common to gems found in Constantinople.* It was well executed, but the price exorbitant, therefore I declined the purchase. We here visited the intendant of the agha, and travelled the same day as far as *Turkmanlé*, where we passed another night with the hospitable owner of the mansion who entertained us so well upon a former occasion.

From Turkmanlé we returned by the way of Æné; and thence, intending to visit Alexandria Troas, took the road to *Bergas*,† distant two hours from Æné, where we halted for the night. By the public fountains along this route, and wheresoever stone has been used, may be seen the capitals or shafts of columns, and other fragments from ancient ruins. The next

ANEMONE *scapo aphyllo, foliis crassis profundissime tripartitis subrotundis laciniis flabelliformibus subtrilobis acute dentatis: folio superiore tripartito, laciniis bis trifidis angustis: involucro tripartito laciniis lanceolatis inferiori inidentato: petalis latoovatis majusculis.* We also observed upon this mountain the *anemone apennina*, *lichen articulatus*, *fragaria sterilis*, *crocus aureus*, and *crocus vernus*. At the source of the Scamander grew *thlaspi montanum*, "mountain shepherds purse;" *origanum onites*, "woolly-leaved marjoram;" *fumaria bulbosa*, "bulous fumatory;" *anemone coronaria*, "the narrow-leaved garden anemone;" *asplenium celerach*, "common spleenwort;" and a beautiful species of *ruscus*, a shrub, hitherto unnoticed by any author, with leaves broader and more oval than those of the broad leaved Alexandrian laurel, and the fructification covered by an oval leaflet, as in the *ruscus hypoglossum*. To this we have given the name of RUSCUS TROAENSIS.—*Ruscus foliis lanceolato-ovalibus, supra floriferis sub foliolo.* The leaves are about two inches broad, and from three to three and a half in length: the lowermost grow in whorls, the uppermost alternate: the leaflet covering the fructification is nearly half an inch broad, and about three fourths of an inch long: the fruit of the size of a small cherry. We did not see the flowers.

Immediately above the source grew *alyssum deltoideum*. "Purple blossomed alysson."

* The peculiar locality of certain mythological subjects, as represented upon the gems of ancient Greece, has not, I believe, been noticed; yet they are almost as local as the medals of the country. Figures and symbols of Ceres are found in Cyprus; in Athens, the triple bust of Socrates, Alcibiades, and the Sicilian physician Raucondas; in Constantinople, representations of a crescent with one or three stars, of Mercury with the purse, heads or whole lengths of Esculapius, Apollo with the chariot of the sun; in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt, Scarabæi, with various hieroglyphic figures, &c.

† Πέργος.

morning, March the 14th, we passed through *Chemalé*, distant one hour from Bergas. Chemalé is full of antiquities.* In the cemetery I copied several inscriptions; too imperfect for insertion. Some granite columns were lying about, whose surfaces exhibited a very advanced state of decomposition. We had observed similar appearances at Æné; proving that the granite had been exposed to the action of the atmosphere during a very long period; and also serving to confirm a fact of some importance; namely, that the durability of substances employed for purposes of sculpture and architecture, is not proportioned to their hardness. Marble, much softer than granite, is capable of resisting longer the combined attacks of air and moisture. The cause of decomposition in granite columns cannot have originated in their interment; since nothing tends more to preserve granite than exclusion from external air. Of this we had satisfactory evidence, when our troops in Egypt subverted the cumbent obelisk near Alexandria. The hieroglyphical sculpture, upon the side which had been buried in the soil, appeared in the highest state of preservation; but the surface, so long exposed to the atmosphere, was considerably decomposed. Of all natural substances used by ancient artists, Parian marble, when without veins, and therefore free from extraneous bodies, seems to have best resisted the various attacks made upon the Grecian sculpture. It is found unaltered, when granite, and even porphyry, coëval as to their artificial state, have suffered decomposition. *Terra cotta* is more durable than marble. Works executed in baked clay have been preserved during a period of near three thousand years, as fresh as when they issued from the hands of the artificer; neither can any nation, desirous of transmitting a lasting memorial to posterity, employ a material better suited to the purpose than the plastic compound from the wheel of an ordinary potter.

After leaving Chemalé, in the road leading to a place called *Lydia Hamam*, distant about three quarters of an hour, our Greek servant who was before us on horseback, and wandered into some underwood, returned suddenly, laughing immoderately, and saying, "As you are pleased with the sight of columns, here is one large enough to gratify your most sanguine expectations." He then led us a short distance from the road, where, concealed among some trees, lay the largest granite pillar in the world, excepting the famous column of Alexandria in

* Dr. Chandler believed this place to have been the *Colonæ* of the ancients. See "*Travels in Asia Minor*," p. 34.

Egypt; and this it much resembles. It is of the same substance, and has the same form; its astonishing length equalled thirty-seven feet eight inches, and, without base or capital, its shaft was five feet three inches in diameter; of one entire stone.* It may, perhaps, serve to throw some light upon the origin of the Egyptian pillar: this I have always supposed of much more ancient date than the time of the Roman emperor whose name is inscribed thereon, and who added perhaps its present capital. The situation of the present pillar is upon a hill above Alexandria Troas. A paved road led from the city, to the place where it either stood, or was to have been erected. We have therefore the instances of two cities, both built by generals of Alexander the Great, in consequence of his orders; and each city having a pillar of this kind, in a conspicuous situation, upon an eminence, on the outside of its walls. These pillars may have served to support statues in honour of the founder of those cities. That such a custom existed among the ancients, in later ages, is proved by the appearance of the capital added by the Romans to the Alexandrian column; for on the top of this, the foot of a statue still remains. It may therefore be reasonably concluded, that they were intended to support statues of Alexander; surveying, from their colossal heights, the scenes of his conquest, and the cities of his pride.

The hot baths, called *Lydia Hamam*, have been so ably described by Dr. Chandler,† that it is not necessary to detain the reader with new observations upon them. The water has the colour of whey; it is impregnated with iron and salt; and its temperature, when ascertained deep in the crevices whence it issues, equals 142° of Fahrenheit. These baths are much resorted to, for the cure of rheumatism, leprosy, and every cutaneous disorder.

Journeying hence, toward Alexandria Troas, we observed, upon a granite soros, part of an inscription, of some importance in determining the particular nature of the sort of sepulchre whereon it was inscribed; namely, one of those huge stone sepulchres used, in all parts of Turkey, for cisterns, beneath the public fountains.‡

* Its diameter is five feet three inches at the base; and four feet five inches at the summit.

† Travels in Asia Minor, p. 33.

‡ Sandys mistook them for ancient cisterns. In his description of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, (see *Relation of a Journey*, &c. p. 24.) he describes them as "*ample cisternes for the receit of raine*," the city "*being seated on a sandie soile, and altogether destitute of fountains.*" They generally consist of two immense masses of stone: one of which being hollowed, served as the coffin, and the other as its lid. They vary considerably in their dimensions. That to which allusion is here made, was nearly seven feet long, and above three feet wide; and this is the ordinary size.

The Romans began to call them *sarcophagi* about the time of Pliny, from a peculiar kind of stone used in their construction, found at Assos upon the Adramyttian gulph, and supposed to have the property of hastening the decomposition of the human body. St. Augustine relates, that the Greek appellation of this kind of tomb was *soros*:* his remark is forcibly illustrated by this inscription, although so small a part of it is now remaining:

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΣΩΤΗΡΕΘΗΚΑΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ . . . . .

" AURELIUS SOTER CONSTRUCTED THIS SOROS FOR HIMSELF AND" . . . . .

Other instances, of the same nature, occur in the account given of our future travels, where the legend is more entire.

The remains of Alexandria Troas have long served as a kind of quarry, whither not only Turks, but also their predecessors, during several centuries, repaired, whenever they required materials for ornamental architecture, or stones for the ordinary purposes of building. Long before the extinction of the Greek empire, the magnificent buildings of this city began to contribute monuments of ancient splendor toward the public structures of Constantinople; and, at present, there is scarcely a mosque in the country that does not bear testimony to its dilapidation, by some costly token of jasper, marble, porphyry, or granite, derived from this wealthy magazine. After all that has been removed, it is truly wonderful so much should remain. The ruins of the place, although confused, are yet considerable. The first object, appearing in the approach toward the city from Chemalé, is the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, formed of enormous blocks of hewn stone. The walls of the city exhibit the same gigantic style of masonry. Part of one of the gates still appears, on the eastern side, whose remains have been mistaken for those of a temple: they consist of two round towers, with square basements, supporting pedestals for statues. Immediately after passing this entrance, and coming within the district once occupied by the city, may be observed the ruins of baths, showing the reticulated work of the Romans upon the stucco of their walls. Broken marble soroi lie about, of such prodigious size, that their fragments seem as

* " Quia enim area in qua mortuus ponitur, quod omnes jam ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΟΝ vocant, ΣΟΡΟΣ dicitur Græce." *St. August. de Civitate Dei*, l. xviii, c. 5. See also *Julius Pollux*, X. 150.

rocks among the Valany oaks, covering the soil. But in all that now exists of this devoted city, there is nothing so conspicuous as the edifice vulgarly termed by mariners *The Palace of Priam;* from an erroneous notion, prevalent in the writings of early travellers, that Alexandria Troas was the Ilium of Homer.* This building appears from a considerable distance at sea. In front it has three noble arches, and behind these are many others. The stones of which it consists are placed together without any cement. Large blocks of sculptured marble, the remains of a cornice, appear above and on each side of the arches in front; and that the whole structure was once coated over with marble, or plates of metal, is evident, for holes for the metal fastenings are seen all over the work. Of the three front arches, the center arch measured forty-eight feet wide at the base, and each of the other twenty-one. The stones in that part of the work were five feet ten inches long, and three feet five inches thick. Behind the center arch is a square court, having four other arches; one on each side. A noble flight of steps conducted to the center arch in front: on each side of this was a column of the prodigious diameter of eight feet, as appears by the remains of their bases, still visible upon the two pedestals. These columns were not of entire blocks of stone, for we saw their disjointed parts among the ruins below the flight of steps. The back part of the building, and the two sides, were surrounded by walls supported on open arches: twelve of these remain on the northern side almost entire. The front of the building faces the west: behind, that is to say, upon the eastern side, were three magnificent arched portals. The walls here, on each side of the center arch, were supported upon a vault containing six arches, and these yet remain entire. From this description it is evident, that a plan of the building might be delineated to show its original form. No very accurate representation has yet been engraved of any part of it. I am inclined to believe, with Chevalier, that it was intended for baths, as a grand termination of the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus.† The opinions of Pococke and Chandler, that it was a gymnasium for the instruction of youth, is thereby rather

* Belon, De La Valle, Lithgow, and others, fell into this strange mistake. It is an error, however, which prevailed before they lived. Lithgow caused his own portrait to be represented in the midst of the ruins of Alexandria Troas, as a frontispiece to his work; calling these the ruins of Ilium, with the tombs of Priam and Hecuba. (See *Nineteen Years' Travels, &c. by W. Lithgow*, 4to. *Lond.* 1614.)

† *Plain of Troy*, p. 10.

confirmed than confuted. The *balneæ* of the ancients, particularly among the Romans, were often colleges of science and martial exercise; such were the buildings erected by Diocletian and Caracalla, and by the Emperor Adrian, according to Pausanias, as an ornament to the city of Corinth.*

On the south side of this building, and very near it, we found the remains of a circular edifice, resembling those structures at Baiæ, in Campania, now called temples, but primarily baths. Half of this edifice remained in an entire state. It had a small corridor round the base of the dome with which it was originally covered. Farther on, toward the sea, to the southwest, we found the ruin of a small oblong temple, and afterward observed another of considerable size, whose foundation remained unbroken. Then, turning toward the west, we came to the substruction of a very large building, but could comprehend nothing of its former history. At present it consists only of a series of vaults and spacious subterranean chambers, one beneath another, now serving as sheds for tenders and herds of goats. Again pursuing a southwestern course, we arrived at the immense theatre of the city, still in a state of considerable perfection. The semicircular range of seats is vaulted at either extremity: the diameter, taken from one side to the other, where the vaults remain, measured two hundred and fifty-two feet. Like almost every Grecian theatre, it was constructed by making the slope of the hill itself subservient to the sweep necessary for accommodating spectators. It commands a noble view of the sea, with the whole island of Tenedos as the principal object immediately in front. Lower down, toward the port, were marble soroi, and other antiquities of less importance. The few inscriptions discovered here by Chandler, and by others, have been removed; neither is it necessary to add what has already been published. Perhaps, even in this brief description of the confused and desolate remains denoting the site of Alexandria Troas, it has not been altogether possible to avoid a repetition of observations made by preceding travellers.†

* Pausan. in Corinth. c. 3.

† "From Bonarbashi, I set off, April 8, 1806, to a village called *Kistambol*, for the purpose of examining the ruins of Alexandria Troas. I procured a small hut for myself and servants; and leaving the baggage there, rode to Alexandria, at the distance of an hour The ruins there, the different fragments of marble from Paros, and Marmora; the blocks of granite; all attest the former magnificence of this city. The theatre faced the sea, as seems to have been the custom whenever the situation allowed it. It is a mile from the shore, and commands a view of Tenedos, and the

We arrived again at Bergas, and, taking a northern route, turned toward Udjek, with an intention of visiting the tomb of Æsyetes. As we left the village, I observed, near an old cemetery, a large square slab of Parian marble, lying upon the soil, and broken in two pieces. From its form, I suspected that some inscription might be concealed upon its lower surface, and this proved to be the case. We had no sooner raised the two fragments, than there appeared the highly interesting tribute to the memory of Drusus Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, which is now in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge.* Arriving afterward at the village of

islands adjacent. To the north of this is a spacious oblong building, constructed with stone, and its work strong and massive. A herd of goats, guarded by some large dogs, who much molested the guides, was feeding by this place. The black felt tents of some wandering Turcomans were pitched at a small distance. A little to the east of the above building are the great ruins of the baths, of Roman work: in the wall are some of the earthen pipes, through which the water was conveyed. To the northwest of these are granite columns, lying on the ground; one of which measured twenty-seven feet in length, and in diameter more than four feet. By the port were columns of still greater dimensions. To the northeast of the baths are many sarcophagi of stone; some of the lids of which resemble those represented in the drawings of the Necropolis of Telmessus. Mottraye, when on the spot, caused one of these tombs to be opened; and found in it two sculls, which crumbled to dust on being touched. The ancients used to deposit in them different persons of the same family, as may be seen by inscriptions found on them. I measured a sarcophagus here, eleven feet in length, and six in breadth. But I did not observe any splendid monuments of this kind, to be compared with those which I observed at Aphrodisias, where are many sarcophagi ornamented with bas-reliefs, and figures, in excellent preservation. The antiquities of this place (now called *Geyra*, a few days distance to the southeast of Smyrna,) which I visited in December, 1805, have not been examined as they merit; and would, from their great magnificence and quantity, fully repay the pains and trouble of any one who would explore them.

"All the ground within the walls of Alexandria is covered with the *valani* (βαλανι), producing the valanida, the cup of which is used for dyeing by the orientals, and some nations of Europe. An English vessel was taking in a load of this, when I passed by some months after. A beautiful slope of two miles, covered with this tree, and small bushes, among which are lying pieces of marble, and remains of the ancient city, carries you to the sea. Here, on the shore, is an oblong hollow spot, artificially formed, which was perhaps connected with the port; and this last had a canal about two hundred yards in length, which joined it to the sea. The communication of the canal on one side with the sea, and on the other with the circular basin, which formed the port, explains well this passage of Vitruvius; '*Fossis ductis, fit aquæ exitus ad littus: et ex mari tempestatibus aucto in paludes redundantia motionibus excitatur.*' Lib. i. c. 4.

"On a small rise of ground, without the walls of the town to the east, is a hot spring of mineral water, which supplies two basins at a small distance; one of which I found extremely warm. The people in the neighbourhood come there to obtain relief for different diseases. Pococke says, some have thought this to be Larissa. This conjecture, I think, is very much strengthened by a reference which I find Athenæus makes, among other hot waters, to those at Troic Larissa. *See lib.* ii. c. 5.

"Near the hot baths may be seen specimens of the *netted building (opus reticulatum*, as Vitruvius calls it) of the ancient Alexandrians, or Larisseans. A small rivulet runs in the plain below.

"I returned to Kistambol, with the remains of a lamb, which were to serve for our supper, and which the guide had bought at Alexandria for the value of three shillings English. While I examined the ruins, it was killed, skinned, and roasted on the spot by a large wood fire." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* See the account of it in a description of the "Greek Marbles," No. XXIII. p. 45. published in Cambridge in 1809.

Udjek, distant two hours from Bergas, I copied another inscription from a smaller piece of marble: this we left in the country. The legend is as follows:

SPLENDIDISSIMVS
POPVLVS
COL·AVG·TROADENS
AVRELIVM·IOBACCHVM
CVRATOREM
...IDIOMENOGEN

We then proceeded to *Udjek Têpe*, or the immense tumulus of Æsyetes, whose situation precisely agrees with the account given of that monument by Strabo. It is of all others the spot most remarkably adapted for viewing the plain of Troy, and is visible in almost all parts of Troas. From its top may be traced the course of the Scamander; the whole chain of Ida, stretching toward Lectum;* the snowy heights of Garga-

* Mr. Walpole crossed the Idæan Chain, as appears by the following extract from his Journal, relating to an excursion he made from Alexandria Troas to the Adramyttian Gulph.

"From the village of Kistambol, where on a stone sarcophagus, by the hut in which I lived, were the letters POSTVMIA VENEREA, I set off to cross the part of Ida which separated the Troad from the Adramyttian Gulph. This ridge of mountains is called, by Strabo, ἡ ἀπο τοῦ Λεκτοῦ ῥάχις διατείνουσα πρὸς τὴν Ἴδην. p. 871. In an hour's time I reached Yalagick, where, on a stone by a fountain, I read the words *Signifer, Imperator, Decurioni*, well cut. The rocks near the road are of granite. I continued my route S. E. and E. S. E. for seven hours, passing small streams running down from the mountains: by the sides grew the *xerium* (which Hasselquist asserts is the tree referred to by David, Psalm i. 3.) and the *plane*. The *therebinthus* grew above, on the rocks. I then reached a hamlet, Sunovassi, encircled by mountains; here we procured a shed for our party to pass the night, which consisted of myself, a servant, a guide, and a black soldier who was to accompany me to Adramyttium. We were able to find some bread, which the Turks eat unleavened; some *petmez*: and some rice. The inhabitants of the village, who were Turks, showed no disposition to annoy us, nor any impertinent curiosity, although in that recess of Ida, they could see but few European travellers. Corn, olives, cotton, and maize, the ears of which are eaten roasted, were the produce of their fields. From the mountain side they got fir, and the wood of the arbutus, to supply their hearths. At half past eight the next morning I left Sunovassi: at nine, I began to ascend Dikili-Dah, part of Ida. Nothing could exceed the beautiful scenery which I beheld on all sides, as I continued my ride, occasionally casting my eye downward upon forests of pines, and on villages hanging on the side, or placed at the feet of the mountains. On reaching the summit, the sea and island of Mitylene presented themselves; and in three hours time, from the moment of ascending, I reached the shore, along which I continued to ride till a quarter before four, when I turned up to the N. E. On the sea side were pieces of fir, cut down from Ida, for ship-building. At half past four I arrived at Avgillar, a small village, where I slept. There is a Greek inscription placed sideways in the outer wall of the mosque. The next day, at the distance of an hour and a half, I passed some warm baths, which I was not able to examine, as some Turkish women were there bathing. These may be the hot waters, to which Galen says, an invalid, who lived not far from Pergamus, was sent, (*De Sim. Med.* p. 296. v. 13.) ἐλίφαντι κάμνων. In two hours and a half from the baths is Adramyttium, now called *Edremit*: distant more than an hour from the sea. From that place,

rus; and all the shores of the Hellespont near the mouth of the river, with Sigeum, and the other tumuli upon the coast. From this tumulus we descended once more into the plain of Troy, upon an eminence of the southern side of which it is placed, and came in half an hour to a village called *Erkessy*. In the street of this village is a marble soros, quite entire. This was brought from Alexandria Troas, and is now used as a public cistern. It is of one piece of stone, seven feet in length, three feet and a half wide, and without including the *operculum*, rather more than three feet in depth. The inscription upon it is in Greek characters, beautifully cut, and in a very perfect state. Having before published the original,* I shall here merely add a translation; as it will serve to prove what I so lately stated concerning the nature of the Grecian, and, I may add, Egyptian soros; the chamber of the great pyramid of Cheops containing a sepulchre of granite of the same form and size; and another, once the soros of Alexander the Great, mentioned by Herodian, being now in the British museum.

..... "Aurelius Agathopodos Othoniacus, and the son of Aurelius Paulinus, who also was a Pancratiast, of whom there is a hollow statue in the temple of Smintheus, and here in the temple of Æsculapius, I have placed this soros for myself and my dearest father, the afore-written Aurelius Paulinus, and to my descendants. But if any person shall dare to open this soros, and lay in it the dead body of any other, or any man's bones, he shall pay, as a fine to the city of the Troadenses, two thousand five hundred drachmas, and to the most sacred treasury as much more."

The characters of this inscription cover one side of the soros at Erkessy, precisely as the hyeroglyphical characters cover those of the Alexandrian. Both one and the other have been used by the moderns as cisterns; and it may reasonably be presumed the repugnance of a very few of our English antiquaries, to admit that such cisterns were originally designed as receptacles for the dead, will, in the view of satisfactory evidence, be done away.

going first west, and then southwest, I came to Chemar in two hours. From Chemar, passing Karagatch, you reach in seven hours Aiasmata, distant two miles from the sea" *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* See the "Letter addressed to the gentlemen of the British Museum," containing a summary of the author's observations concerning "*the tomb of Alexander*," with some additional evidence respecting the Alexandrian soros, printed at Cambridge in 1807, by way of supplement to a former dissertation on the same subject.

We were one hour and a quarter going from Erkessy to Sigeum. or as it is now called, *Yeny Cheyr*. The promontory on which the present village is situated bears the name of Cape Janissary. Its inhabitants are all Greeks, living with great cleanliness in their little cottages, and practising the customs of their forefathers, in their hospitality to strangers. Many valuable antiquities have, at different times, been discovered by the inhabitants. They brought to me an extremely rare bronze medal of Sigeum: on this the letters CIΓΗ, with the square sigma, were very perfect. The stone with the famous Sigean inscription, had been removed a short time before, by the British ambassador; and more recently, a marble had been found at *Koumkeuy*, a village in the neighbourhood, with an inscription of the age of the Seleucidæ: this they permitted me to copy. It is, perhaps, nearly as ancient as the well-known inscription, now placed in the vestibule of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, brought from Sigeum, by Edward Wortley Montague; although, in the uncertainty which involves the series of Syrian kings, it is impossible to assign any precise date. Antiochus, in the year 196, A. C. went into the Thracian Chersonesus, to establish a kingdom there, and in the neighbouring country, for Seleucus, his second son.* It is, however, difficult to discover any particular incident, in the history of the Seleucidæ, alluded to by the first part of the inscription. Antiochus was wounded in some battle; and Metrodorus probably afforded him assistance. The purport of the inscription is not very clear, until we arrive at the eighth line; we there see, that "*Metrodorus of Amphipolis, the son of Timocles, is praised by the senate and people, for his virtue and good will toward the kings Antiochus and Seleucus, and the people: he is deemed a benefactor to the state; is to have access to the senate, and to be inscribed into the tribe and fraternity, to which he may wish to belong.*" No attempt, except in a letter or two, has been made toward the restoration of the first part of the inscription; the characters are given as they appeared upon the marble, throughout the whole: and the learned reader will perceive where the words require correction.

* Livy, lib. xxxiii. Appian. in Syriasis. Prideaux, part 2.

ΙΟΣΙΔΗΟΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ . . . .
ΑΛΚΕΝΟΤΕΤΡΑΥΜΑΤΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ
ΕΝΤΗΙΜΑΧΗΙΙΜΤΟΝΤΡΑΧΗΑΟΝ
. . ΡΑΓΕΥΟΙΧΗΥΠΟΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΑΤΡΟΥΛΙΝΑΥΝΟΣΕΦΕΣΑΛΚΕΝ
. ΕΡΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΕΛΕΛΓΡΟΣΟΣΤΙ . . .
ΤΗΓΟΣΠΡΟΟΡΩΜΕΝΟΣΤΟ . . . ΣΤ . .
ΩΣΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΙΒΟΥΛΗΙ
ΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΕΓΛΙΝΕΣΑΙΜΕΝ
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΝΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΜΦΙ
ΓΟΛΙΤΗΝΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙ
ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΟΥΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΝΧΑΙΣΕΑΕΥΚΟΝΚΑΙ . . . Ν
ΔΗΜΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΔΕ . . ΤΟΝΚΑΙ . . . . .
ΟΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙΔΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ
ΛΙΤΙΚ . ΝΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΦΟΔΟΝΕΠΙΤΗΝ
ΒΟΥΛΗΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΔΗΜΟΝΓΡΩΤΩΝ
ΜΕΤΑΤΑΙΕΙΑΣΞΕΙΝΑΙΔΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙ
ΕΙΣΦΥΛΗΝΚΑΙΦΡΑΤΡΙΑΝΗΝΑΝΒΟΥ
ΛΗΤΑΙΕ . . . . . .

Chandler, who has written an interesting account of the antiquities of Sigeum, says, that the Athenæum, or temple of Minerva, stood on the brow of the high and steep hill on which the church belonging to the present village is now situated.*

* Travels in Asia Minor.

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From the scattered marbles, described by him as its remains, we obtained a small bas-relief, now in the collection at Cambridge, representing two persons, one of whom is in the military garb of the ancients, and the other in the civic habit, addressing a figure of Minerva.* Over the head of the goddess is the word ΑΘΗΝΑ. The inscription preserved in the vestibule of Trinity College library at Cambridge, commemorating a degree of the Sigeans, two hundred and seventy-eight years before the Christian æra, came also from this place. It was removed in the beginning of the last century, by Edward Wortley Montague, then going ambassador to Constantinople. There is no mention in the poems of Homer, either of the promontory of Sigeum or of Rhœteum; indeed, the latter can hardly be called a promontory. These names referred to cities, built after the time of Homer, rather than to landmarks. Hence the objection urged concerning the distance of these promontories from each other, does not prove any absurdity in the position of the Grecian fleet, in the bay to the east of the mouth of the river; on each side of which are two necks of land, whose distance may well admit the possibility of Agamemnon's voice, when he called from the centremost ship, being heard to the two extremities.† Whenever the account given by an ancient author is irreconcileable with our preconceived and imperfect notions of the geography of a country, we are too apt, either to doubt the truth of the description, or to warp the text so as to accommodate an interpretation to the measure of our own ignorance. This has given rise to almost all the scepticism concerning Homer, and has also characterized the commentaries upon other authors. When Æschylus relates the instruction given to Io, for her march from Scythia, the river he so happily designates by the title of *Hybristes*,‡ from its great rapidity, and which is evidently the Kuban,§ has puzzled his editors, who have endeavoured to prove it the Don, the Dnieper, or even the Danube; with as much reason as if they had supposed it to be the Rhine or the Thames. An actual survey of the district of Causacus, and of the course of the rivers, would have removed every difficulty, and evinced the peculiar accuracy with

* See "Greek Marbles," No. XXIX. p. 51. † Iliad. Θ. 222.

‡ Æschylus in Prometh. Vinct. 742. p. 56. Ed. C. J. Blomfield, Cantab. 1810. "Ὑβριστής. *Dubitatur num in hoc loco Æschylus Araxem fluvium innuat, vel Istrum, vel Tanaim, vel Alazona, vel Borysthenem, quod sentit Butlerus, vel denique fluvium cui nomen Hybrista*, &c. &c." Ibid. in Glossar. p 144.

§ The *Hypanis* of D'Anville, and *Vardanus* of some authors.

which the poet attended to the features of nature. Experience will at last teach this wholesome truth; that when Homer and Æscylus wrote geographically, they had reference to better documents than modern maps; and, probably, to their own practical observations.

In the evening of our arrival at Sigeum, I had proof of the possible extent of vision in the clear atmosphere of this country, which would hardly be credited without ocular demonstration. Looking toward the Archipelago, I plainly discerned Mount Athos, called by the peasants, who were with me, *Agionoros*, the *Holy Mountain*; its tripple summit appearing so distinctly to the eye, that I was enabled to make a drawing of it. At the same time, it seemed that its relative position in all our maps, with respect to this promontory, is too far toward the north. The distance at which I viewed it could not be less than a hundred English miles: according to D'Anville, it is about thirty leagues from shore to shore, and the summit of the mountain is at some distance from the coast. We visited the two ancient tumuli, called the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. They are to the northeast of the village. A third was discovered by Mr. Gell,* near the bridge for passing the Mender; so that the three tumuli mentioned by Strabo† are yet entire. He describes them as the *monuments*‡ of Achilles, Patroclus, and Antiochus. So much has been published concerning them, that it will not be necessary to add much to, and still less to repeat, what has been said before. The two nearest Sigeum are conspicuous objects in the view of persons passing the Hellespont; and, in their form, are similar to others described in the preceding part of this work. It is remarkable, that none of the authors who have written on the subject, have noticed Strabo's allusion to *three* tombs. The largest was opened by order of Monsieur de Choiseul. I was acquainted with the Jew employed in the undertaking. He appeared an honest and respectable man; but I am inclined to doubt the truth of the story relating to the discovery of certain antiquities sent to his employer, as having been found in this tomb. There was no confidential person to superintend the work.§ It was performed by night, with scarcely any witness of the transaction. In the

* It now serves as a Turkish cemetry. See the engraving made from Mr. Gell's beautiful drawing of it, Plate XVI. *Topography of Troy*, p. 45.

† Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 899 Ed. Ox.

‡ Μνήματα.

§ See a narration of the transaction, published by Mr. Thornton, in his Account of Turkey.

zeal to gratify his patron, and prevent the disappointment likely to ensue from an expenditure of money to no purpose, it is at least probable that his Jewish brethen of the Dardanelles substituted other antiquities, in the place of reliques which they had been told they might find in the tomb.* The ruins of Parium, and of other ancient cities in their neighbourhood, as well as the ordinary traffick carried on with Greeks who pass through the straits from all parts of the Archipelago and Mediterranean, might easily have furnished them with the means of deception. I have not the smallest hesitation in affirming, that I believe these tombs to be coëval with the time of Homer, and that to one of them, at least, he has alluded in the Odyssey.† Many authors bear testimony to the existence of the tomb of Achilles, and to its situation, on or by the Sigean Promontory.‡ It is recorded of Alexander the Great that he anointed the *Stele* upon it with perfumes, and ran naked around it, according to the custom of honouring the manes of a Hero.§ Ælian distinguishes the tomb of Achilles from that of Patroclus, by relating, that Alexander crowned one, and Hephæstion the other.‖ It will not therefore be easy to determine, at the present day, which of the three tombs, now standing upon this promontory, was that which the inhabitants of Sigeum formerly venerated, as containing the ashes of Achilles**. The same degree of uncertainty does not attach to the tomb of Ajax: upon the Rhœtean side there is only a single tumulus.

From hence we descended once more to Koum-kalé where we embarked for the Dardanelles. And now, having finished the survey of this interesting country, it may be proper to add, by way of postscript to this chapter, a brief summary of the principal facts concerning it, for the use of other travellers, and as the result of our observations in Troas.

* A cast from the bronze figure of Isis, said to have been excavated upon that occasion, is now in the possession of the earl of Aberdeen. It certainly represents very ancient workmanship. The inverted position of the wings is alone proof of its great antiquity, whatever may have been its real history.

† Odyss. Ω. 73.

‡ Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Ælian, Philostratus in Vit. Apollon, &c.

§ Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.

‖ Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 7. The distinction is also made by Strabo, and by other writers. This difference between Homer's record and the traditions of the country, respecting the Trojan war, seems to prove that the latter were not derived from the former. Dr. Chandler has discussed this subject, in his interesting *History of Ilium*. See p. 138.

** It should also be observed, that to the south of Sigeum, upon the shore of the Ægean, are yet other *tumuli*, of equal, if not greater size, to which hardly any attention has yet been paid; and these are visible far out at sea. The opening all of them will, it is hoped, one day throw some light upon this curious subject.

I. The river Mender is the Scamander of Homer, Strabo, and Pliny. The *amnis navigabilis* of Pliny* flows into the Archipelago, to the south of Sigeum.†

II. The AIANTEUM, or *Tomb of Ajax*, still remains; answering the description given of its situation by ancient authors, and thereby determining also the exact position of the naval station of the Greeks.

III. The Thymbrius is yet recognized; both in its present appellation *Thymbreck*, and in its geographical position.

IV. The spacious plain lying on the northeastern side of the Mender, and watered by the *Callifat Osmack*, is the Simoisian; and that stream the Simois. Here were signalized all the principal events of the Trojan war.

V. The ruins of *Palaio Callifat* are those of the *Ilium of* Strabo. Eastward is the *Throsmos*, or mound of the plain.

VI. The hill near Tchiblack, if it be not the *Callicolone*, may possibly mark the site of the village of the Ilieans, mentioned by Strabo, where ancient Ilium stood.

VII. *Udjek Têpe* is the tomb of Æsyetes. The other tombs mentioned by Strabo as at Sigeum, are all in the situation he describes. The tomb of Protesilaus also still exists, on the European side of the mouth of the Hellespont.

VIII. The springs of Bonarbashy may possibly have been the ΔΟΙΑΙ ΠΗΓΑΙ of Homer; but they are not sources of the Scamander. They are, moreover, *warm* springs.

IX. The source of the Scamander is in Gargarus, now called *Kasdaghy*, the highest mountain of all the Idæan chain.

X. The altars of Jupiter, mentioned by Homer, and by Æschyles, were on the hill called *Kûchûnlû Têpe*, at the foot of Gargarus; where the ruins of the temple now remain.

* Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. v. p. 277. Ed. *L. Bat.* 1635.

† "The following passage of Pliny is attended with some difficulty; but the expression *amnis navigabilis*, applied to the Scamander, may be well explained by Plutarch, in two passages to which I shall refer: by these it appears that the epithet *navigabilis* was given by the ancients to small streams. The word ποταμὸς, as well as *amnis*, was used by them when speaking even of torrents. Strabo, lib. ix. 6, 8.

"'*Scæmander, amnis navigabilis: et in promontorio quodam Sigeum oppidum: dein portus Achæorum, in quem influit Xanthus, Simoenti junctus; stagnumque prius faciens Palæscamander.*'

"Plutarch speaks thus, in two places, of the river Melas, in Phocis; a part of Greece which he knew most intimately, from being born there: 'The Melas, spread out into *navigable* marshes and lakes (εἰς πλωτὰ καὶ λίμνας,) makes the plain impassible. Again: 'The Melas is *navigable* at its sources (πλώϊμος ἐν πηγαῖς.) Vit. Pelop. et Syllæ. The marshes on the Plain of Troy, made by the river, are mentioned by Strabo, p. 859. We have, then, the Melas, a small river, navigable at its sources, and with navigable marshes." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

XI. *Palæ Scepsis* is yet recognized in the appellation *Esky Skûpshu.*

XII. *Æné* is the *Aineïa* of Strabo; and *Æné Têpe*, perhaps, the *Tomb of Æneas.*

XIII. The extremity of the Adramyttian gulph inclines round the ridge of Gargarus, toward the northeast; so that the circumstance of Xerxes having this mountain upon his left, in his march from Antandrus to Abydus, is thereby explained.

XIV. Gargarus affords a view not only of all the plain of Troy, but of all the district of Troas, and a very considerable portion of the rest of Asia Minor.

CHAP. VII.

FROM THE HELLESPONT TO RHODES.

Transactions at the Dardanelles—Public Sports—Inscriptions—Voyage down the Hellespont—Tenedos—Lectum Promontory—Lesbos—Erythræan Straits—Chios—Straits of Samos—Burning Vapour—View of Patmos and the Cyclades—Pirates—Cos—Plane Tree—Inscriptions—Fountain of Hippocrates—Greek Manuscripts—Beautiful piece of Ancient Sculpture—Voyage from Cos to Rhodes—Ruins of Cnidus—visited by Morrit—and by Walpole—Carpathian Isles—Rhodes.

We were detained some time at the Dardanelles, waiting for the vessel from Constantinople: this came at last, so deeply laden with stores, for the supply of our army in Egypt, that we were almost afraid to venture on board. She had the name of *The Taurida*, and was literally nothing more than a covered boat. Mercantile speculations make bold adventurers. Few persons would have volunteered an expedition across the Mediterranean in such a bark; but our good captain comforted us with the assurance, that Columbus sailed across an unknown ocean in a skiff of less promise. He had cast anchor higher up the Straits, toward the Sea of Marmora, where vessels from Constantinople lie secure from all winds, and find better ground. There is no good anchorage at the Dardanelles. Captain Castle had fitted up a small apartment in the stern, to serve as a cabin;

and had placed one enormous gun in the prow, to intimidate pirates; observing dryly to us, as we surveyed it, that we should be lucky if it did not carry the gib-boom under water, in rough weather. It was amusing to notice the sort of speculation, which occupied not only the hold but every part of the vessel, where it was possible to cram an article of food or merchandize. Barrels of Adrianople tongues, candles, tea, sugar, cheese; butter of the Ukraine, already in an oily state, and oozing through the sides of the casks; wine, onions, cordage, iron, biscuit, cloth, pens, paper, hard-ware, hats, shoes, tobacco, and fruit. A few sheep were, moreover, huddled together close to the gun in the forecastle.

During our stay at the Dardanelles, we had lived in the house of the Neapolitan consul. This respectable old man put in force a stratagem which may serve to show the extraordinary power of imagination over diseases of the body. Being troubled with an intermitting fever, brought on during our excursion in Troas, I had been observed by him to go frequently to a clock, in the antechamber of our apartment, watching for the hour when the paroxysm began. This used to occur exactly at noon. One morning he put back the clock a full hour. At twelve, therefore, I had no fear of my fever, for the index pointed to eleven: and at one, although the hour seemed to be present, the paroxysm did not take place. Unfortunately, pleased by the success of his experiment, he told me what had happened; and after the usual interval, the fever again returned. By the same manner, all the charms used among the lower order of people in this country, operate in the cure of agues. The tomb of Protesilaus, as related by Philostratus,* was anciently resorted to in healing a quartan fever

We received great civilities from the pacha. He sent one of his officers with our Greek servant, to collect some marbles we wished to remove from Troas; a work generally attended with difficulty, owing to a notion the Turks have, that Christians can extract gold from such stone. The ceremony of his daughter's marriage with the son of an Asiatic viceroy, called, by way of eminence, *The pacha of Asia*, and said to be lord over a hundred villages, took place during the time we remained. Upon this occasion, public sports were exhibited, and we had an opportunity of seeing a magnificent celebration of the game of *djirit*, the tournament of the Turks. This very ancient

* Philostrat. in Heroicis.—See also Chandler's Ilium, p. 142.

pastime might possibly have given rise to tilts and tournaments. It is difficult to reconcile a passion for this martial exercise with the natural habits and indolence of the Turks. The two old pachas fought against the young bridegroom each party being at the head of a numerous band. The contest was often so severe, that we expected to see their eyes, if not their lives, sacrificed. The manner of the engagement has been often described. It consists chiefly in a charge made at full speed, and an attack, by hurling short thick sticks, as javelins. Great dexterity is shown, both in parrying off these darts, and in the display of equestrian skill. Upon the day following that in which the combat took place, male camels were brought to fight with each other, during a concert of Turkish music. In this exhibition there was nothing curious nor diverting, except the extraordinary strength shown by these animals, when a female camel was brought before them. One of the camels, with half a dozen strong Turks endeavouring to restrain it, set off in full speed, overtook the female, and threw her down notwithstanding all their efforts to the contrary. The festivity of the day ended with a scene of intoxication in the palace of the pacha of the Dardanelles, who is much addicted to drinking. When commotions arise, or there is reason to fear a visit from the Capudan Pacha, who comes occasionally to levy contribution, he retires to his little villa in the recesses of Mount Ida: here he gives full scope to his love of drinking; having conveyed with him his concubines, musicians, dancers, and gamekeepers; and being also attached to the sports of the field.

The late Mr. Willis left at the Dardanelles, two marbles, with inscriptions, which are now in the possession of the custom-house officer. These were offered for sale to us. Mr. Willis found them in Troas, and, I believe, in Alexandria Troas.—One of them had been the capital of a pillar, and was converted by the Turks into a mortar; the other exhibited only a broken mass of marble, of an irregular form. Upon the first I read,

FORTISSIMOETINVICTISS
IMOCAESARIDNGALER
AVR . VAL . MAXIMIANO
PRINCIPI IVBENTVTIS

This inscription belongs to the latter end of the third century;

Galerius Maximianus having been consul in the year 294.—The title of Cæsar was conferred upon him by Diocletian. The letters DN are the usual abbreviation of *Dominus*. The title *Princeps Jubentutis* or *Juventutis*, was used in the time of the republic; and we find it continued through almost all the emperors, until the time of Constantine; "*Symbolum futuræ successionis*," as it is expressed by Spanheim.*

In what remains of the other inscription, we find mention made of the *Tribunus Militum* of the third legion; of the *Præfectus Fabrûm*;† and of the *Praefectus Equitum*. The latter part relates, perhaps, to the conquest of forty-four states in Africa. The following are the only legible characters upon the stone:

TRIB . MILLEGIIIAV
PRAEFFABR . TEST
PRAEF . EQVITVMALA
NVMIDIVIPRΘNI
CIVITATES XXXXIIII
EXPROVINCAFRICA

We saw no other antiquities at the Dardanelles; nor were we able to procure any ancient medals. If these are found, the consuls of the different nations reserve them as presents for their respective ambassadors at Constantinople. Captain Castle had, however, obtained several among the ruins of Parium; where he also observed curious mosaic pavements, and other remains of that city.

Having all our things on board, we weighed anchor, and took leave of Monsieur Preaux, who returned to Constantinople.—As we sailed down the Straits, a very conspicuous tumulus appeared, crowning the hills upon the European side. Leaving the Dardanelles, we again coasted the interesting land of Troas, passing the Rhœtean promontory, and once more viewing the tomb of Ajax, the sepulchre of Æsyetes, the Grecian harbour, and the mouth of Xanthus, tinging the dark waters of the Hellespont with its yellow torrent. Our course was along the European side of the channel; as in passing round Sigeum there is a shoal, whereon vessels are often stranded. In order

* *De Præst. et. Ut. Num.* Diss. V
† Vid. Cic. ad Attic. Ep. I.

to escape this, ships from the Archipelago avoid bearing up the Straits until they are able to see all the windmills stationed upon the brow of the promontory. Two of the tombs mentioned by Strabo appear very conspicuous in that point of view. The house of a dervish is situated in the side of the one nearest to the windmills and to the village of Yeni Cheyr; and this sepulchre was opened by order of Monsieur de Choiseul.—Having doubled the cape, two other tumuli appear upon the coast toward the south. These are very large, and stand close to the cliff above the shore. We sailed on toward Tenedos. The soil, as we approached, seemed bleak and barren; but the island produces the finest wine in the Archipelago. The Egyptian expedition had raised its price to eight paras the oke: ordinarily, the demand is only from four to six. This wine will keep fourteen or sixteen years; after that time it loses its red colour, and becomes white, but retains its strength and flavour to a much longer period. The wind and sea were so turbulent that we could not land: we fired a gun, and laid to near the town; this is situated in a low and sheltered spot. A boat put off to us upon our signal, but found such a sea running, that she was compelled to return, and we continued our course. Perhaps we surveyed the island better from our deck than we could have done on shore; for we saw the whole extent of the town, with the vessels lying in its port, and the land on either side. There is upon the island but one object to attract strangers, except its wine. It was anciently famous for its earthenware; fragments of which we had seen in Troas. But the soros of *Atticus*, father of *Herodes Atticus*, a very interesting relique, is in the market place; and this, with its *operculum*, is said to be entire. It now stands in the *agora* of the town, serving as a cistern. The inscription upon it was published by Chandler.* Tournefort, who has anticipated every thing it might have been proper to state concerning the ancient history of Tenedos; and who published, at the same time, a very accurate plan of the island, with a view of the town; was informed that no remains of former times existed.† The bronze medals of Tenedos are however not uncommon. If the interesting monument I have mentioned be hereafter noticed, its removal will not be difficult. The Jewish consul at the Dardanelles might at any time effect the undertaking; but this could not be done without considerable expense.

* *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, No. LV.
† Voyage du Levant, tom. II. p. 98. *Lyons*, 1717.

Continuing our course toward the south, after passing the town of Tenedos, we were struck by the very grand appearance of the ancient *Balneæ*, already described, among the remains of Alexandria Troas. The three arches of the building make a conspicuous figure, to a considerable distance at sea, like the front of a magnificent palace; and this circumstance, connected with the mistake so long prevalent concerning the city itself gave rise to the appellation of "*The Palace of Priam*," bestowed by mariners upon these ruins. Thence we sailed to the promontory of Lectum, now Cape *Baba*, at the mouth of the Adramyttian Gulph: the southwestern extremity of that chain of mountains of which Gargarus is the summit. This cape presents a high and bold cliff, on whose steep acclivity the little town of Baba appears, as though stuck within a nook.* It is famous for the manufacture of knives and poignards: their blades are distinguished in Turkey by the name of *Baba leeks*. Afterward, crossing the mouth of the Gulph, we passed round the western point of the island of Mitylene, anciently called the *Sigrian* Promontory. It is uncertain at what time the island changed its ancient name of Lesbos for that which it now bears; but Eustathius says it was so called from Mitylene, the capital town. Its situation, with regard to the Adramyttian gulph, is erroneously delineated in maps and charts: some of these place it at a distance in the Ægean Sea.†

I had surveyed the whole of this island, with considerable interest, from the peak of Gargarus; and now, as the shades of evening were beginning to conceal its undulating territory, a vain wish of enjoying nearer inspection was excited. The consciousness to a traveller of the many interesting things he cannot see, often counterbalances the satisfaction derived from the view of objects he has been permitted to contemplate.‡ Few

* A very accurate view of it is engraved in Mr. Gell's "*Topography of Troy*," p. 21, from his own drawing. The place was called Baba, from a dervish (*Baba*) buried there, "who always gave the Turks intelligence when any rovers were in the neighbouring seas." *Egmont and Heyman's Travels*, vol. i. p. 162.

† Our geographical documents of the Archipelago are a disgrace to the age; the very best of them being false in their positions of latitude, and in the respective bearings of the different islands, as well as remarkable for their unaccountable omissions.

‡ Some amends for my own deficiency, with respect to Mitylene, will be made by communication of a different nature; namely, by those extracts from the MS. Journal of my friend Mr. Walpole which relate to his travels in Asia Minor. These, while I am describing the islands and the coast, will afford an accompanying view of the interior, and of those objects which I did not see near the shore. I shall begin with his journey from Pergamus to Smyrna.

"The antiquities of Pergamus are very deserving of a minute examination; particularly those on the Acropolis; on one part of which, toward the south, is a wall of granite, a most stupendous work, eighty or ninety feet in perpendicular depth. Vast cisterns and decayed towers, (in one of which I copied a Greek inscription relating to

literary strangers would pass the shores of Lesbos with indifference. Its land was peculiarly dignified by genius, and by wisdom. Æolian lyres were strung in every valley, and every

a decree ratified by the people of Pergamus, and inscribed in the temple of Bacchus,) are to be seen there. The Acropolis was adorned with a temple of the Corinthian order, whose pillars, of nearly four feet in diameter, are lying prostrate among other parts of it. This temple, I conceive, was erected to Minerva: we know from Vitruvius, that her temple was built "*in excelsissimo loco*," (lib. i. c. 7.;) and the silver money of Pergamus bears her image constantly: games also were, as Polybius informs us, celebrated here in honour of her, by Attalus, (lib. iv.) Below, to the south, is the town; and to the west of it was the stadium, and a theatre above it.—The relative situation of these two buildings at Tralles in Asia was the same, according to Vitruvius, (lib. v.) "*Trallibus porticus ex utraque parte scenæ, supra stadium.*" Farther on to the west, are the remains of an amphitheatre, or naumachia; there is water dividing the two semicircles; so that if the building was used for the first, it must have flowed beneath, in a channel, whenever the sports were represented.

"There is no part of the Turkish dominions where you may travel with greater safety, than in the district under the family of Kara Osman Oglou. The two capitals as they may be called, are Pergamus, and Magnesia. In coming from the former place to Smyrna, I passed through part of their territory. The country was, for Turkey, well cultivated; most of it laid down in cotton and corn land. They plough, as I was told, with a pair of oxen, more than an acre a day; and the manure they use is burnt weed. The whole country was now (April) wearing a beautiful appearance; the anemone, ranunculus, and hyacinth, were seen in the fields, and by the road side. Having slept one night in the open air, by a fire which the driver of the caravan kindled with dried horse dung, I arrived the next day at the banks of the Hermus; winding, and muddy; daily adding to the land, which it has already formed on the north side of the Gulph of Smyrna. I crossed it at the ferry, and reached Menomen; whence I sailed to Smyrna in an hour From Menomen, boats come daily to Smyrna, in the season, laden with water melons (the *cucurbita citrullus*) called by the Greeks *angouria*. From the seed, a liquor is made, which is sold about the streets of Smyrna.

"The fields and gardens about Smyrna are planted with almond, olive, fig, and pomegranate trees. The little village of Narli-keui takes its name from the abundance of the pomegranate trees there. Some of the plants, birds, and insects found at Smyrna, are described by Hasselquist. The *francolin*, (a kind of partridge, and called by Belon the ἀττάγη of the Greeks,) and *beccafico*, are found in abundance; the latter I have heard called by a name not unlike the ancient. "Συκαλίδες (says Athenæus) *are taken in the fig season*:" lib. ii. 69. Woodcocks, and a species of plover, are seen in December. Wild boars are frequently shot here in the mountains. I saw also a quantity of the ἰχῖνος (the sea egg,) which is eaten by the Greeks in their fasts; and called now by the same name. "*It defends itself by its prickly shell*:" Athenæus, lib. iii. 41. The *octopodian*, as the modern Greeks call it, is also eaten by them in Lent; it is a cuttle-fish, with eight rays, or tentacula, as the name indicates The hills round Smyrna are of granite. At a village to the south of it, called Bujaw, is a very fine grove of cypress trees; this tree, so great a favourite with the Turks in their burying grounds, is there planted on account of its balsamic smell; its wood, as well as that of the *ficus sicomorus*, was always prized in the East for its durability. The Egyptians made their mummy chests of it; and the Athenians buried those who had fallen in war in coffins of this wood. Between Smyrna and Bournabat, a village seven miles to the north east of it, is a very large cemetery, with remains of antiquity in it, and Greek Inscriptions. The Turkish burying grounds are in general extensive, as they never put a body where one has been already deposited; and are also offensive as they do not put them deep in the ground. In the mosque at Bournabat, I copied a Greek inscription, from a pillar sixteen feet in length; it commemorates the river Meles: the last part of the inscription is a Senerian Iambic. This river, before it comes to Smyrna, is crossed by two aqueducts, to the southeast of the city; one of which may be 300 feet from one hill to the opposite; and the other about 200 feet.—The Meles flows now through part of the town, turning a few mills; and empties itself in the sea to the northeast. In going out of the Frank street, at the north end, and toward the careening ground, you walk over soil which has been gained from the sea. The arrow-headed grass of Sweden, which Hasselquist found here, and which grows where the earth has remains of sea salt, proved to him that the earth had here been covered with the sea. This circumstance makes it difficult to arrange the present topography, in some respects, with the ancient.

"The remains of antiquity, which the acropolis of Smyrna presents, are few: the

mountain was consecrated by the breath of inspiration.* While more ancient records tell of an Alcæus, a Sappho, and a Pittacus; of Arion, and Terpander; with all the illustrious names of Lesbian bards and sages, poets and historians; Cicero and Vitruvius expatiate on the magnificence of its capital.† Such was the flourishing state of the Fine Arts in the city of Mitylene,‡ when Marcellus, after the battle of Pharsalia, retired to end his days there in literary ease, that a modern traveller, after the lapse of seventeen centuries, could behold nothing but proofs of the splendor to which they had attained.§ The medals of Lesbos are less known than of any other island in the Archipelago; because those which have been described as its ancient silver coinage, properly belong to Macedonia.‖ Yet the island itself has never been fully examined in modern times; probably from its being so completely in the possession of the Turks. Tournefort, who has given us the best account of it, with that industry and erudition which characterize his writings, had little opportunity for its investigation. According to his own confession, he was for the most part confined to the shore at *Petra*;** lest the captain, with whom he had contracted for a passage to Constantinople, should sail without him. Next to the work of Tournefort ranks the information contained in the travels of Egmont and Heyman, who saw more of the actual state of the country; but still very little is known of the interior of the island; although, according to the observations of these gentlemen, it is fertile, and well cultivated; affording no less than seventy thousand quintals of oil annually to the port of Mitylene.†† The site and remains of the ancient towns

chief are, part of the castle wall, perhaps of the time of Lysimachus, the cisterns, and the site of the stadium, built, as that at Ephesus was, with one side on vaults, and the other on a natural declivity; exhibiting now sports of a less cruel kind than it did formerly. In 1806, I saw cricket matches played here by some of the merchants. A kan and bazar were built with the marble brought from the theatre; and the only specimen of antiquity which was discovered while I was there, was a colossal marble foot. After Constantinople, there is no town in the Levant which presents a more beautiful and interesting prospect than that which is beheld from the castle hill, extending over the city beneath; the bay with the shipping; the mountains beyond; the winding Hermus on the north side of the gulf; and the highly cultivated plain adjoining to the city of Smyrna." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

* Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around.

† Cic. De Leg. Agr. Vitruv. lib. i. c. 6.

‡ Ἡ μεγίστη πόλις. Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii.

§ "Aussi n'y voit-on que bouts de colonnes, la pluspart de marbre blanc, quelques-unes gris cendre, ou de granit, &c. . . . . Il n'est pas croyable combien dans les ruines dont nous parlons, il y reste de chapiteaux, de frises, des piedestaux de bouts d'inscriptions," &c. *Tournef. Voy. du Lev.* tom. ii. p. 81. *Lyons*, 1717.

‖ See Combe's account of Hunter's Medals, *Num. Vet. Pop. et Urb. &c.* Tab. 23. Fig. 1. &c. p. 171.

** *Voyage du Levant.* tom. ii. p. 86.

†† Beef was then only one penny the pound in the market of Mitylene.

of Eressus* and Methymna† were known in the time of Tournefort; the former of which still preserves its original name, almost unaltered, in the modern appellation of Eresso; and the ruins of the latter are yet to be seen.‡ Excepting Eubœa, Lesbos is the largest island in the Ægean sea. It was the mother of many Æolian colonies. Its happy temperature conspired with the richness of its soil to produce those delicious fruits, and exquisite wines, so highly extolled by ancient writers.§ The present state of its agriculture does not however entitle its products to the high encomium once bestowed upon them. Its wine is said to have lost the reputation it formerly possessed;‖ probably owing entirely to the ignorance and sloth of its Turkish masters, and the disregard shown by them to the cultivation of the vine.

Early on the following morning, passing the Promontory of Melæna, and the mouth of the Hermean gulph, or gulph of Smyrna, we entered the Straits, between Chios, now Scio, and the main land. All this voyage from the Hellespont, between the continent and adjacent islands, was considered by our captain as mere river sailing; but pirates lurk among the straits, in greater number than in the more open sea. Being always in sight of land, and often close in with it, the prospects afforded are in the highest degree beautiful.

In the channel between Chios and the opposite peninsula of Erythræ,** the scenery is perhaps unequalled by any thing in

* Famous for the births of Theophrastus and Phanias, the most renowned of Aristotle's disciples.

† Famous for the birth of Arion.

‡ *Voy. du Lev.* tom. ii. p. 84.

§ Vid. Horat. Lib. i. Od. 17. Virgil. Georg. lib. ii. 89, 90. Aul. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 5. &c. &c.

‖ Travels of Egmont and Heyman, vol. i. p. 158. *Lond.* 1759.

** The ruins of Erythræ are at a place called *Rytropoli*, by the little river *Aloes*, near *Tcheme*. When Mr. Walpole was there, a number of very beautiful little bronze medals were discovered, all of ERYTHRÆ. He kindly presented some of them to me. They have in front the head of Hercules; and for the obverse, the letters EPT with the name of a magistrate. An extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal will here communicate the result of his remarks in Asia Minor, made subsequently to his arrival at Smyrna.

"During my journey in Asia, I took up my abode for the night in the khans or caravanserais, choosing a room to myself in these bad substitutes for inns, rather than the private houses of the Turks, where my Janissary procured me admittance. For although the Turks are quiet and inoffensive, yet any thing is preferable to sleeping in a small room with half a dozen of them; or to a cross-legged posture at meals, round a low table, eating spoon meats, of which their repasts generally consist. As the road I travelled was not much frequented, I was forced to stop at the houses of individuals; and arriving generally at sunset, I found them beginning their supper; their dinner is at ten in the morning, as they rise at break of day. Sometimes a village afforded a small hut of mud and straw, purposely built for travellers; half of this was raised about two feet from the ground, for men to lie on; the other half accommodated three or four horses. In the great towns it was necessary to go first to the governor, with some present, accompanied by my Janissary. At Guzel-hissar I waited on the Aga, who, after some conversation with my Janissary, ordered a Greek

the Archipelago; not only from the grandeur, height, and magnitude, of the gigantic masses presented on the coast, but from the extreme richness and fertility of the island filled with flowery, luxuriant, and odoriferous plants, and presenting a magnifi-

(his tailor) to receive me into his house, where I remained some days. Presents to the servants are always given. At Melasso, I waited on the governor: it was the time of the fast of the Ramadan; I found him sitting on his divan, counting his beads of thick amber; a pipe was brought to me, but not to him, as he did not smoke, eat, nor drink, from sunrise to sunset. He showed me guns and pistols made in England: these some Englishmen had brought to Melasso, coming to buy horses for the army on the Egyptian expedition. This fast of the Ramadan I found was most strictly observed. My Janissary was not so scrupulously abstemious as my guide, who never even took snuff until the sun was below the horizon. I passed the evenings writing my journal, and reading some books of travels I had with me. The Turkish peasants would sometimes bring medals; these they found in the fields. The conversation of the Turks turned generally, as I found from my interpreter, on the affairs of the village, and its neighbourhood. The women never appeared. I saw some by the road side; and in the villages young children made their appearance, with strings of copper money around their heads; and the nails, both of their hands and feet, dyed of a reddish colour, with henna, the leaves of which are powdered and formed into a paste, and then applied. This is a custom of great antiquity; Hasselquist says he saw the nails of some mummies dyed in this manner. Although the Turks, in their intercourse with each other, strictly adhere to the practice of taking off their slippers in a room, (a custom of the ancients; see Martial, lib. iii. *deposuit soleas,*) yet they dispense with it frequently in the case of European travellers.

"Beside rice and fowls, it is possible to procure, at many of the villages and towns in Asia Minor, *yowry*, or sour milk, called in Greek ὀξύγαλα; *caimac*, or coagulated cream, in Greek ἀφρόγαλα; and soft cheese, χλωρὸ τύρι, a literal translation of the *caseus viridis* of Columella. Mutton is universally preferred to beef; this, in general, is coarse and bad tasted: the former is double the price of the latter, and is twopence the pound.

"A Greek labourer receives from thirty-five to forty paras a day, nearly fifteen pence: he works only two thirds of the year: the other third consists of holidays. During the four fasts, of which that in Lent is the most strictly observed, he eats shellfish, caviar (the roe of sturgeon), pulse, and anchovies.

"I observed but few Greek villages in Asia Minor; the Greeks all seek the great towns, to avoid more easily the different means of oppression resorted to by the Turkish governors; whose short residence in their provinces is spent, not in countenancing or furthering any improvement or plans of amelioration in the condition of those subject to them, but in exacting every thing they can, to repay themselves for the sum which the Porte takes from them, and in carrying away what wealth they are able to amass. It is difficult to ascertain what sum any given province pays annually to the Porte; but a near conjecture may be made, by adding the *haratch* (capitation tax) to the sum which the governor stipulates to pay every year.

"The Turks, as far as my experience carried me, show no disposition to molest or offend a traveller. Something contemptuous may at times be observed in their manner. But a great change for the better, in their general deportment, is to be attributed to their never being now exasperated by the attack of corsairs or pirates on the coast.

"No people living under the same climate, and in the same country, can be so opposite as the Greeks and Turks. There is in the former a cringing manner, and yet a forwardness, disgusting to the gravity and seriousness of the latter. The Turks treat the Armenians, who conduct themselves generally with great propriety and decorum, with much less harshness than they show to the Greeks. Their present condition is certainly not the most favorable point of view for considering the character of the Greeks; and their faults, which are those of their unfortunate situation would disappear under more favourable circumstances, and a different government. When in office and authority, they are not so devoid of insolence to their countrymen, as might be wished. The *codja-bashis* in the Morea are, many of them, tyrannical to the other Greeks. The treatment which the Jews experienced at their hands, in the time of the Greek empire, is that which the Greeks now meet with from the Turks. "No one," says Benjamin of Tudela, "dares to go on horseback, but the imperial physicians; and the Jews are hated in the town by all the Greeks, without any regard to their good or bad character." p. 30. *as cited by Niebuhr.*

"Neither hay nor oats are known to the Turks; nor has any nation in the East ever used them for their horses. "They brought barley also and straw for the horses."

cent slope, covered with gardens from the water's edge. Trees bending with fruit; the citron the orange, the lemon, the mulberry, and the *lentiscus*, or mastic tree, are seen forming extensive groves: and in the midst of these appears the town of Scio.

Upon first entering the straits, small objects interfere not with the stupendous grandeur of the view. Mountains, high, undulating, sweeping precipitous, inclose the sea on all sides, so as to give it the appearance of a vast lake surrounded by that sort of Alpine territory, where the eye, from the immensity of objects, roams with facility over the sides and summits it beholds; surveying valleys, precipices, chasms, crags, and bays; and, losing all attention to minuter features, is occupied only in viewing the bolder outlines of nature. As we advanced, however, and drew near to Chios, the gorgeous picture presented by that beautiful island drew all our attention, and engrossed it, from daylight until noon. It is the paradise of modern Greece; more productive than any other island, and yielding to none in grandeur. We passed close beneath the town, sailing pleasant-

1 *Kings* iv. 28. Homer may be consulted, *Il.* E. 195.; and Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. *(Immanis ordea lassis)*. Niebhuhr says, he saw no oats in Arabia. I did not observe tobacco so much cultivated as corn and cotton. The tobacco plantations require much attention; but are very productive. After gathering the leaves, the stalks stand and rot, and, by the salt which they contain, fructify the earth. The crop from a tobacco plantation is esteemed worth twice as much as the product of the same land sown with corn. An acre of moderately good ground is said to yield about two hundred okes of cotton, an oke is two pounds and three quarters; and the cotton may be worth nearly two piastres an oke.

"The olive tree flourishes in a chalky soil. In summer, a hollow is dug round the tree, to receive water: the fruit is beaten off with long sticks, and not gathered. The olivepresses, which I saw, consist of a circular basin, of twelve feet in diameter; and from the centre rises a tall strong piece of wood, to which a large stone, like a millstone, is attached. A horse goes round the basin, and, as he moves, the perpendicular piece of wood receives a rotatory motion; this is communicated to the stone.

"Locusts are called by the Greeks κατάρα *(a curse)*. They had laid waste the country about Adramyttium and Pergamus. Proceeding in a straight line, and stopped by no impediment, they devoured every kind of vegetation: all means used to destroy them were fruitless; if some part were killed by smoke and fire, kindled expressly, still, however, multitudes escape. In July, the Archipelago was covered for some distance with swarms, which the wind had driven into the sea. They were larger than grasshoppers; with legs and body of a yellow colour; their wings were brown, and spotted. The Turks have not learned to eat them; but with the Arabs, the locust is boiled or roasted, and eaten with salt. Europeans are surprised at this; as the Arabs are, when they hear that we eat crabs, oysters, and lobsters.

"The storks, while I was in the Troad, were building their nests on the houses at Bournabashi. The veneration paid to these birds by the Mahometans is well known. The Thessalians (says Plutarch, *de Iside et Oriride*) esteem them, because they destroyed serpents. The noise made by the upper and under parts of their bill ('*crepitante ciconia rostro*,' *Ovid.*) is well compared, by Shaw, to that of a pair of castanets.

"On the great roads near Smyrna, which lead to the interior, are to be met frequent caravans of camels; these are preceded by an ass; and round their necks are strings of beads, with a bell. I mention this, because the same ornament is seen on the camels sculptured at Persepolis. The camel of the northern part of Asiatic Turkey is a stronger animal than that of the south; the latter carries not more than five hundred pounds weight; but the former from eight to nine hundred. Near Moolah I met a caravan laden with iron ore. *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

ly along its vineyards and plantations, and inhaling spicy odours, wafted from cliffs and groves. The houses being all white, with flat roofs, presented a lively contrast to the evergreens which overshadowed them; seeming like little palaces in the midst of bowers of citron, lime, olive, and pomegranate trees. This chosen spot was for many years the residence of an Englishman of the name of Baimbridge, who had searched all Europe for a healthy place wherein to end his days; and although his arm was fractured at the advanced age of seventy-four, lived in Scio until he was ninety-three. The captain of our vessel well remembered him, when he was himself only the mate of a merchantman, and his master's ship was laid up in the island during a twelvemonth. He pointed out the house where he lived, and the tree beneath which he was buried; and spoke of his residence in Scio as the happiest remembrance of his life. Indeed, the praises of this favoured island are universal in the country; and its delights constitute the burthen of many a tale, and many a song, among the modern Greeks.* Its produce is chiefly silk and mastic. From the abundance of the latter article, the Turks call Chios by the name of *sackees*, which signifies mastic.† The sale of a single ounce of this substance, before the grand signior's tributary portion of it has been collected, is punished with death. This the *cady* annually receives in great pomp, attended by music and other demonstrations of joy.

The inhabitants of Chios amount to about sixty thousand, of

* Egmont and Heyman published the best account I have seen of this island, not even excepting that of Tournefort; and to their travels I would refer the reader for further statistical information. To repeat what has already been so fully communicated, would hardly be deemed justifiable I am indebted to their work for the following eulogy of Chios, as taken from the writings of the celebrated Neapolitan poet, *Parthenius*.

"Et me grata Chios, cum Nereus obstrepit undis
Accipiat; noto facundos littore amicos
Invisam; O, qui me ventus felicibus oris
Sistat, et ingenti Telluris protegat arcu:
Ingenium me mite soli, me collis aprici
Prospectus, dulcesque cavis in vallibus umbræ,
Ac tepidæ invitant auræ, solesque benigni:
Necnon et placidi mores, et amica virum vis,
Doeta animos capere officiis; O, si mihi vitæ,
Ducere, quod superest, alta hic sub pace liceret!"

Nauticorum, lib. iv. p. 168.

† For every information concerning the mastic tree, and the use made of its gum, see *Tournefort*, tom. ii. p. 66. In Turkey, the ladies of the country amuse themselves by chewing mastic; ascribing to it, at the same time, many virtues. The Turks, however, according to Egmont and Heyman, only get the refuse of the mastic; the best being sold to foreigners.

which number twenty thousand reside in the town of Scio.* It contains forty-two villages.† Its minerals merit a more particular regard than they have hitherto obtained.‡ Jasper and marble are said to be found there in considerable quantity and beauty, and a kind of green earth, resembling verdigris,§ of which I was not able to procure a sight, called "*earth of Scio*" by the Turks. The pavement of the church of *Neamony*, a convent two hours distant from the town, consists of marble and jasper, with inlaid work of other curious stones, dug from quarries in the island. Several Greek manuscripts were preserved in the library of this convent, when Egmont and Heyman visited the place.‖ The ancient medals of Chios, even the silver, are obtained without difficulty in various parts of the Levant; and perhaps with more facility than upon the island itself.** Its

* "To the south of the town of Scio, which stands on the eastern side of the island nearly in the centre, is a beautiful plain, of five miles in extent, by the sea side it is filled with lemon, orange, fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive trees. A species of lentiscus, from which the mastic gum is procured, grows in great abundance there. No other mastic but that of Scio is mention by travellers in the Levant: but in Galen we find a reference to Egyptian mastic. μαστίχε Αἰγυπτία, *lib.* ii. *c.* 6. *ad Glauconem.*

"The fine climate of the island, the mild government of the Turks in it, the natural disposition of the inhabitants, all contribute to form that liveliness and gayety of temper which characterize the Sciots, and have given rise to the proverb, that it is easier to find a green horse (ἄλογο πρασινο,) than a sober minded Sciot' (Χιώτα φρόνιμον.) The features of the women are beautiful; but are covered with a paint, in which mercury is an ingredient, and by this their teeth and breath are affected.

"Besides cargoes of oranges and lemons, sent to Constantinople and the Black Sea, the island exports many bales of silk, damask, and velvet, to Barbary, and to Egypt. The population of the capital is 30,000; of the whole island, 80,000. Corn and provisions in general come over from the continent of Asia, as the island is mountainous, and cannot produce sufficient for the inhabitants. To the north, and to the west of the town, are seen lofty rocks of granite Many of the mountains of Chios contain various sorts of marble, with which the church of the convent of Neamone in particular is ornamented The head of this convent (ἡγούμενος, as he is called) showed me the library, which consisted of some volumes of the Greek Fathers. The street in which I lived in the town was inhabited by Catholic families, only separated from the other Greeks by religious schism. In a house in that street, I copied a very interesting Greek inscription, in verse; I shall here give part of it, in a more correct manner than it has been lately published in a periodical work.

Σοὶ λάμπει μὲν δόξα, καλοῖς δ' ἰσθλὰν χάριν ἔργοις
Ὥπασεν ἃ κλεινα πρεσβυτέρων ξυνοδος,
Εἰκόν' ἀναστήσασα σέθεν, μορφᾶς τύπον ἔμπνου,
Καί σ' ἐν Ὀμήρειῳ γυμνάσιῳ θέμενα.

. . . . . .

"It is in honour of Megacles, the son of Theogiton." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

† Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. i p. 236

‡ If there be any truth in the adage prevalent in Scio, concerning the original formation of the island, the geologist would have ample scope for his researches. Its inhabitants relate, that, "at the creation of the world, God threw all the rocks of the continent into the sea, and of these the island of Scio was formed." Ibid. p. 261.

§ Ibid. p. 237

‖ Ibid. p. 249.

** They all have reference to the Chian wine, which still maintains its pristine ce-

inhabitants anciently possessed a reputation for virtue, still maintained among them. According to Plutarch,* there was no instance of adultery in Chios during the space of seven hundred years.

Having cleared the chain, or Erythræan Straits, we sailed, along the Ionian coast, for the channel which separates the stupendous heights of Samos from the lower land of Icaria. This marine pass is at present generally known in these seas by the appellation of the Samian *Boccaze*. It presents a bold and fearful strait, in the mouth of which is the small island of *Fourmi*, or *Isle of Ants*. A very heavy sea rolls continually through this channel, so that, with contrary wind, even a frigate can scarcely effect the passage. Whether it were owing to my having travelled so long in the level plains of Russia, or to the reality of the scene, I know not, but Samos appeared to me, on its northern side, the most tremendous and precipitous mountain I had ever beheld. Its summit was concealed by a thick covering of clouds, although all the rest of the Archipelago appeared clear and serene. We were told that the heights of Samos are rarely unveiled; a circumstance which might give rise to those superstitious notions entertained in earlier ages, when its aërial solitudes were believed to be the abode of deities; whence the Father of gods and men, enveloped by mysterious darkness, hurled his thunder on the passing mariner. The most enlightened seamen of the present day, among whom might be included the master of our vessel, maintain, with testimony which it is difficult to dispute, that in stormy weather they have observed a lambent flame playing upon the face of the precipice of Samos, about two thirds of its height from the surface of the water. Many, say they, are the vessels this natural *phanar* has rescued from destruction, by the guidance it affords during the thick fogs of the winter season. They further allege, that the natives of Samos have frequently gone up the mountain, in dark tempestuous weather, to seek this fire, but have never been able to discover whence it issues. For my own part, I do not doubt the fact. It is probably one of those exhalations of ignited hydrogen gas, found in many parts of the world, and always most conspicuous in hazy and rainy weather; as in the instance of the burning vapour at *Pietra Mala* in Tuscany, and many other in

lebrity; and represent, in front, a sphinx, with a bunch of grapes; for the reverse, an amphora, with other symbols of the island's fertility.

* Plut. *De Vert Mulierum.*

different parts of Persia. That of Samos, perhaps, from its inaccessible situation, rendered still more difficult of approach in stormy weather, might escape the search of the natives, and yet be visible from a considerable distance at sea.* Approaching the yawning chasm nature in one of her awful convulsions has here opened to the waves, a mountainous surge rolled after our little bark. Prosperous winds, however, carried us along, and we presently left the *Boccaze* in our stern; passing the isle of *Fourmi*, and steering into the broad surface of the waters, with all the southern islands of the Archipelago in view. It is not possible for any power of language adequately to describe the appearance, presented at the rising, or setting of the sun, in the Ægean Sea. Whether in dim perspective, through gray and silvery mists, or amidst hues of liveliest purple, the isles and continents of Greece present their varied features, nor pen, nor pencil, can pourtray the scenery. Whatsoever, in the warmest fancies of my youth, imagination had represented of this gifted country, was afterward not only realized, but surpassed. Let the reader picture to his conception an evening sun, behind the towering cliffs of Patmos, gilding the battlements of the monastery of the Apocalypse with its parting rays; the consecrated island, surrounded by inexpressible brightness, seeming to float upon an abyss of fire;† while the moon, in milder splendor, is rising full over the opposite expanse. Such a scene I actually witnessed, with feelings naturally excited by all the circumstances of local solemnity; for such, indeed, might have been the face of nature, when the inspiration of an apostle, kindling in its contemplation, uttered the alleluias of that mighty voice,‡ telling of SALVATION, AND GLORY, AND HONOUR, AND POWER.

How very different were the reflections caused, upon leaving the deck, by observing a sailor with a lighted match in his hand, and our captain busied in appointing an extraordinary watch for the night, as a precaution against the pirates, who swarm in these seas. Those wretches, dastardly, as well

* An anecdote, very characteristic of the Turks, relating to an occurrence a short time previous to our travels in Turkey, proves that lights are sometimes exposed, by the Samians themselves, to guide vessels in these straits. A Turkish frigate, during her passage through the *Boccaze* of Samos, was wrecked upon the rocks of that island. The Turkish admiral insisted upon being paid the value of the frigate by the inhabitants; and when these, regretting that they had not *gone up with lights*, maintained their innocence, as to the loss of the frigate, the Mahometan exclaimed, "*You will admit one argument! Would the wreck have happened, if your island had not been in the way?*"

† "And I saw, as it were a sea of glass mingled with fire." Rev. xv. 2.

‡ Rev. xix. 1.

as cruel, the instant they board a vessel, put every individual of the crew to death. They lurk about the isle of Fourmi, in great numbers; taking possession of bays and creeks the least frequented by other mariners. After they have plundered a ship, and murdered the crew, they bore a hole through her bottom, sink her, and take to their boats again.*

*An extract from Mr. Walpole's Journal, containing an account of his journey from Smyrna to Halicarnassus, will here give the reader some information concerning the coast along which we were now sailing.

"As many of the monuments and superb remains on the coast of Asia have been minutely and faithfully described in the Ionian Antiquities, and by Chandler, I shall not repeat their remarks. The various inscriptions which I copied, both on the coast, and in the interior of the country, many of them entirely unknown, cannot obtain room here. I shall state a few miscellaneous remarks, which occurred as I travelled along the coast southward to Halicarnassus.

"The country between Smyrna and Ephesus is very mountainous: in one part of the road, near the Caister, you pass the base of the ancient Gallesus, under most frightful precipices, the habitation of some eagles: a few pines are seen on the sides of the mountains; lower down is the arbutus, in great abundance, with its scarlet fruit, called now, as anciently, μαμαΐκυλα (see Hesych.); and by the torrents, occasionally crossing the road, is the plane and the oleander The fields are laid down in cotton plantations, Indian corn, and wheat; among these are olive trees, with vines growing around them. The present inhabitants of Ephesus are a few fishermen, who live in huts on the banks of the Caister, over which they ferried me. This river winds through a muddy plain, in some measure formed by it, and through lofty reeds, with a slow yellow stream, without any of the swans which the ancients describe; it empties itself into the sea, at the distance of an hour from the morass, near the supposed site of the famous temple of Diana. The subterranean vaults and passages, close to the east of this marsh, (into which I descended with a rope, and found only bats above, and water below,) are imagined by some to be the remains and substruction of this temple. The church of St. John, built at Ephesus by Justinian, and which Procopius says was very magnificent, may have been raised from the materials presented by the temple of Diana; and this will in some measure account for the little that can be seen or known of the latter. Near these remains, to the southwest of the stadium, is an arch; on the top of this, climbing by the wall, as no ladder was to be found, I copied a Greek inscription, in perfect preservation. The agha of the place rode about with me the first time I was at Ephesus; and imagined that every inscription I copied, pointed out the situation or sum of a hidden treasure. The bushes in the plain, among which are the *agnus castus* and *centaurea benedicta*, conceal many remains of antiquity. The Ephesians were supplied with their marble from the hill (Prion) whereon part of their city was built; and porphyry and granite, of which gigantic specimens are lying in the plain, were brought up to the town by means of the river, and by the canal into the actual morass which once formed the port.

"As you advance southward from Ephesus and Scala Nuova, (anciently Neapolis,) the high mountain, Mycale, covered with arbutus, wild olive, and ilex (from which the peasants make charcoal,) presents itself; and soon after a lofty white summit is seen to the south; this is the top of Mount Titanus, called now, from its form, *Bisher-mach, Five fingers*. The most commanding view of this was from the Acropolis of Priene, from which I descended, on the southeast side, by a way almost impassable, resting at times to contemplate the ruins of the temple of Minerva at Priene, and to cast my eyes over the plain of the Meander, toward the Lake of Myus, on the northeast side of which rises Mount Titanus in all its majesty. In the "Ionian Antiquities" a minute detail of the architecture of the temple of Minerva has been published: and in Chandler's "Inscriptions," a faithful copy from the inscribed marbles that lie among the ruins. From the summit of the Acropolis of Priene I saw to the south the vast accretion of land, marshy, and muddy, occasioned by the Meander. Priene, once on the coast, was, in the time of Strabo, five miles from the sea. I crossed the river, winding through tamarisks in a triangular boat; its breadth here was about thirty yards; at a later season of the year I passed it again, higher up, in Caria, over a wooden bridge, sixty paces long. From the summit of the theatre of Miletus, facing the northwest, is a good view of the mazes of the river. The distance of the sea from the theatre I conjecture to be seven miles. The high mountains which are to be passed in going from Miletus, and the site of the temple of Apollo, near the promontory Po-

The next morning we came to anchor in the harbour of the Isle of Cos, now called Stanchio, where the sea appears entirely landlocked; as indeed it does for a very considerable distance from the island, toward the north. One of the inhabitants, as soon as we landed, brought me a brass medal of the island, with the head of Hippocrates, and the word ΚΩΙΩΝ. It is the more interesting, as few medals are now found at Cos. I could neither procure nor hear of a single one in silver. In other respects, the island abounds in antiquities; but they are scattered in such a confused manner, that nothing decisive can be collected from their appearance. In the wall of the quay, facing the port, I observed the colossal marble statue of a female, with drapery finely executed, but the head, arms, and feet, had been broken off. On the left-hand side of the gate by which we entered the town, an inscription remains, in a high state of preservation, beginning ΑΒΟΥΔΑΚΑΙΟΔΑΜΟΣ: this has already been published by Spon and by other authors, and therefore needs not to be inserted here.

A plane tree, supposed, and perhaps with reason, the largest in the world, is yet standing within the market place. It was described as the famous plantain tree, half a century ago, by

sidium, toward Jassus, are also covered with arbutus, the dwarf oak, and the pine: those mountains are the haunts of numerous beasts, particularly of the jackal, (called by the Turks, *chical*,) which disturbed us in the night by its cries. The roads often cut through masses of slate; sometimes it is paved; by the side of it are small huts, of wood, covered with boughs, for the purpose of selling coffee to travellers, chiefly in summer time; they are generally by the side of a running stream. The soil was loose, and easily yielded to the plough. The quantity of ground, which might be brought into cultivation for corn, or pasture for cattle, is very great; but it is neglected, from want of persons to till it. The rain had now increased the torents descending from the mountains so much, that it was quite dangerous to pass them. The southwest brought with it rain; the northeast, a sharp cold air; these two winds are called by the Turks, *lodos*, and *voreas*; names borrowed from the Greek.

"The road leads on to Casikli for three hours, by the sea; you then turn to the east, for the same time; and reach Assum, (Jassus,) the situation of which, in the recess of a bay, looking over olive grounds to the sea, and thence to the high mountains near Halicarnassus, is beautiful. To this last place now called *Bodrun*, the road led me through groves of myrtle, and ilex, by the seashore, for two hours and a half. I shall here subjoin the distances of some of the places on the coast.

	Hours
From Priene to the Meander	3
To Acqui	1
To Ura (Temple of Apollo)	2 1-2
To Casikli	5 1-2
To Assum	6

The direct route from this last place to Halicarnassus I cannot give as I wish; as we lost our way, going for three quarters of an hour, through a bay of the sea, up to the horses' girts: and riding all the day in rain, until half past nine, when the barking of dogs guided us to a Turkish hut, where I slept; the next morning at eight, I set out again, passing some fluted columns: and in a valley, some beehives, made of earthenware, cylindrical, about two feet and a half in height; riding among mountains, I reached a coffee hut, at Guverchin, by the shore, in a bay, running east and west; and in four hours and a half arrived at Halicarnassus." *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

Egmont and Heyman.* It once covered with its branches upward of forty shops; and enough is still remaining to astonish all beholders. An enormous branch, extending from the trunk almost to the sea, supported by ancient columns of granite, gave way and fell. This has considerably diminished the effect produced by its beauty and prodigious size. Its branches still exhibit a very remarkable appearance, extending, horizontally, to a surprising distance; supported at the same time, by granite and marble pillars found upon the island. Some notion may be formed of the time those props have been so employed, by the appearance of the bark; this has encased the extremities of the columns so completely, that the branches and the pillars naturally support each other; and it is probable, if those branches were raised, some of them would lift the pillars from the earth.

Beneath this tree, I observed a cylindrical marble altar, adorned with rams' heads supporting festoons in relief, exactly like the altar from Delos, engraved in Tournefort's Travels, and lately presented by Mr. Harvey, of Jesus College, Cambridge, to the vestibule of the University Library. Such altars are common in the Levant; they are usually scooped, as this of Cos has been, and used for mortars, to bruise corn.† Where they cannot find altars for that purpose, they employ the capitals of columns. Thus have been preserved a few Grecian antiquities, which otherwise would long ago have been converted into lime. The inscription upon this altar was very legible. Its antiquity may be noticed, although its peculiar age cannot be ascertained, by the manner in which the ΙΙ is written. It was evidently a votive donation, given by the person whose name appears inscribed.

ΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ.

ΤΟΥΑΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ

ΜΑΓΝΗΤΟΣ

Near the same place, another altar, and a few marbles with imperfect inscriptions, might be noticed, but none of them merit

* Egmont and Heyman's Travels, &c. vol. i. p. 263.
† Their dimensions are generally the same. This of Cos we measured.

	Feet	Inches
Height - - -	3	6
Diameter - -	2	9

more particular description. In the interior of the town, by a public fountain, is a large cubic block of marble, whereon the inhabitants are accustomed to wash the bodies of dead persons. For this reason, it was difficult to obtain their permission to turn the stone, in search of an inscription; and still more so, to copy the legend we there found, when we had so done. At last, however, I succeeded in transcribing the following characters: these form part of an inscription in honour of some one who had filled the offices of *Agoranomos*, of president of the games, and *Gymnasiarch*: he is celebrated for his piety toward the *Dii Augusti*, and for his courteousness* toward the college.†

ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤ
ΑΑΓΝΩΣΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗ
ΣΑΝΤΑΕΥΣΕΒΩΣΕΠΙ . .
ΛΗΤΕΥΣΑΝΤΑΤΩΝ
ΤΑΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΣΡΕΑΣΙΕΡΩΝ
ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΩΣΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗ
ΣΑΝΤΑΤΩΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΝ
ΣΕΜΝΩΣΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΝ
ΕΣΤΟΣΘΕΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΝΕΣ
ΤΟΣΥΣΤΑΜΑΦΙΑΟΦΡΟΣΥ
ΝΑΝ · ΡΥΝΟΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Two other Inscriptions were pointed out to us, in the wall of a narrow street, by the French consul, a very intelligent man of the old *regime* of France, who had suffered severely in the oppression and cruelty, to which his situation had exposed him, from the Turkish government. In describing this island, it may be proper to introduce them. In the first, the sigma is represented

* The word φιλοφροσυνη, although frequently translated *friendship*, properly signifies what in Latin is called *comitas*. Vid. Not. *Valesii in Euseb. lib.* vii. *c.* 22.

† The word corresponding to Συστημα, in Latin inscriptions, is *grex*, as well a *collegium*. Vid. *Reinesii Inscript. p.* 263.

by three sides of a square;* a circumstance characterizing, perhaps, rather the country, than the age of an inscription. It was very common among Dorian colonies settled in Asia Minor.

ΔΙΟΝΥ
ΣΙΟΥΠΟ
ΛΕΩΣΚΩΙ
ΩΝΟΙΚΟ
ΝΟΜΟΥ

The truncature of its angles introduced the semicircular letter; but this was of remote antiquity, and in use long prior to the age often assigned to it; as may be proved by the manuscripts found in Herculaneum, and by a fragment of the writings of a very ancient author, who compares the new moon to the sigma of the Greeks.†

The other inscription is in the same wall, and relates to gladiatorial and hunting sports, exhibited by the persons mentioned in the inscription. The expression Φαμίλια Μονομαχον occurs in an inscription found by Peyssonel at Cyzicum. This "troop

* It is a curious fact, and perhaps a proof of the great antiquity of the angular Alphabet of the Greeks, that two or three of its characters, in different positions, afford the whole. Indeed, as such a form of writing must consist wholly of the same straight line, under different circumstances of combination and position, every letter may be derived from the sides of a square. The cryptography of the moderns expressed by the four extended sides of a square, and with, or without points, was in use among the Greeks, as may be proved by a document in one of the manuscripts brought home by the author now in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

† The late Professor Porson used to cite this fragment, as proof of the antiquity of the semicircular sigma. Vid. Tzetzes in Commentario MS. in Hermogenem, quoted by Ruhnken in his Notes on Longinus, Sect. 3. p. 135.

πόῤῥω δὲ λαμβάνονται ὥσπερ ποιεῖ Χοιρίλος
καλῶν τοὺς λίθους γῆς ὀστᾶ, τοὺς ποταμοὺς, γῆς φγέβας·
ὡς τὴν Σελήνην οὐρανοῦ πάλιν Αἰσχρίων σίγμα.
οὕτω γὰρ λέξεσιν αὐταῖς αὐτὸς Αἰσχρίων λέγει,
ΜΗΝΗ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ ΝΕΟΝ ΣΙΓΜΑ.

On which Ruhnken remarks; "Pro σίγανα, v. 3. et 5. scribendum σίγμα. Sic enim Æschrion *novam lunam* vocabat a figura sigmatis Græci C. Ex quo loco refellitur, quod Is. Vossius et Ez. Spanhemius statuebant, hanc sigmatis figuram serius in Græcorum consuetudinem venisse. Nam Æschrion, sive Samius sit, sive Mitylenæus, certe vetustus scriptor est." Vide Jonsium de Script. Hist. Phil. ii. 2. p. 124.

of gladiators" had fought there at the public games, when *Aurelius Gratus* was *Asiarch.**

ΦΑΜΙΛΙΑΜΟΝΟ
ΜΑΧΩΝΚΑΙΤΠΟ
ΜΝΗΜΑΚΤΝΗΓΕ
ΣΙΩΝΝΕΜΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΥΠΑΚΩ
ΝΙΑΝΟΥΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΤΡΗΛΙΑΣ
ΧΑΠΦΟΥΣΠΛΑ
ΤΩΝΟΣΛΙΚΙΝΝΙΑ
ΝΗΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΗΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ

All these islands, and the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor produced illustrious men. Samos gave birth to Pythagoras. Cos had her Apelles, and Hippocrates, whose tables of medical report were consulted by the inhabitants of all the neighbouring states. Their names have survived the fall of their country and of her empire, and that of the latter is still venerated in the island. It would have been well for many individuals of the British Army and Navy, if the rules of Hippocrates respecting diet had been observed, during the time they remained exposed to the climate of the Levant. He prohibited the use of eggs; and these are as poison to the natives of our island who visit the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.†

We set out upon asses, accompanied by guides, to ascend the heights of the island, and view the fountain whence the town is still supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct. It is upon a mountain about three miles from the shore, and still bears the name of Hippocrates. The cover of the aqueduct is broken, in many places, by the women of the island, in procuring water to wash their linen. As we ascended, we had a fine prospect of the numerous adjacent islands, and of the opposite coast of Halicarnassus, now called *Bûdrûn*‡. We follow-

* *Recueil d'Antiquites*, tom. ii. p. 219. *Par.* 1756.

† Professor Pallas, writing from the Crimea, when we were about to sail from Constantinople for the Grecian isles, gave us this caution; *Have a care of the three poisons: eggs, butter, and milk!*"—I was afterward witness to the loss of a british officer, among many other examples of a similar nature, who, after persisting in the use of eggs for his breakfast, was seized with a fever off the coast of Egypt, became delirious, and during the night, leaped from his cabin into the sea and was drowned. Captain Russel of the Ceres, lamented by all who knew him, also fell a victim to the inattention paid, in this respect, to his diet.

* If any doubt should exist whether *Bûdrûn* were the ancient Halicarnassus, or not, it might be removed at once by this circumstance; Strabo points out the situation of the island Arconnesus; and the small island opposite the fort of Bûdrûn is now called Arconneso. The general appearance of the place, moreover, agrees with the detailed

ed the course marked out by the aqueduct, all the way to the top of the mountain, where the spring rises. Some plants were then in bloom, but the spring was not so forward as we expected it to be; and I have since found, that, even in Egypt, a botanist will find few specimens for his herbary before the lat-

description Vitruvius has given us of the situation of Halicarnassus, in his second book. The entrance to the port of Bûdrûn is from the southwest; on the right and left as you enter, sand has accumulated, and the free passage is not more than sixty yards wide; on the northwest side many Greeks and Turks were at work, employed in building a line of battle ship; this I went to see. The Turk who conducted me over the vessel had been in Egypt at the time when our navy was there, and mentioned the names of some of the officers. The palace of Halil-bey, the governor, stands by the seaside, on the north of the port; and directly opposite stands the castle of Bûdrûn, and round the harbour the town extends, in a circular sweep, for nearly half a mile.

"Bûdrûn is a corruption, through Petrumi, as the Turks write it, from Pietro. The Fort of San Pietro, *Castellum Sancti Petri*, (see the geography of Niger, 441,) was taken by Philibert de Nailar, grand master of Rhodes, and followed the fortunes of this island. It continued in possession of the knights, until, as the Turkish annals inform us, it was surrendered to the Ottomans, with Cos and Rhodes, in the 929th year of Hegira, and 1522 A. C. "*Cum Rhode Turci arcem stancoin et Bedrum aliam arcem in Anatolia sitam in potestatem redegere.*" Leunclavius, p. 342.

"Few travellers, I believe, have been able to examine the inside of the castle of Bûdrûn. I had entered, and advanced some way, when I was obliged to return, by order of a Turk, who made his appearance; but not before I had taken the following notes:

"In the first court, coming from the town, I saw some marble bas-reliefs fastened in the wall, in its construction; their manner and style were very good; but one in particular struck me. It represents, on the right hand, a man on horseback, with a cloak round his neck, like that on the figure on the lamp engraven by Beger, in his letter to Spanheim; he is throwing a javelin against another, who is at the head of the horse with a shield; on the left of the stone is the foot of a man upon the body of another, who is supporting himself on his left knee. In the wall by the sea, washing the sides of the castle, is an imperfect inscription, relating to Antoninus Pius;

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΩΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙΚΑΙΘΕΟΙΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣ

"Not far from this, is the headless statue of a Roman emperor or warrior. Over a gate in the castle I copied the following lines, in capital letters, with a stop after each word. The two first lines are taken from the anthem after the *Nunc Dimittis* in *Complin*, or the night prayers of the Roman church. The two last are taken from the 127th Psalm.

I. H. S.
Salva nos, Domine, vigilantes;
Custodi nos dormientes:
Nisi dominus custodierit civitatem,
Frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.

"Coats of arms, of different knights of the order of St. John, may be seen sculptured in parts of the fortress. Coronelli says, that over a gate was written *Propter fidem Catholicam tenemus istum locum*: and, in another place, the word *Sarevbours*, with the date 1130; this points to an æra prior to that of the knights of Jerusalem, who did not possess it till the fourteenth century. Whence the bas-reliefs in the castle came; to what building they belonged; whether to the palace of Mausolus, built on this spot, according to the description of Vitruvius, and beautified with marble (*proconnesio marmore*), or to some building of the time of Antorinus, to whom the inscription was raised, cannot be determined. I was copying another inscription, beginning ΟΕΝΔΟΝΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ, of a very late date, when I was obliged to quit the castle.

"The situation of the famous mausoleum in Halicarnassus is pointed out by Vitruvius. It seems to have been standing in the time of Pausanias, lib. viii. The words of Constantine Porphyrogenetes, *de Them. c.* 14. do not directly inform us whether it was extant when he wrote. Perhaps the Saracen Mavias, who succeeded Othman, and who, as the same Constantine informs us, laid waste Halicarnassus, (*de Admin. Imp.*)

ter end of April, or beginning of May. At length we arrived at the entrance of a cave formed with great art, partly in the solid rock, and partly with stone and stucco, in the side of the mountain. Within this cave is an arched passage; at the bottom of this the water flows through a narrow channel, clear as

may have hastened the destruction of this building. We find Lorenzo Ananis, in his Cosmography, Venet. 1576, writing of it in these terms: *Appare ancora qualche ruina con non poca maraviglia dei risguardanti*: but it does not appear upon what authority this is stated. Without offering any conjecture, I shall describe what remains of antiquity I observed here. Those who wish to see the form of the ancient Mausoleum, may consult the twenty-sixth volume of the *Acad. des Inscriptions*, where Caylus has attempted a delineation of it, from Pliny.

"About four hundred yards from the castle, to the east, are six Doric columns, fluted, supporting an architrave: the ground seems to have been raised round about them, as they are little more than seven feet in height. In the yard of a Turk's house, close by, are some fragments of pillars, fluted; and, what is very singular, in the fluted parts are large Greek letters, beautifully cut.

"I copied on one the words Χαριδήμου, Ἀθηνοδώρου, and μαράτου, part, probably, of the name Demaratus; who were, doubtless, persons commemorated in this manner. In this instance, the pillar, bearing the names, is circular; but the Athenians were accustomed to inscribe square pillars to the memory of wise and virtuous men, in large letters. Hence a man of *prudence* among them was termed τετράγωνος ἀνήρ.

"I traced the ancient walls of the city of Halicarnassus for some distance, beginning with what might have been an acropolis; for the city had more than one acropolis; as we learn from Strabo and Diodorus, (Lib. xvii. ἀκροπόλεσι καλαῖς). This wall I followed in a western direction, between a small and large mound, for about a hundred and thirty feet: it then turned in a northeast direction, and afterward north. One of the ruined square towers, built of stone, without cement on the outside, and filled within with earth, is thirty feet high. I saw four more communicating with each other by an interval of wall. These are what Diodorus, writing of Halicarnassus, calls πύργοι, and μεσοπύργιοι. Near the ruined square tower I saw some of the vaults of the old city, and copied some inscriptions relating to them. In the town are to be seen altars of marble, with the usual ornament of the festoon with rams' heads.

"The fast of the Ramadan was not quite over when I was at Bŭdrûn. The opulent Turks were sitting, in the day time, counting their beads, and the hours anxiously until sunset. The caravanserai I lived in was occupied partly by Jews: it was not to be compared in size with other buildings of the kind which I had seen in Asia. In some of these, the pillars supporting the galleries are columns of ancient edifices; as for instance, at Malaso, the ancient Mylasa.

"I went over to Cos, from Halicarnassus, the twenty-eighth of November, in a Turkish passage boat, which sails every day, if the weather is fine. In the bottom of the boat sat some Turkish women, of whose bodies nothing was to be seen, but the extremities of their fingers, dyed red. The east side of the island of Cos is mountainous: close to the town are orange and lemon plantations: from these the fruit is exported in abundance to all parts of the Archipelago. The island has suffered occasionally from earthquakes; particularly from one at the end of the fifteenth century, as Bosio informs us; and one in the time of Antoninus entirely destroyed the town, as we learn from Pausanias, (lib. viii.) which, however, was restored at great expense, by the emperor, who sent a colony there. This circumstance of the destruction of the town may lead us to suspect the antiquity of the monuments of art now to be seen there; and, indeed, many of the inscriptions are of a late age: they are all in Doric; this was the dialect of Cos and Halicarnassus: but although it was the native language of Herodotus and Hippocrates, they preferred the open vowels of Ionia. In an inscription near the castle and a mosque, I observed ΤΟΣΕΕΟΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ; this form may be also seen in the monuments, in Doric, published by Gruter (505), and Chishull. The use of the O for the OY lasted in the other dialects of Greece from the time of Cadmus to the Macedonian æra. (*Taylor ad Mar. San.*) There are many bas-reliefs to be seen in the streets and in the houses of the town. Porcacchi, in his description of the Archipelago, says of Cos, '*Ha molti nobili edifizi di marmo antichi*: but of these no vestige is extant. Votive offerings in honour of Æsculapius, whose temple, according to Strabo, stood in the suburb, may be observed. Near a mosque is a cylindrical piece of marble, with four sculptured figures, dancing, winged, and holding a wreath of flowers. A plane tree, twenty-seven feet in circumference, whose branches are supported by seven columns, stands near the walls of the castle. Hasselquist, the naturalist, says, 'I imagine, in seeing it, to have beheld the largest, oldest, and most remarkable in-

crystal. It conducts to a lofty vaulted chamber, cut in the rock, and shaped like a bee-hive, with an aperture at the top, admitting air and light from the surface of the mountain. We proceeded with lighted tapers to this curious cavern, and tasted the water at its source. It is a hot spring, with a chalybeate

habitant of the vegetable kingdom: it has forty-seven branches, each a fathom thick.

"I rode to a village two hours and a half distant from the town, called Affendiou, perhaps the standio of Porcacchi; on the road I copied many Greek inscriptions. In returning to the town by a different direction, we came to a source of cold mineral water; at half an hour's distance from this, above in the rock, is a source of hot water, where there are remains of basins, wherein those who used the water were accustomed to bathe. In half an hour more we came to the place called the fountain of Hippocrates; a light was procured, and we walked into a passage fifty yards in length, six feet high, and four wide; at the bottom ran a stream of water, in a channel five inches broad; we reached at last a circular chamber, ten feet in diameter; this is built quite near the source. The water running from beneath the circular chamber, through the channel, is conveyed, as soon as it reaches the open air, by another channel, covered with tile and stone, over a space of ground equal to four miles, and supplies the town of Cos.

"The road from Affendiou to the town is very striking. The fertility of the island is celebrated now in the Levant, as in the days of Strabo, who calls it εὔκαρπος; and the language of Thevet would have appeared perfectly correct, if I had been there at a different season of the year: '*Et pense que soubs le ciel n'y a lieu plaisant que celuy, veu les beaux jardins si odoriferans, que vous diriez que c'est un Paradis terrestre, et là où les oiseaux de toutes sortes recréent de leur ramage.*' See his Cosmography, 229.

"Whilst I was at Cos, I took a boat, and went to see what I supposed to be the ruins of Myndus; where, among other interesting remains, is a long *jettée* of stones, parallel to each other, and principally of thirteen feet in length, connecting an island to the main land. I went also to the ruins of Cnidus, at Cap Crio. It was the first of December, and we had hardly time to enter one of the small harbours of Cnidus, when a gale from the southwest, the wind usual at this time of the year, began to blow. '*The libs, or southwest,*' says Theophrastus, (*de Ventis*, 413) '*is very violently felt at Cnydus and Rhodes:*' and one of the harbours of Cnidus is open to this quarter. There is no village or appearance of habitation now at Cnidus. I lay in the open boat all night, and the Turkish sailors in a cave on shore. The following are the remains of antiquity I observed there.

"On the left-hand side of the harbour, as you enter from Cos, upon a platform, are the lower parts of the shafts of eleven fluted columns, standing, and of very small dimensions: around the platform is a ruined wall; a sort of quay was formed round this port, as may be inferred from the stonework. Beyond the fluted columns are vaults of very modern work, and vestiges of buildings; these may be ascribed to the time when the knights of St. John were at Rhodes, and had stations on the coast of Asia in this part. Passing on eastward, you come to the theatre, facing the southwest, with thirty-six rows of seats of marble; part of the proscenium; two vaults, opposite each other; and in the area of the theatre the mutilated statue of a woman, in drapery; the head of this, as one of the Turkish boatmen informed me, had been taken to a neighbouring village, to be hollowed for a mortar. On the level summit of the hill over the theatre, and commanding a view of the sea, are very large remains of a temple: the side of the hill is faced with stone; the ground is covered with fragments of white marble columns, with Ionic capitals. I measured one of the columns; this was in diameter three feet and a half. The Cnidians had, according to Pausanias, many temples of Venus; and we may conjecture this to have been the site of one. Below the hill is a large area; and under it, a larger still. An isthmus separates the small port, wherein I anchored, from a larger harbour. Following this neck of land in a westerly direction, you reach the other part of the town, opposite to that where the theatre and public buildings were situated. A bridge, says Pausanias, once formed the communication from one side to the other. There are extensive foundations lying to the east of the theatre and temple; but I was not able to find any inscription or money of the ancient city. The earthenware of Cnidus is praised by Athenæus (lib. i.); and the *calami* or reeds, which grew here, were the best, says Pliny, after those of Egypt. The use of reeds for writing prevails now, as formerly, all over the east; and they are prepared as in ancient times. 'With a knife,' says Salmasius, 'the reed was slit into two points; hence, in an epigram, we find, κάλαμοι δισσοῖσί διάγλυπτοι κεφάλεσσι, *calami in duos apices scissi.*' *Ad Solinum.*" *Walpole's MS. Journal.*

flavour, gushing violently from the rock into a small bason. In its long course through the aqueduct, although it flows with great rapidity, it becomes cool and refreshing before it reaches the town, and perhaps owes something of its great celebrity to its medicinal properties. The work constructed over it may be as old as the age of Hippocrates; setting aside all the notions propagated concerning the supposed epocha of domes and arches. At any rate, it is an interesting fact, that in an island famous for having produced the Father of Medicine, the principal object of curiosity still bearing traditionary reference to his name should be a warm chalybeate spring.

Descending from this fountain, I saw, for the first time, the date tree, growing in its natural state. A few of these trees may be noticed in gardens about the town: Lemons were very abundant; but oranges not so common. We purchased the former at the rate of about three shillings for a thousand, notwithstanding the very great demand then made for them to supply the British fleet. The island of Cos is very large, and for the most part consists of one barren mountain of limestone; of this substance almost all the Grecian islands are composed. There are few parts of the world where masses of limestone are seen of equal magnitude and elevation. Some of the principal mountains exhibit no other mineral, from their bases to their summits. The Greek sailors of our vessel, who accompanied us upon this expedition, caught several land tortoises: these, being opened, were full of eggs. The sailors described them as the most delicious food in the country. We found afterward that boat loads of these animals were taken to supply the markets of Constantinople. We saw them cooked after we returned on board, but could not so far abandon our prejudices as to taste them.

A poor little shopkeeper in Cos was described, by the French consul, as possessor of several curious old books. We therefore went to visit him, and were surprised to find him, in the midst of his wares, with a red nightcap on his head, reading the Odyssey of Homer in manuscript. This was fairly written upon paper, with interlineary criticisms, and a commentary in the margin. He had other manuscript volumes, containing works upon rhetoric, poetry, history, and theology. Nothing could induce him to part with any of these books. The account he gave was, that some of them were copies of originals in the library at Patmos, (among these I observed the Apocalypse, with a commentary;) and that his father had brought

them to Cos. They were intended, he said, for his son, who was to be educated in the Patmos monastery.*

We were not permitted to enter the castle; this is close to the town of Stanchio, on the sea shore, fortified by a moat upon the land side. Taking the small boat belonging to our vessel, we examined the outside of its walls toward the sea, and here had the satisfaction to discover one of the finest bas-reliefs perhaps ever derived from the arts of Greece. It was employed by the Genoese as part of the building materials in the construction of the castle: being of great length, it was broken in four pieces: these are placed in the wall, two above and two below,† facing the sea. The subject seems to represent the nuptials of Neptune and Amphitrite. It contains fifteen figures, although some are nearly effaced. Among these, the principal is a bearded figure of Neptune, sitting with a trident or sceptre in his right hand, and leaning upon his left elbow. By his left side sits also a female, holding in her left hand a small statue: the base of this rests upon her knee. She is covered with drapery, executed in the highest style of the art of sculpture, and extends her right arm around the neck of Neptune; her hand pending negligently over his right shoulder. They are delineated sitting upon a rock. By the right side of the god stands a male figure, naked; and upon the left of Amphitrite a female, half clothed, presenting something in form like an ancient helmet. Before them, female bacchanals are introduced, singing, or playing upon the lyre and the tambourine. In the lower fragments of this exquisite piece of sculpture are seen satyrs, pouring wine from skins into a large vase.

* The interesting intelligence, thus communicated, was the cause of my subsequent visit to that island, and of the valuable acquisitions I there made.

† The removal of this precious relique, to any of the Museums of Europe, must be a desirable object with every civilized nation. It is an honour reserved for some more favoured adventurers. The only power we possessed of adding to the stock of our national literary treasures, was due to our industry alone. The aid our national situation, with regard to Turkey, might then have afforded, was studiously withheld. An absolute prohibition was enforced, respecting the removal of any of the antiquities of the country, excepting by the agents of our own ambasador at the Porte. Mr. Gell, author of "The Topography of Troy," &c. was actually interdicted making drawings within the Acropolis of Athens. While I must lament the miserable policy of such a measure, and a loss affecting the public, rather than ourselves as individuals, I can only add, that every exertion is now making toward rescuing from destruction, not only the valuable monument here alluded to, but also many other important objects of acquisition lying scattered over the desolated territories of the Turkish empire. To a British minister at the Porte, their removal and safe conveyance to England would be the work merely of a wish expressed upon the subject to the Capudan Pacha; and for the measures necessary in removing them from their present place, no injury would be sustained by the fine arts, *in the dilapidation of any Grecian building.*—English travellers, distinguished by their talents, illustrious by their rank, and fortunate in their wealth, are now traversing those regions, to whom every instruction has been given that may facilitate and expedite their researches; it is hoped success will attend their promised endeavours to enrich their nation by the possession of such valuable documents.

Others are engaged in seizing an animal, as a victim for sacrifice. The animal has the appearance of a tiger, or a leopard.* These beautiful remains of Grecian sculpture may have been consequences of the vicinity of Cos to Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and other cites of Asia Minor, where the art attained to such high perfection; or they may have all resulted from the destruction of some magnificent edifice whereby the island was formerly adorned. Columns of cipolino, breccia, and granite, together with blocks of the finest marble, either upon the shore, in the courts, and inclosures belonging to the inhabitants, or used in constructing the walls of the town and fortress, in the public fountains, mosques, mortars, and grave stones, the pavement of baths, and other modern works, denote the ruin that has taken place, and the immense quantity of ancient materials here employed. The mosque of the town of Stanchio is built entirely of marble.

The voyage from Cos to Rhodes, like that already described, resembles more a pleasing excursion in a large river, than in the open sea. The Mediterranean is here so thickly planted with islands, that the view is everywhere bounded by land.† We steered close round the Triopian Promontory, now called *Cape Crio*, and, having doubled it, beheld, toward the west and southwest, the islands of Nisyrus and Telus, whose modern names are *Nizaray* and *Piscopy*. According to Strabo, Nisyrus anciently possessed a temple of Neptune.‡ We afterward obtained a most interesting view, from the deck, of the ruins of Cnidus, a city famous in having produced the most renowned sculptors and architects of ancient Greece. The Turks and Greeks have long resorted thither, as to a quarry, for the building materials afforded by its immense remains. With the aid of our telescopes we could still discern a magnificent theatre almost entire, and many other mouldering edifices. This city stood on the two sides of an ancient mole, separating its two ports, and connecting the Triopian land, in Strabo's time an island, with the continent.§

* We also saw here the remains of a sculptured marble frieze, exhibiting festoons supported by ancient masks. The principal part of it is in the land side of the castle, over the entrance, where may also be observed part of a Corinthian cornice of the finest workmanship.

† Called *sporades* from the irregularity wherein they are here scattered. Some of them are not laid down in any chart; although I believe the observations of captain Castle, the master of our vessel, made upon a map of Arrowsmith's, have been since transmitted to England, and published.

‡ Strab. Geogr. lib. x. p. 714. Ed. Oxon.

§ We are indebted for the information which I shall here subjoin, concerning Halicarnassus and Cnidus, together with the plan which accompanies it, to the observations of Mr. Morritt, celebrated for his controversy with Mr. Bryant, on the subject

From our distant view of the place, being about two leagues from the entrance to its southern and larger port, the hill whereon its ruins stood seemed to rise from the sea in form of a theatre. Strabo notices this form as characterizing the land

of Homer's Poems, and the existence of Troy. It is the more valuable, because I believe few modern travellers have visited these ruins; and certainly no one of them better qualified for the undertaking.

"14th June, 1795.—We set out in a boat from Cos, and in a few hours reached Boudroun, the ancient Halicarnassus, a distance of eighteen computed Turkish miles. This small town stands on a shallow bay, at the eastern extremity of the large and deep port of the ancient city. Off this bay lies the island mentioned in Strabo by the name of Arconnesos, Ἀρκόννησος, (lib. xiv. p 656.) The houses are irregularly scattered on the shore, and interspersed with gardens, burying grounds, and cultivated fields. We lodged at a large khan near the bazar, which is marked in the delineation given in Choiseul's *Voyage Pittoresque* (Pl. 96. p. 152.) Several Turkish vessels were at anchor in the port; and the disorderly conduct of the crews at night made the houses of the Greeks uncomfortable, and, indeed, unsafe places of residence. Pistol-balls were at night so often fired at their windows, that they were obliged to barricade those of their sleeping rooms; and the outward windows of the khan had been carefully walled up, for the same reason. We, soon after our arrival, crossed some gardens behind the town, to view the remains of an ancient edifice which is on the northeast side of it. We found six columns of the fluted Doric, supporting their architrave, mutilated frieze, and cornice The marble of which they are made is of a dark gray colour, with a few white veins; nor is the masonry of the same workmanship with the remains we had elsewhere found of the finer ages of Greece. The forms of the stones and junctures of the building are more slovenly and inaccurate, and the architecture is not of the same elegant proportions with the earlier Doric buildings at Athens, and in Magna Græcia. The intercolumniations are much greater, and the entablature heavier; and with less relief and projection. The lower parts of the columns are buried in earth; and near them are two or three plain sarcophagi, of ordinary work, and without inscriptions. Broken stumps of columns, in a line with those which are standing, and many ruined fragments of marble, are scattered over the field. From the length of the colonnade, and the disappearance of all the corresponding columns of the peristyle, if this be supposed to have been a temple, I should hesitate to adopt the conjecture. It appeared to me the remains of a stoa, or portico, and probably ranged along one side of the ancient Agora of the town. It agrees in many respects with the situation assigned to the Agora by Vitruvius; as it would be on the right of a person looking from the modern fortress, where stood the ancient castle and palace of Mausolus, at the eastern horn of the greater port; while the smaller port formed by the island of Arconnesus would be on the left, in which order Vitruvius seems to place them. A quantity of marble is dug up near these ruins, the remains of other magnificent buildings. The walls are visible from hence through a great part of their extent, which appears to have been about six English miles from the western horn of the port, along high grounds to a considerable eminence northwest of this ruin, and thence to the eastern promontory on which the modern castle is built. On the eminence, which I noticed, are traces of ancient walls, indicating the situation of the fortress called the Arx Media by Vitruvius, wherein stood the *Temple of Mars*; but of that, or indeed of the fortress itself, there are but indistinct remains, so that we could not ascertain the position of the temple. At the foot of this hill remains the ancient theatre, fronting the south: it is scooped in the hill, and many rows of marble seats are left in their places. The arcades of communication, and the proscenium, are in ruins. Many large caverns are cut in the hill behind the theatre, probably places of sepulture, from their appearance; but their contents have been long ago carried away. The modern castle stands on a tongue of land at the eastern extremity of the port, which it commanded; and from the ancient materials used in its construction, appears to have been formerly a fortress commanding the port; and here, as I suppose, was one of the citadels mentioned by Strabo, who says expressly, that when Alexander took the town, there were *two*, (δυοῖν δ' ἦν ἐκείνη, lib. xiv. p. 657.) At the western extremity of the bay, the situation of the aga's house and harem prevented our researches. Here was the fountain Salmacis, the temples of Venus and Mercury, and the ἄκρα καλουμένη Σαλμάκις mentioned by Arrian (lib. i. p. 25. de Exped. Alexand.) the second Acropolis of Strabo, in which the Persians took refuge, as well as in that on the island, when the town had been carried by the attack of Alexander on the land side. Arrian also notices the *third* Acropolis, the Arx Media of Vitruvius, on the eminence behind the theatre, ἄκραν τὴν πρὸς Μύλασσαν μάλιστα τετραμμένην, the fortress that looked toward Mylassa, near the wall where the Macedonians made

on the western side of the mole, not included in the view then presented to us. According to the interesting observations of Mr. Morritt, given below, in an extract from his manuscript journal, that mole is now become an isthmus; connecting the

one of their assaults upon the city. Diodorus Siculus mentions this fortress as the ἀκρόπολις, Acropolis. (lib. xvii. p. 178. vol. II. Wesseling.) From his writings, or at least from the same source, Arrian seems to have collected most of the details of Alexander's famous siege. The citadel and fountain of Salmacis, on the western horn, and that on the island of Arconnesus, continued to resist the Macedonians after the Arx Medis and the city were destroyed. They probably therefore were the double Acropolis mentioned by Strabo; but the third is certainly mentioned both by Diodorus, Arrian, and Vitruvius; and as certainly its remains are seen behind the theatre, though Choiseul considers the Acropolis here as only meaning an *elevated part of the city*, a mode of expression not at all usual to Greek writers.

"15th June. We tried to procure permission from the disdar, the Turkish governor of the castle, to see the interior of that fortress; but after a long negotiation, we were at last only permitted to walk with a janissary round the outward ramparts, his jealousy not permitting the inner gates to be opened into the court. The castle is a work of modern date, but built, in a great degree, of ancient materials, confusedly put together in the walls. There is a plate which gives a correct notion of its general appearance, in the Voyage Pittoresque. We found over the door an ill-carved lion, and a mutilated bust of ancient work. Old coats of arms, the remains probably of the crusaders, and the knights of St John of Rhodes, are mixed in the walls with many precious fragments of the finest periods of Grecian art. There are several pieces of an ancient frieze, representing the combats of Theseus and the Amazons, of which the design and execution are equal to those which Lord Elgin brought over from the Parthenon. These are stuck in the wall, some of them reversed, some edgewise, and some which have probably been better preserved by having the curved side toward the wall, and inserted in it. No entreaties nor bribes could procure these at the time we were abroad; but now if they could be procured, they would form, I think, a most valuable supplement to the monuments already brought hither from Athens. From my recollection of them, I should say they were of a higher finish, rather better preserved, and the design of a date somewhat subsequent to those of Phidias, the proportions less massive, and the forms of a softer, more flowing, and less severe character. It is probable that these beautiful marbles were taken from the celebrated Mausoleum: of this, however, no other remains are discoverable in those parts of the town we were permitted to examine. I found an inscription this day, near a fountain in the town, containing hexameter and pentameter lines, on the consecration, or dedication, of some person to Apollo.

"16th June.—We examined the general situation of the town: this is already described, and we searched in vain for traces of the Mausoleum. The view of Cos and of the gulph are beautiful; and there is a picturesque little port behind the castle, to the east, shut in by the rock of the Arconnesus. This was the little port seen from the palace of the Carian kings, which stood in the old Acropolis, where the castle now is, although Arrian places this Acropolis (ἐν τῇ νήσῳ) on the island itself.

"25th June.—We again set off early, and doubling the western point of our little harbour as the day broke, we saw, in another small creek, a few remains of ruined walls, the vestiges of the ancient Bargasa, enumerated by Strabo after Keramos, in his description of the gulph. With some trouble, after standing northward for some hours, we doubled Cape Crio, under a very heavy swell, and soon ran before the wind into the southern harbour of Cnidus: at the mouth of this we moored, under a rocky shore near the eastern extremity of the city walls. Some large stones, which have served for the foundation of a tower, are still seen on the edge of the sea. Mounting the rock, extending along the shore, we came in view of the broken cliffs of the Acropolis, and its ruined walls. The foundation and lower courses of the city walls are also visible: these extend from those of the Acropolis to the sea, and have been strengthened by towers, now also in ruins. Above us, we found a building (*See B. of the Plan*) whose use I am unable to explain. It was a plain wall of brown stone, with a semicircle in the centre, and a terrace in front, supported by a breastwork of masonry, facing the sea. The wall was about ten or twelve feet in height, solidly built of hewn stone, but without ornament. We now turned westward, along the shore. The hill on our right was a steep slope, covered with old foundations and traces of buildings; behind these rose the rocky points and higher eminences, where the Acropolis is situated. We soon came to the theatre, whereof the marble seats remain, although mixed with bushes, and overturned. The arches and walls of the proscenium are now a heap of ruins on the ground. A large *torso* of a female figure with drapery,

Triopian promontory and the land to the eastward of it, once an island, with the Asiatic continent. The English consul at Rhodes afterward informed us, that a fine colossal statue of marble was still standing in the centre of the orchestra belonging to the theatre, the head of which the Turks had broken-off; but that he well remembered the statue in its perfect state. This is evidently the same alluded to by Mr. Morritt. Mr. Walpole, in a subsequent visit to Cnidus, brought away the *torso* of a male statue: this he has since added to the collection of Greek marbles in the vestibule of the university library, at Cambridge. No specimen of Cnidian sculpture can be regarded with indifference. The famous Venus of Praxiteles was among the number of the ornaments once decorating this celebrated city, and its effigy is still extant upon the medals of the place. Sostratus of Cnidus, son of Dexiphanes, built upon the isle of *Pharos* the celebrated Light-Tower, considered one of the seven wonders of the world, whence all

of white marble, lies in the orchestra. It appeared of good work originally, but is so mutilated and corroded by the air as to be of little or no consequence. Near this are the foundations and ruins of a magnificent Corinthian temple, also of white marble; and several beautiful fragments of the frieze, cornice, and capitals, lie scattered about the few bases of the peristyle, remaining in their original situation. It is so ruined, that it would be, I believe, impossible to ascertain the original form and proportions of the building. We left the isthmus that divides the two harbours on our left; and on the eastern shore of the north harbour came to a still larger Corinthian temple, also in ruins, and still more overgrown with bushes. The frieze and cornice of this temple, which lie among the ruins, are of the highest and most beautiful workmanship A little to the north of this stood a smaller temple, of gray-veined marble, whereof almost every vestige is obliterated. We now turned again eastward toward the Acropolis. Several arches of rough masonry, and a breastwork, support a large square area, probably the ancient Agora, in which are the remains of a long colonnade, of white marble, and of the Doric order, the ruins of an ancient stoa. Here also is the foundation of another small temple. On the north of this area a broad street ran from the port toward the Acropolis, terminating near the port in an arched gateway of plain and solid masonry. Above this are the foundations of houses, on platforms rising toward the outward walls; traces of a cross street near the theatre; and the Acropolis, of which nothing is left but a few ruined walls of strong brown stone, the same used for the substructions of the platforms into which the hill is cut. A few marbles, grooved to convey water from the hill of the Acropolis, are scattered on part of this ground; and we could trace the covered conduits of marble wherein it had been conveyed. We now descended again to the isthmus that separates the two harbours. In Strabo's time it was an artificial mole, over a narrow channel of the sea; and the western part of the town stood on an island united by this isthmus to the continent. An arch still remains in the side of it, probably a part of this mole; but the ruins which have fallen, with the sand that has accumulated on each side of it, have formed a neck of land here, about sixty or seventy yards across. The port on the north, as Strabo tells us, was shut by flood gates; and two towers are still to be traced, at the entrance to which the gates were fixed. It contained, he says, twenty triremes. The southern port is much larger, and protected from the open sea by a mole of large rough-hewn stones, which still remains. Beyond the ports, to the west, the town rose on a hill; the form of this Strabo compares to that of a theatre, bounded from the mole on the south by steep precipices of rock, and on the north by walls descending from the ridge to the gates of the northern harbour, in a semicircular sweep On this side of the town we found the old foundations of the houses, but no temples nor traces of ornamental buildings, and no marble. The circuit of the walls is perhaps three miles, including the two ports within them. A reference to the annexed plan will give a clearer view of the situation than I am able to afford by description only."

Morritt's MS. Journal.

similar edifices were afterward denominated.* The whole coast of Asia Minor, from the Triopian promontory to the confines of Syria, remarkable for some of the most interesting ruins of Greece, is almost unknown. Until the period at which this journal was written, when the British fleet found anchorage in the spacious and beautiful bay of Marmorice, no map or chart indicated such a harbour:† yet there is no part of the coast, where a gulph, bay, river, or promontory, can be pointed out, on which some vestige of former ages may not be discerned; many of these are of the remotest antiquity; and all of them are calculated to throw light upon passages in ancient history.

After losing sight of the ruins of Cnidus, we sailed in view of Syme and of Rhodes; an eminence, called the *Table Mountain*, first appearing upon the latter, and seeming itself insular, as if separated from the rest of the island. Toward the south, midway between the islands of Crete and Rhodes, we saw the Carpathian Isles, at a prodigious distance, and quite surprising, considering the distinct prospect we had of the largest, now called Scarpanto. We had favourable breezes the whole night, and the next morning entered the old port of Rhodes, between the two piers, on which it is fancifully asserted, by some modern writers, that the feet of the celebrated Colossus formerly rested.‡ The mouth of this harbour is so choked with ruins, that small vessels alone are able to enter: even our little bark ran aground before she came to her anchor.

* Upon the coast, or in the port of Cnidus, was decided the memorable naval combat, considered by Polybius as marking the æra when the Spartans lost the command of the sea, obtained by their victory over the Athenians in the Hellespont. Although above two thousand years have passed, since the squadrons of Persia, from all the ports of Asia, crowded the Dorian shores, the modern traveller may recognize, in the vessels of the country, the simple mode of construction, and the style of navigation, displayed by the armament of Conon, and the galleys of Pisander. Placed within the theatre of the city, surrounded by so many objects calculated to awaken the memory of past events, he might imagine himself carried back to the age in which they were accomplished; neither would he find in any part of the country a scene where the memorials of ancient Greece have been less altered. Yet the place is now scarcely known.

† The journals of Mr. Morritt, and of Mr. Walpole, contain much valuable information concerning the interior of Asia Minor, of which I have not availed myself: both as they relate to objects too far from the route here described, and because these gentlemen, much better qualified to do justice to their own valuable observations, will, it is hoped, present them to the public.

‡ It is somewhat remarkable, that this circumstance, neither mentioned by Strabo nor by Pliny, both of whom described the statue, continues erroneously propagated.

CHAP. VIII.

FROM RHODES TO THE GULPH OF GLAUCUS, IN ASIA MINOR.

*Rhodes—Climate—Antiquities—Lindus—Inscriptions—Pagan Ceremony—Divers of Syme and Nisyrus—Gulph of Glaucus—Grandeur of the Scenery—*Malaria*—Genoese Island—Ruins of Telmessus—Theatre—Oracular Cave—Sepulchres of the Telmessensians—Tomb of Helen, daughter of Jason—Other Soroi—Mausoleum—Monolithal Sepulchres—Ruins at Koynûcky—Turbulent State of the Country—Conduct of the Natives upon the Coast—New discovered Plants—Isle of Abercrombie.*

Rhodes is a most delightful spot. The air of the place is healthy, and its gardens are filled with delicious fruit. Here, as in Cos, every gale is scented with powerful fragrance wafted from groves of orange and citron trees. Numberless aromatic herbs exhale at the same time such profuse odour, that the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with a spicy perfume.

The present inhabitants of the island confirm the ancient history of its climate, maintaining that hardly a day passes, throughout the year, wherein the sun is not visible. Pagan writers describe it as so peculiarly favoured, that Jupiter is fabled to have poured down upon it a golden shower. The winds are liable to little variation; they are north, or northwest, during almost every month; but these blow with great violence. From the number of appellations it bore at different periods, Rhodes might have at last received the name of the *polyonomas island.* Its antiquities are too interesting to be passed over without notice; but we were hastening to the coast of Egypt, and contented ourselves by taking the few inscriptions found within the town, or its immediate vicinity.† The streets were

* *Ophiusa*, from the number of its serpents; *Stadia*, or Desert; *Telchinis*, *Corymbia*, *Trinacra*, *Æthræa*, from its cloudless sky; *Asteria*, because at a distance the island appears as a star; *Poessa*, *Atabyria*, *Oloessa*, *Macaria*, and *Pelagia*. "Some are of opinion that Rhodes was first peopled by the descendants of *Dodanim*, the fourth son of Javan. Both the Septuagint and Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch (*Egmont and Heyman*, vol. 1. p. 269.) instead of *Dodanim*, always use *Rodanim*; and by this appellation the Greeks always named the Rhodians."

† The ancient history of Rhodes, collected by Savary from different authors, and contained in the twelfth letter of his Travels in Greece, may be considered the most

filled with English sailors and soldiers, and all other considerations were absorbed in the great event of the expedition to Aboukir. A vessel had returned and put on shore a few of our wounded troops, who were taken to the hospital already prepared for their reception; but these were men who fell in the first moments of landing, and could give but a very imperfect account of the success of an enterprise destined to crown with immortal honour the statesman by whom it was planned, and the armies by which it was achieved. All we could then learn was, that, after a severe conflict, the French had retreated toward Alexandria; and, having near relations and dear friends engaged in the enterprise, it is not necessary to describe our feelings upon the intillegence.

The principal ruins at Rhodes are not of earlier date than the residence of the Knights of Malta.* The remains of their fine old fortress are sufficient to prove that the building has sustained little injury from time or barbarians. It still exhibits a venerable moated castle, of great size and strength; so fortified as to seem almost impregnable. A drawing made from it might furnish one of our theatres with a most striking decoration. It appears a complete system of fortification; combining all the paraphernalia of dykes and draw bridges, battlements and bastions. The cells of the knights are yet entire, forming a street within the works: and near these cells is the cathedral, or chapel, whose wooden doors, curiously carved, and said to have been wrought of an incorruptible kind of cedar, have been preserved in their original state. The arms of England and of France appear sculptured upon the walls. The Turks have converted the sanctuary into a magazine for military stores.

Of *Lindus*, now called *Lindo*, the ancient capital of Rhodes, so little visited by travellers, so remarkable by its early claim to the notice of the historian,† and so dignified by the talents to which it gave birth,‡ we collected a few scattered observations

favourable specimen of that author's talents, and perhaps the best account extant of the island. It is better to refer the reader to such a source, than to repeat what has been already so ably detailed.

* "In the year 1308, the emperor Emanuel, upon the expulsion of the knights from St. John d'Acri, made them a grant of this island, which they continued to possess until the year 1522, when, after a glorious resistance, the grand master, Villiers, was compelled to surrender it to Solyman II. The knights then retired, first to Candia, and afterward to Sicily, where they continued till the year 1530, when Charles V. gave them the island of Malta." *Egmont and Heyman*, vol. I. p. 270

† It was founded by Egyptians, under Danaus, fourteen hundred years before the Christian æra. It is one of the three cities alluded to by Homer, [Il. B. 668. See also Strabo, lib. xiv.] Notice of it also occurs in the Parian Chronicle.

‡ It gave birth to Cleobulus, one of the seven sages; and to Chares and Laches, the artists who designed and completed the Colossus. A mistake highly characteristic of French authors, was committed by Voltaire, respecting this famous statue. It is

from the clergy and surgeons of the British fleet. One of the former, chaplain of the admiral's ship, assured me that the antiquities he had seen there were very numerous. He spoke of the ruins of a temple, which may have stood on the site of the fane originally consecrated by the daughters of Danaus to the Lindian Minerva.* When our countrymen were there, many inscriptions were noticed; and of these, one may be here inserted, on account of the evidence it contains with regard to the real position of the ancient city.

ΛΙΝΔΙΟΙ
ΑΓΗΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ
ΠΟΛΥΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ
ΝΙΚΩΝΤΑΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ
ΠΑΙΔΑΣΠΑΛΑΝ
ΠΡΑΤΟΝΑΙΝΔΙΩΝ

Many cities in Asia and Europe celebrated games in imitation of the four sacred games of Greece.† Agesistratus, who is commemorated in this inscription, was the first of the Lindians who had overcome the boys in wrestling at the olympic games.‡

Some vases, of great antiquity, were also dug in a garden: of these, I procured one with upright handles. Future travellers may therefore expect considerable gratification, and a fund of inquiry, in the due examination of this part of the island.—Lindus is not more than one long day's journey from Rhodes, if the traveller makes use of mules for his conveyance.

The inscriptions I noticed at Rhodes were principally upon marble altars. These exhibited the cylindrical form, adorned with sculptured wreaths and festoons, supported by rams' heads, common to all the altars of ancient Greece. The first was decorated with wreaths of laurel, and thus inscribed:

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΧΑΛΚΗΤΑΚΑΙΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΚΛΕΑΙΝΙΔΟΣΚΑΔΔΙΚΙΑΤΙΔΑ
ΚΡΟΑΣΣΙΔΟΣ

It relates to Lysander and his wife Cleaenis.

noticed by Mentelle, in a note to the article LINDOS, *Encyclopedie Methodique*. Voltaire having read *Indian* for *Lindian*, relates that the Colossus was cast by an indian.

* Ἱερὸν δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Λινδίας αὐτόθι ἐπιφανές, τῶν Δαναΐδαν ἵδρυμα. "There," (*at Lindus*,) "is a conspicuous temple of the Lindian Minerva, the work of the Danaidæ." *Strabon, Geogr.* lib. xiv. p. 937. *Ed. Oxon.* Savary says the ruins of this edifice are still visible, on an eminence near the sea: *Letters on Greece*, p. 96. The inhabitants here consecrated the 7th Ode of Pindar's Olympics, by ascribing it in letters of gold: *Ibid. Demetrius Triclinius.* Lindus was the port resorted to by the fleets of Egypt and of Tyre before the building of Rhodes. *Ibid*

† See *Recueil d'Antiq. tom.* ii. p. 223; and also *Corsini Diss. Quatuor, Agon.* p. 20.

‡ In an inscription found at Sparta, and cited by Caylus, we read Ἐλευθέρια ἄνδρας παλάν.

Upon a second, with the rams' heads, appeared only the name of a person who had placed it as a vow.

ΗΓΕΓΟΔ
ΔΟΡΕΩΝΟΣ

Upon a third, corresponding in its ornaments with the first, was the name of Polycleitus, the son of Polyaratus.

ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ
ΠΟΛΥΑΡΑΤΟΥ

From the classical simplicity and brevity used by the Greeks in their inscriptions, we might derive examples for the improvement of our taste in this respect. How much more impressive is the style pursued by them, than our mode of writing upon public monuments, where a long verbose superscription is introduced, relating to things whereof it concerns not posterity to be informed! In other ages, however, the Greeks of the Carpathian sea and coast of Caria had the custom of adding to such simple inscriptions an hexameter distich; of this I have seen many instances, but shall subjoin one as I found it on the pedestal of a marble column at Rhodes: this had been hollowed, and placed over the mouth of a well in the inner basin of the principal harbour.* It it very interesting, as it relates to an artist of the country, *Amphilochus the son of Lâgus*, who was probably an architect.

ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟΥ
ΤΟΥΛΑΑΓΟΥ
ΠΟΝΤΩΡΕΩΣ
ΗΚΕΙΚΑΙΝΕΙΛΟΥΠΡΟΧΟΑΣΚΑΙΕΣΧΑΤΟΝΙΝΔΟΝ
ΤΕΧΝΑΣΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟΙΟΜΕΓΑΚΛΕΟΣΑΦΘΙΤΟΝΑΕΙ

"THE GREAT AND IMMORTAL GLORY OF THE ART OF AMPHILACHUS REACHES EVEN TO THE MOUTHS OF THE NILE AND TO THE UTMOST INDUS."

Upon a block of marble, in the street before the Greek convent,

* After my return to England, I was gratified by finding that Egmont and Heyman, half a century before, had also noticed this inscription, (See Vol. I. p. 268.) because their copy confirmed my own, as to the words ΛΑΑΓΟΥ and ΠΟΝΤΩΡΕΩΣ; while in other respects, it is so imperfect, as to be unintelligible without the assistance of the more correct reading here offered. The classical reader will be interested in remarking, that Aristophanes, in the Νεφέλαι, uses the expression of the Rhodian Poet;

Ἐν' ἄρα ΝΕΙΛΟΥ ΠΡΟΧΟΑΙΣ ὕδατοιν.

I also observed the following record of an offering to Jupiter, the saviour, by the persons whose names are mentioned:

ΤΗΝΩΝΟΝΑΤΝΟΤ
ΑΡΑΔΙΟΣΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΣ
ΔΙΙΣΩΤΗΡΙ

A circumstance occurs annually at Rhodes which deserves the attention of the literary traveller: it is the ceremony of carrying Silenus in procession at Easter. A troop of boys, crowned with garlands, draw along, in a car, a fat old man, attended with great pomp. I unfortunately missed bearing testimony to this remarkable example, among many others which I had witnessed, of the existence of Pagan rites in popular superstitions.* I was informed of the fact by Mr. Spurring, a naval architect, who resided at Rhodes, and Mr. Cope, a commissary belonging to the British army; both of whom had seen the procession. The same ceremony also takes place in the Island of Scio.

From the neighbouring Island of Syme, so famous for its *diters*, women come to Rhodes for employment. They are the porters and water carriers of the island; and appear distinguished by a peculiar mode of dress, wearing white turbans on their heads. Their features have, moreover, a singular character, resembling those of the *Tzigankies*, or gypsies in Russia. In Syme,† and in the Isle of Nisyrus, now called *Nizari*, whose inhabitants are principally maintained by the occupation of diving for sponges, the following singular custom is observed. When a man of any property intends to have his daughter married, he appoints a certain day, when all the young unmarried men repair to the sea side, where they strip themselves in the

* Even in the town of Cambridge, and center of our university, such curious remains of ancient customs may be noticed, in different seasons of the year, which pass without observation. The custom of blowing horns upon the first of May, (old style) is derived from a festival in honour to Diana At the *Hawkie*, as it is called, or *Harvest Home*, I have seen a clown dressed in woman's clothes, having his face painted, his head decorated with ears of corn, and bearing about him other symbols of Ceres, carried in a wagon, with great pomp and loud shouts, through the streets, the horses being covered with white sheets; and when I inquired the meaning of the ceremony, was answered by the people, that "*they were drawing the* HARVEST QUEEN." These ancient customs of the country did not escape the notice of Erasmus, when he was in England. He had observed them, both at Cambridge and in London; and particularly mentions *the blowing of horns*, and the ceremony of depositing a deer's head upon the altar of St. Paul's church, which was built upon the site of a temple of Diana, by Ethelbert king of Kent, in the time of *Melitus*, first Bishop of London, as appears from a manuscript in the Cottonion collection. "*Apud Anglos*," says Erasmus, "mos est Londini, ut certo die populus in summum templum *Paulo* sacrum inducat longo hostili impositum caput feræ, cum inamœno sonitu CORNUUM VENATORIORUM. Hac pompa proceditur ad summum altare, dicas omnes afflatos furore." *Deliæ Erasmi Ecclesiastæ*, lib. i. *Op. tom.* V. *p.* 701. See also *Knight's Life of Erasmus, Camb.* 1726 *p.* 297

† Syme retains its ancient appellation; derived from *Syme*, a daughter of *Jalysus*, according to *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

presence of the father and his daughter, and begin diving. He who goes deepest in the sea, and remains longest under water, obtains the lady.*

A north wind had prevailed from the time of our leaving the Dardanelles. It changed, however, as soon as we had put to sea from Rhodes, which induced us to stand over for the Gulph of Glaucus, now called Macri Bay, situated between the ancient provinces of Caria and Lycia, in Asia Minor;† a place difficult of access to mariners, and generally dreaded by Greek sailors, because when sailing toward it with a leading wind, they often encounter what is called a "head wind," blowing from the gulph causing a heavy swell in its mouth, where they are also liable to dangerous calms, and to sudden squalls from the high mountains around. The appearance of all the south of Asia Minor, from the sea, is fearfully grand; and perhaps no part of it possesses more eminently those sources of the sublime, which Burke has instructed us to find in vastness and terror, than the entrance to the gulph into which we were now sailing. The mountains around it, marking the confines of Caria and Lycia, are so exceedingly high, that their summits are covered with deep snow throughout the year; and they are visible, at least to one third part of the whole distance, from the Asiatic to the African continent. From Rhodes they are distinctly seen, although that island is rarely discerned from the mouth of the gulph, even in the clearest weather. Of this gulph it is not possible to obtain correct ideas, even from the best maps as it is falsely delineated in all that have yet been published. It inclines so much toward the south, after passing the isles which obstruct the entrance, that ships may lie as in a basin. Its extremity is quite landlocked, although no such notion can be formed of it, from the appearance it makes, either in D'Anville's atlas, or any more recent publication. The air of this gulph, especially in summer, is pestiferous. A complete *mal-aria*,‡ prevails over every part

* Egmont and Heyman. vol. i. p. 266. When the antiquities obtained by our English ambassador in Athens were sunk, by the loss of a vessel in the Bay of Cerigo, together with the valuable journals of his secretary, Mr. Hamilton, relating to his travels in Greece and Egypt, that gentleman, with great presence of mind, sent for some of these divers; who actually succeeded in penetrating to the ship's hold, and in driving large iron bolts into the cases containing marbles, at the bottom of the sea, in ten fathoms depth: to these they afterward applied cords, and thus succeeded in raising part of the ship's cargo.

† Cicero, [lib i. *De Divinatione.*] places the city of Telmessus in Caria. It seems rather to have belonged to Lycia. The mountains to the north and west of it formed the boundary between the two provinces.

‡ The name generally given, in the Mediterranean, to those mephitic exhalations prevalent during the summer months, where the land has not been properly drained. The mouths of all rivers are thus infested; also, all cotton and rice grounds; places called *lagunes*, where salt is made; all the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia, par-

of it. Sir Sidney Smith, being here with the Tiger, assured me, that in the compass of one week, from the time of his arrival, he had not less than one hundred of the crew upon the sick list For myself, I soon became a striking example of the powerful influence of such air, not only from the fever which there attacked me, but from a temporary privation of the use of my limbs, which were not restored until we put to sea again. I have generally remarked, during my travels, that wherever the ruins of ancient cities exist, the air is bad; owing to the stagnant waters caused by the destruction of aqueducts, of conduits for public baths, and by the filling up of channels, formerly employed to convey those waters, which are now left, forming marshes and stinking pools. But it is not only to such causes that we may ascribe the bad air of the Bay of Macri. The lofty mountains, which entirely surround it, leave the gulph, as it were, in the bottom of a pit, where the air has not a free circulation, and where the atmosphere is often so sultry, that respiration is difficult: at the same time, sudden gusts of cold wind rush down, at intervals, from the snowy heights, carrying fever and death to those who expose their bodies to such refreshing, but deceitful gales. Yet the temptations to visit this place, notwithstanding the danger, are lamentably strong; there is no part of Grecian territory more interesting in its antiquities than the Gulph of Glaucus. The ruins of Telmessus are as little known as they are remarkable, in the illustration they afford concerning the tombs and the theatres of the ancients.

We had no sooner entered the mouth of the gulph, than we encountered the tremendous swell our pilot had taught us to expect. At one moment, a gust, as of a hurricane, laid our vessel upon her beam-ends; at another, the sails were shaking, as in a calm, and the ship pitching in all directions. In this situation, night came on. Our captain, wishing himself well out at sea, was cursing his folly for venturing into such a birth; dryly observing, that "if we did not look sharp, we should get smothered before morning." Land around us on every side, increased our apprehensions; but patience and labour at last brought us quietly to anchor on the eastern side of one of the six isles in the entrance to this bay, behind which, vessels lie most commodiously, that visit this place for the purpose of watering. During the Egyptian expedition, ships came here

ticularly those of Zeitun, the ancient Lamia, and Thessalonica; the great marsh of Bœotia; all the northern and western coasts of the Morea; and the whole coast of Romelia, opposite Corcyra, now Corfu.

to obtain wood and water for the fleet; but their crews being attacked by the natives of the coast, who are a very savage race of mountaineers, it was usual to send to Cyprus for those articles.

When daylight appeared, we observed a larger island than any of those we had before noticed, lying farther in the bay, toward the east, and entirely covered with buildings, like the small island in the *Lâgo Maggiore* of the Milanese territory in Italy, called *Isola bella*. These buildings proved afterward to be really the work of Italians; for upon hoisting out our boat and visiting the place, we found there the ruins of a Genoese town, of considerable size, to which the inhabitants of the town of Macri were accustomed to resort, during summer, to avoid bad air. Some of the houses, porticoes, baths and chapels, are yet almost entire; and the whole had a picturesque appearance, highly striking, in the approach to it from the water. After passing this island we rowed toward the town of Macri, situated in the midst of the ruins of Telmessus; the name of which city appears in the inscription we found there, proving the accuracy of D'Anville in the position assigned to it by him. Here the bay winds round a promontory, and inclines toward the south; presenting a beautiful harbour sheltered on every side by a mountainous coast. We landed upon the modern pier, and having paid our respects to the agha in the usual form, by taking a cup of his coffee, proceeded to the ruins. They lie toward the east and west of the present town; or, in truth, all around it: whensoever the modern town was built, it arose from the ruins of the ancient city. The first and principal ruin appears from the sea, before landing, to the west of the town. It is that of an immense theatre, whose enormous portals are yet standing. It seems one of the grandest and most perfect specimens the ancients have left of this kind of building. The situation selected for it, according to the common custom observed throughout Greece, is the side of a mountain sloping to the sea. Thus, by the plans of Grecian architects, the great operations of nature were rendered subservient to works of art; for the mountains whereon they built their theatres possessed naturally a theatrical form; and towering behind them, like a continuation of the immense curvature containing seats for the spectators, give a prodigious dignity to those edifices. Not only the mountains, but the sea itself, and all the vast perspective presented before the spectators who were assembled in those buildings, must have been considered, by their architects, as forming parts

of one magnificent design. The removal of any object from the rest would materially have injured the grandeur of the whole. Savary, who saw this theatre at Telmessus, says it is much less than that of Patara,* and we found its diameter not half so great as that of Alexandria Troas; yet the effect produced by it seemed greater. Some of the stones used in its construction are nine feet long, three feet wide, and two feet thick. Three immense portals, not unlike the appearances presented at Stonehenge, conducted to the arena. The stones which compose these gates are larger than those I have described. The centre gateway consists only of five, and the two others of three each, placed in the most simple style of architecture. Indeed, every thing at Telmesses is colossal. A certain vastness of proportion, as in the walls of Tirynthus or Crotona, excites admiration mingled with awe; and this may be said to characterize the traces of the Dorian colonies over all the coast of Asia Minor. The grandeur of the people, as well as the sublime conceptions of their artists, were displayed not only in the splendour of their buildings, but in the size of the materials wherewith their edifices were constructed. The kings and people of Caria and of Lycia have left behind them monuments defying the attacks of time or of barbarians. Amidst the convulsions of nature, and the earthquakes desolating the shores of the Carpathian Sea, these buildings have remained unshaken. The enormous masses constituting the doors of the Telmessensian theatre were placed together without cementation or grooving; they are simply laid one upon the other: and some notion may be formed of the astonishing labour necessary in the completion of the edifice to which they belong, when it is further stated that every stone in the exterior walls of the building appears sculptured in regular parallelograms, formed by bevelling the edges.†

There were, originally, five immense doors leading to the arena, although three only remain standing at this day. The largest of these being the central place of entrance, consisted of five pieces of stone; two being on each side, as uprights, and one laid across. The uprights are ten feet two inches, and five feet eleven inches, making the whole height of the door eleven feet six inches. The breadth of these stones is three feet ten

* "Letters on Greece," lib. ii. p. 48. *Lond.* 1788.

† In all descriptions of this kind, the pencil of the artist is so much superior to the pen of the writer, that it is doubtful, whether, after every endeavour to give an idea of this appearance, the account will be intelligible.

inches, and they are twenty inches thick. The space for the entrance is seven feet three inches wide; and the length of the upper stone, placed across the uprights, ten feet seven inches; all one entire mass. The doors on either side the main entrance, consisting only of three stones each, had, for their uprights, masses of eleven feet three inches in height, four feet in breadth, nineteen inches in thickness, and the space for the entrance six feet four inches. Those upon the right and left of the three in the centre were still smaller.

The form of this theatre is semicircular. It is twenty-eight rows of seats, and all of these remain entire. They are divided into two parts, by a corridor passing all around; fourteen seats being in the upper division, and the same number in the lower. In the upper compartment, on each side of the theatre, is a vaulted chamber; and these are exactly opposite to each other. Perhaps the measure across the arena, to the begining of the seats, may rather prove its form to be elliptical than semicircular. I found the distance from the centre portal to the lower bench, thirty-five yards, and obtained a major diameter of thirty-seven yards by measuring the distance from side to side. The stones whereof the walls consisted, between the portals, were eight feet ten inches in length; these weret placed together without cement, and exhibited the same massive structure as the rest of the building. Being resolved to render an account as explicit as possible of a theatre still remaining so entire, I shall now proceed to state the dimensions of the seats. Their elevation is sixteen inches, and the breadth twenty-five. The height of the corridor, passing round the back of the lower tier, is five feet eight inches; so that the height of the persons placed in the upper row was forty-two feet above the arena. Before the front of this fine theatre extended a noble terrace, to which a magnificent flight of steps conducted from the sea. The beautiful harbour of Telmessus, with the precipices and snow-clad summits around it, was the prospect surveyed by the spectators from within; and behind towered the heights of that mountain, to whose shelving sides the edifice was itself accommodated; nor can imagination picture a sublimer scene than, under so many circumstances of the grandest association, was presented to the stranger, who landing from his bark beneath the facade of this magnificent building, ascended to the terrace from the strand of the Telmessensians; and, entering the vast portals of the theatre, beheld them seated by thousands within its spacious area.

Near the ruins of this edifice are other remains, and, among them, one of a nature too remarkable to be passed without notice. At pressent it exhibits a lofty and very spacious vaulted apartment, open in front, cut in the solid substance of a rock, beneath the declivity on which the theatre is situated, and close to the sea. The sides of it are of the natural stone; but the back part is of masonary, stuccoed with so much art, that it presents a close imitation of the appearance presented by the rock itself. It evidently served as a screen to conceal a hollow recess, of the same height and breadth as that side of the vault. In this recess was probably secreted one of those soothsayers for which Telmessus was anciently renowned;* so that when persons entered the vault to consult the oracle, a voice apparently supernatural, might answer where no person was visible. Similar means of deception, employed by heathen priests, are exhibited by their remains at Argos in Peloponnesus, as will hereafter appear. But concerning the Telmessensian Cave, it is difficult to explain the manner in which the person who delivered the oracular sayings, obtained an entrance to the recess. We could observe neither hole nor crevice; nor would the place have been discovered, if some persons had not, either by accident or design, broken a small aperture through the artificial wall, about four feet from the floor of the vault. A flight of steps conducted from the shore to this remarkable cave; and as it was open in front toward the sea, it does not appear to have served for a place of sepulture. We may therefore conclude that it presents a curious relique of that juggling augury for which this city was particularly famous.

The walls of the theatre of Telmessus furnished materials for building the pier of the present town. The sculptured stones, already noticed upon the exterior of that sumptuous edifice, may now be discerned in the later masonry of this work. All the marble used by the Turkish inhabitants of the place, in their cemetery, mosque, and public fountains, was taken from the remains of the Grecian city, and afterward

* Telmessus was so renowned for the art of divination, that Crœsus, king of Lydia, sent to consult its soothsayers on an occasion mentioned by Herodotus. The famous *Haruspex* of Alexander the Great was Aristander of Telmessus. Arrian (Epod. lib. ii. ed. *Gronov.*) says of the people, Εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς Τελμισσεῖς σοφοὺς τὰ θεῖα ἐξηγεῖσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν ἀπὸ γένους δεδεσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τὴν μαντείαν. It may be observed here, that the name of the city, in the text of Arrian, and in Gronovius's commentary, is written *Telmissus*. Our inscriptions copied there prove the word to be as written in the following passage of Cicero; "*Telmessus in Caria est: qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina.*". CICERO *de Divinatione*, lib. i.

fashioned, by those barbarians, into shapes whereby every trace of their former honours have been annihilated. Much, however, yet exists, proving the rank maintained by the Telmessensians, although little within the precincts of the modern town. Yet even here we observed some antiquities, and among these a marble altar, on which a female figure was represented, with the extraordinary symbols of two hands figured in bas-relief, as if cut off and placed by her, with this inscription:

ΕΙΡΗΝΗΧΑΙΡΕ

Near the same place was also the capital of an Ionic pilaster; having the architect's name, Hermolycus, so engraven upon it as not to be discerned when the building, to which it belonged, was perfect; the letters being inscribed behind the capital, where the stone was intended to be placed against a wall; and thus written:

ΕΡΟΓΟΛΥΚΟΥ

Not being able to discovery any other antiquities within the town, we passed through it, toward the east;* and here found ample employment, in the midst of the sepulchres of the Telmessensians. Some of these have been delineated, but without accuracy or effect, in the work of Monsieur de Choiseul Gouffier.† They are the sepulchres to which allusion was made in a former volume, when discussing the subject of the origin of temples.‡ It was there stated, that the most ancient heathen structures, for offerings to the gods, were always either tombs themselves, or they were built where tombs had been. Hence the first temples of Athens, Paphos, and Miletus; and hence the terms used by the most ancient writers in their signification of a temple. Hence also the sepulchral origin and subsequent consecration of the pyramids of Egypt. But since Mr. Bry-

* The remains of Genoese and Venetian buildings cover all the coast near the town. We found here, in full bloom, that exceedingly rare plant the *aristolochia maurorum*. It is badly represented in Tournefort's Travels, tom ii. p. 79. The singular colour of the flower, and also its brown leaves, made me at first doubt whether it were an animal or a plant. It grows also near the ruins of the theatre.

† *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*. This has been stated for the purpose of contradicting a note published in the English edition of Savary's Letters on Greece, p. 49. Lond. 1788, where it is said, that "these ancient monuments are delineated with great minuteness and *accuracy* in the *Voyage Pittoresque*." If the reader attempt to form his judgment of the ruins of Telmessus from that work, he will not obtain any notion adequate to their grandeur, or even to the truth of their appearance. Neither is the author of this work able to supply, by drawings, what is wanted for better information.

‡ "Journey along the frontier of Circassia." See part I. chap. XVII. p. 399. of the second edition.

ant, alluding to the tombs of Persepolis, maintained that they were temples *ab origine*, as distinguished from places of burial, it will be right to show, that those of Telmessus, corresponding exactly with the Persepolitan monuments, so that one might be confounded with the other, have upon them inscriptions denoting explicitly and fully the purposes of their construction.

The tombs of Telmessus are of two kinds; both visible from the sea at a considerable distance. The first, and the more extraordinary, are sepulchres hewn in the face of perpendicular rocks. Wherever the side of a mountain presented an almost inaccessible steep, there the ancient workmen seem to have bestowed their principal labour. In such situations are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art as to exhibit open facades, porticoes with Ionic columns, gates and doors beautifully sculptured, on which are carved the representation as of embossed iron work, bolts and hinges. Yet every such appearance, whatever number of parts may compose it, proves, upon examination, to consist of one stone.* The columns, broken at their bases, remain suspended by their capitals; being, in fact, a part of the architrave and cornice they seem to support, and therefore are sustained by them and by the contiguous mass of rock above, to which they all belong. These are the sepulchres resembling those of Persepolis. The other kind of tomb found at Telmessus is the true Grecian soros, the sarcophagus of the Romans. Of this sort there are several, but of a size and grandeur far exceeding any thing of the kind elsewhere, standing, in some instances, upon the craggy pinnacles of lofty precipitous rocks. It is as difficult to determine how they were there placed, as it would be to devise means for taking them down; of such magnitude are the single stones whereof each soros separately consists. Nearer to the shore, and in less elevated situations, appear other tombs, of the same nature, and of still greater size; these are formed of more than one stone; and almost all, of whatsoever size or form, exhibit inscriptions.

The largest of those near the shore, situated in a valley between the mountains and the sea, is composed of five immense masses of stone; four being used for the sides, and one for the lid or cover. A small opening, shaped like a door, in the side facing the harbour, is barely large enough to allow a passage

*A similar style of workmanship may be observed in the stupendous Indian temples as they are beautifully delineated by Mr. Daniel.

for the human body. Examining its interior by means of the aperture here afforded, we perceived another small square opening in the floor of this vast soros, which seemed to communicate with an inferior vault. Such cavities might be observed in all the sepulchres of Telmessus, excepting those cut in the rocks; as if the bodies of the dead had been placed in the lower receptacle, while the soros above answered the purpose of a cenotaph; for, wherever the ground had been sufficiently cleared around them, there appeared, beneath the soros, a vault.* Almost all these tombs have been ransacked: but I suspect that the one to which reference is now made, has not yet been opened. Gipsies, who were encamped in great numbers among the ruins, had used some of the vaults, or lower receptacles, as sheds for their goats. A question is here suggested, which it may be possible to answer. Whence originated this distinction, observed in the Telmessensian sepulchres, between the tombs having a Persepolitan character, and the cenotaphs exhibiting the most ancient form of the Greek soros? The first seem evidently Asiatic; they correspond with the remains of customs still discernible in many parts of India. The last are of European origin; and their introduction may be referred to periods in the history of the country, when the first colonies from Greece took possession of the coasts of Caria and Lycia. The Dorian dialect is yet retained in almost every inscription found upon those shores.†

Upon the right hand of the mouth of the soros, as represented in the annexed engraving, is an inscription, in legible characters, of the highest importance in ascertaining the identity of the city to which it belonged, as well as in the illustration it offers concerning the nature of the monument itself. I copied it with all the care and attention it was possible to bestow, when exposed to the scorching beams of a powerful sun, and to mephitic exhalations from the swamp wherein it is situated. By the legend, this monument is proved to have been the TOMB OF HELEN, DAUGHTER OF JASON, A WOMAN OF TELMESSUS. It is difficult

* Such a mode of interment is still exhibited in all our English cemeteries. It is a practice we derived from the Romans; and the form of their sarcophagus may yet be noticed in almost every churchyard of our island.

† The late professor Porson, to whom the author showed the inscription he discovered upon this soros, maintained that it was evidently older than the hundredth Olympiad. Reckoning, therefore, to the time in which it was found, the antiquity of this monument amounted to two thousand one hundred and seventy one years; for the hundred Olympiad terminated with the year 377 B. C. Professor Porson himself afforded the translation of this inscription, as it will be found here given; the author having carefully inserted it, literally and verbally, from the copy left with him by his lamented friend.

to comprehend what is intended by the *turret*, unless it be the superior receptacle, or soros itself. At the same time we learn, from this inscription, that Greek tombs were not always exclusively appropriated to the interment of a single body, although such strict injunction is sometimes made, by inscriptions upon them, against the admission of any other corpse, than of the person first buried;* but that, sometimes, they answered all the purposes of a modern family vault.

ΕΛΕΝΗΗΚΑΙ
ΑΦΦΙΟΝΙΑΣΟ
ΝΟΣΤΟΥΔΙΟ
ΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΕΛ
ΜΗΣΣΙΣΤΟΜΝΗ
ΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ
ΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΟΨΕΑΥ
ΤΗΝΕΝΕΘΑΨΕΝΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΔΗΔΥΙΩΑΥΤΗΣ
ΚΑΙΕΛΕΝΗΤΗΚΑΙΑΦΦΙ
ΩΕΓΓΟΝΗΑΥΤΗΣΑΛΛΩΔΕ
ΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΙΝΑΙΕΝΤΩ
ΠΥΡΓΙΣΚΩΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΜΕ
ΤΑΤΟΗΝΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΗΝ
ΕΙΤΙΣΘΕΙΗΤΙΝΑΑΣΕ
ΒΗΣΕΣΥΩΘΕΟΙΣΚΑΤΑ
ΧΘΟΝΙΟΣΚΑΙΕΚΤΟΣ
ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΤΕΛ
ΜΗΣΣΕΝΩΔΗ
ΜΟΣΙΩ
ΙΕ

"Helen, who was also Aphion, the daughter of Jason the son of Diogenes, a woman of Telmessus, constructed this monument for herself, and late in life has buried herself therein; and to Apollonides, her own son; and to Helen who is likewise called Apphion, her own granddaughter; but to nobody else be it allowed to be deposited *in the turret*, after that she herself is therein entombed. But if any person presume to put any person therein, let him be devoted to the infernal gods, and let him yearly pay to the treasury of the Telmesseusian fifteen drachms."†

* See particularly the inscription copied at Erkessykeuy, in the plain of Troy, as found on a soros brought from Alexandria Troas, of which a translation is given in the sixth chapter of this volume.

† Nine shillings and eight pence farthing.

Other sepulchres, of the same form, although not quite so large, consist only of two masses of stone; one for the body or chest of the soros, and the other for its operculum; and, to increase the wonder excited by the skill and labour manifested in their construction, they have been almost miraculously raised to the surrounding heights, and there left standing upon the projections and crags of the rocks, which the casualties of nature presented for their reception. One of them exhibits a bas-relief; and by the left side of this, an inscription, but so nearly obliterated, that we could recover only a few of the letters. The relief represents a female figure seated, to whom some one is presenting an infant. Four other figures, two male and two female, follow the person who carries the child. These again are succeeded by a train of attendants. This subject is common in Greece. It is similar to that described by Dr. Chandler at Sigeum,* and exhibits the presentation of a new-born babe to the tutelar deity, on the fifth day after its birth. It is not quite so clear for what purpose this subject was introduced upon a sepulchral monument, unless it were erected in memory of one who died in childbed. The only letters distinct were the following:

.....ΛΗ...ΡΑ
.....ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ
....ΘΕΣΤΗΑΤΩΝ
.....ΤΑΚΑΔΑ...
ΟΝΙΟΣΔΙΟΙΝΗ
ΝΤΔΙΟΝ.....

Upon the opposite side of this soros, toward the mountain, I found also a part of another inscription:

ΓΕΛΗΤΟ....ΔΛΘΑΣΚ...Α...ΚΝ...ΟΣΙ

This tomb consists of two entire stones, standing upon a lofty rock, difficult of access. One stone, being hollowed, affords a receptacle for the body; the other supplies its ponderous covering.

Near this is another tomb, with a simple bas-relief, but not of less massive materials, nor less elevated in its situation. The practice of adorning the soros is not of a date so remote as the chaster style observed in sepulchres of Macedonia, and in

* Travels in Asia Minor, p. 36. See also a plate in the Ionian Antiquities.

others left by the Ptolemies of Egypt. In its original form it preserves a simplicity and grandeur not to be aided by any ornament. The purest model* was afforded by the granite soros, in the chamber of the greater pyramid, when it was covered by a simple slab. During the first ages of their introduction, they were destitute even of inscriptions. The magnitude of the work spoke for itself; and it was believed posterity needed no other information.† In later times, when the reliques of the dead became sources of superstition, and sloth or avarice had rendered them subservient to mercenary purposes, it was necessary that inscriptions should often not only record the origin of the tomb, but also testify the miracles it wrought, or the mysteries it concealed. Hence those numberless writings at the monument of Memnon, and the long catalogue of hieroglyphic characters with which the priests of Alexandria had inscribed the soros containing the consecrated remains of the founder of their city. It is quite inconceivable by what art the people of Telmessus were enabled to raise such everlasting monuments of their piety for the dead. The soros of which I am now writing stands upon the top of a rock, towering among the ruins and other sepulchres of the city: it consists, like the former, of two pieces of stone. It has, for its foundation, a mass so solid, that even the earthquakes, to which the country has been liable, have not, in the smallest degree, altered its position.

Again passing the tomb of Helen, and proceeding a little farther toward the east, we came to the remains of a monument, which I should have believed to have been the famous cenotaph erected by Artemisia in honour of her husband, from its conformity to the accounts given of that work, if Strabo had not assigned for it a different situation.‡ Hard by, upon a block of marble, we noticed the following inscription, perhaps referring to this building. The stone seemed as if it had been

* The classical taste of Poussin did not suffer this model to escape his notice, when he painted the celebrated picture of *the flight into Egypt*. The Holy Family are there delineated by the side of an ancient tomb, consisting of the soros, with its simple covering, destitute of any ornament whatsoever. In that picture, all is repose, grandeur, and sublimity, in the highest degree.

† The account given by Diodorus of the sepulchre of Osymandyas, [Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 57. ed. Wessel. *Amst.* 1746.] affording one of the oldest inscriptions of this nature, proves how fully the ancients relied upon the perpetuity of their memory by the greatness of their sepulchres. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝΟΣΤΜΑΝΔΥΑΣΕΙΜΙ ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕΙΔΕΝΑΙΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙΠΗΛΙΚΟΣΕΙΜΙΚΑΙΠΟΥΚΕΙΜΑΙΝΙΚΑ ΤΩΤΙΤΩΝΕΜΩΝΕΡΓΩΝ. "I am Osymandyas, King of Kings! If any one would know how great I am, and *where I lie*, let him surpass any of my works."

‡ Strabon. Geog. lib. xiv. p. 938. Ed. Oxon.

placed over the entrance of some edifice. It purports that a person of the name of "Sammias, constructed the monument for himself, his wife Auxesis,* daughter of Naneis, his family, and descendants;" and concludes with the usual prohibition concerning its exclusive appropriation, and the fine to be levied in consequence of its violation, to be paid to the senate.

ΣΑΜΜΙΑΣΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΞΗΣΕΙΝΑΝΗΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ
ΗΤΟΙΣΕΚΤΟΥΤΩΝΕΣΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΕΚΤΟΝΟΙΣΜΟΥΚΑΙ
ΤΟΥΤΙΤΜΟΥΕΠΑΓΛΟΟΥΧΑΡΑΕΑΝΜΕΙΝΗΜΕΤΑΥΤΟΥ
ΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΑΝΟΙΕΛΙΗΟΙΠΕΓΗΜΗΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΑΙΤΙΝΙ
ΧΕΟΝΩΕΙΑΕΟΗΟΑΛΛΟ..... ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΕΛ
ΜΕΣΣΕΩΝΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ *..

That a building equal in colossal size to this should have been erected for any private individual, seems improbable. That it could not have been one of the public edifices used by the Telmessensians, is evident, because it did not admit light; and further, that its origin was sepulchral, may also be inferred from the circumstance of its situation in the midst of tombs. Its form is quadrangular, and I believe perfectly square. It consists of enormous blocks of stone, placed together without cement. Strength seems all the architect aimed at in its formation. It bears every trace of having sustained some enormous obelisk, or pyramid, to which it supplied a basement. Viewing it externally, it has the appearance of a solid cube; but having effected a passage to the interior of the pile, by means of chasms opened by earthquakes, we found an arch upon every side. Between these, the intervening spaces, being the upper corners of the building, were each of one entire stone, of incredible size, scooped within, so as to form, by their junction upward, a dome. Upon the outside of the pile the arches were walled up, to give additional strength to the work, and better enable it to sustain the immense weight it was designed to bear. All the ground before it, toward the sea, had been levelled, and was formerly covered by masonry, now only visible in a few remaining traces.

We afterward ascended the cliffs, for the purpose of examining more accurately what are deemed, and with reason, the greatest curiosities of Macri; the tombs cut out of the solid rock, in the precipices toward the sea. The labour here be-

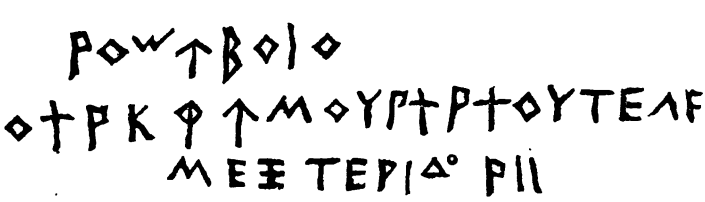
*This name occurs in an inscription published by Maffei; *Epist.* 18. *Gall. Antiq.* See also *Oderici Inscript.* p. 368.

stowed has been immense; and the work is very beautiful. Some of these are more adorned than others, having, as was before stated, a kind of portico, with pillars in front. In those that were almost plain, the hewn stone was as smooth as if the artist had been employed upon wood, or any other soft substance. The exterior form of almost every one of them cannot, perhaps, be better described, than by comparing them with a familiar article of household furniture, to which they have great resemblance: namely, those book cases, with glass doors, seen upon bureaus, surmounted by ornamental rail work over the front and sides. A small rectangular opening, scarcely large enough to pass through, admitted us to the interior of some of these tombs, where we found a square chamber, with one or more receptacles for dead bodies, shaped like baths, upon the sides of the apartment, and neatly chiselled in the body of the rock. The mouths of these sepulchres had been originally closed by square slabs of stone, exactly adapted to grooves cut for their reception; and so nicely adjusted, that, when the work was finished, the place of entrance might not be observed. Of similar construction were the sepulchres of the Jews in Palestine; and particularly that in which our Saviour was buried, as will be more fully shown in the sequel.* Inscriptions appeared upon several of them, but written in so many different characters, and with such various marks of time, that it is impossible to assign any precise period for the age of their common origin. Upon some of them were letters of no remote date, as may be proved from the names they served to express, and the manner wherein they were written; and close to these, were others of Phœnician workmanship. In proof of this, I shall here insert two inscriptions, copied from tombs adjoining each other; both being hewn out of the same rock, and to all appearance by the same people. Upon the first appeared,

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΟΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΥ

* "And laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre." *Mark*, xv. 46.

and upon the adjoining sepulchre these remarkable characters:



A very ancient mode of writing the name of the city is evident, in this inscription.* If the PII, written in such legible characters at the end, be the date, it denotes a degree of antiquity irreconcilable to the form of one of the letters, and would carry us back to a period equal to two thousand four hundred and forty-one years; but it may specify a sum of money, as in the termination of the inscription upon the tomb of Helen.

Over the entrance of a third sepulchre, near these, I found another very legible inscription,† with a square sigma:

ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΤΤΟΤ
ΤΛΕΠΟΛΕΜΟΤΚΑΙ
ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΤΔΙΕΤΟΤ
ΤΛΕΠΟΛΕΜΟΤΠΡΟΓΟΝΙΚΟΝ

And over a fourth, an inscription less perfect, with the same sigma, of which I could only discern these letters:

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΤΤΟΤ.....ΑΝΑΚΤΟΣ
ΚΑΙΤΩΝΚΑΙ.....ΟΜΩΝΑΤΤΟΤ

But there were some of these sepulchres without any discoverable entrance, either natural or artificial; nor could we conceive how they were formed, or in what manner bodies were conveyed into the interior. The slabs whence the seeming doors were constructed, proved, upon examination, to be inte-

* The arrow-headed character *may* be a numeral. See the first inscription in *Maffei Museum Veronense.*

† The last word in this inscription, προγονικόν, may be translated *monumentum avitum*; ἡρῶον being understood. *Vid. Maffei Museum Veronense*, 59.

gral parts, of the solid rock; neither would the interior have been discerned, had it not been for a small irregular aperture, broken by the people of the country through one of the divisions hewn in imitation of pannels. Through this hole, barely wide enough for a person to thrust his head, we obtained a view of the interior. Here we perceived the same sort of chamber as in the others, but without the smallest joint or crevice, either belonging to the doors, or any where in its massive sides, by means of which a stone might be removed, or any opening effected for a place of admission. This may be left for explanation by future travellers who visit Macri. It was to us altogether incomprehensible; and therefore it is better to curtail the marvellous, than, by enlarging upon such a subject, to incur the imputation of writing a romance. Something like the curious cement, before mentioned,* in the oracular cave to the west of the theatre, might perhaps, by its resemblance to natural stone, have deluded our observation, and thus concealed a secret entrance to the tomb. There is reason to suspect, from the general appearance of their places of burial, that the Telmessensians were not more studious of beauty and elegance in their construction, than of preventing access to them afterward; and it is probable that, in certain instances, the only clue to the interior was in possession of the priests, or of the family to whom these sepulchres belonged. Hence may have originated the oriental tales of charms used in admission to subterranean caves, and chambers of the dead.†

I endeavoured to delineate the next we visited, on account of its simplicity and beauty. The letters of an inscription in the front of it were rude, and barbarously engraven. The repetition of the words THE MONVENT (τὸ μνημεῖον) is also remarkable. Within, it had three soroi, one on each side of the chamber. One of the pannels in front was open; the other never was intended to be so, the rock behind being plain and entire.‡ Of all these tombs, the most magnificent are those

* See page 145

† There is something of this nature in Gray's translation of "*The descent of Odin*," from the Norse tongue.

Facing to the northen clime,
Thrice he traced the Runic rhyme;
Thrice pronounc'd, in accents dread,
The thrilling verse that wakes the dead;
Till, from out the hollow ground,
Slowly breath'd a sullen sound:
"What call unknown, what *charms* presume,
"To break the quiet of the tomb?"

‡ Its length within, was five feet ten inches; and its breadth, five feet two inches.

cut in a precipice facing the sea. Many of these have the appearance of being inaccessible; but by dint of climbing from rock to rock, at the risk of a dangerous fall, it is possible to ascend even to the highest. They are there fronted with rude pillars, whose capitals exhibit the curvature, or horn, generally considered as denoting the Ionic order of architecture; and those pillars are integral parts of the solid rock. Some of them are twenty feet high. The mouths of these sepulchres are closed with beautiful sculptured imitations of brazen or iron doors, with hinges, knobs, and bars. The porous nature of the rock had occasioned filtrations, and a stalactite deposit had nearly covered a very long inscription by the side of one of them. All that could be discerned was a repetition of the words τὸ μνημεῖον, as in the former instance. A species of sage, growing in great abundance, to the size of a large shrub, also covered the rocks here, yielding a fine aromatic smell. Enough has perhaps already been said of these monuments; and yet not more than a third part of them has been described. The whole mountain facing the sea is filled by their remains. After examining that which has been last described, I ascended to one above, appearing larger than any of the others. Here the rock consisted of a beautiful breccia; and before the mouth of this remarkable tomb were columns of that substance, twenty feet in height. This is the most elevated of all the sepulchres of Telmessus. The view from it commands the bay. Looking hence upon the water, I could plainly perceive the traces of extensive ruins stretching into the sea, visible from that eminence, although covered by the waves. To the east of the town, at a considerable distance from it, near the mouth of the river Glaucus, there appeared the substruction of an ancient work, that seemed to have been part of a mole, and of a fortress. The peasants of the place informed us, that ten leagues to the east of what are called *the Seven Capes*, or one day and an half's journey from Macri, at a village called *Koymücky*, there are very great ruins, among which may be discerned statues, columns, and several ancient inscriptions. These reports are often exaggerations; but it may be worth while to seek here the remains of Xanthus, and of Patara, cities of Lycia, concerning whose modern state we have no information; the one celebrated for the siege it sustained against Brutus, and the other for the embellishments bestowed upon it by Ptolemy Philadelphus.

During the time we remained in Macri Bay, the aghas of the country were at war: marauding parties, profiting by the general tumult, had set fire to several villages. It was therefore dangerous to venture far from the coast. Indeed, the sea side was not without its dangers. Captain Castle, venturing along the beach, in search of a convenient place to obtain a supply of fresh water, fell into the hands of a party of the natives, as wild and savage in their appearance as any of the tribes of Caucasus. We found him surrounded by twenty-five armed men, who had taken his dirk from him, and who seemed very mischievously disposed. One of these fellows, a sturdy mountaineer, wore, by way of ornament, one of the buttons of a British naval officer's uniform. We could not learn how he obtained this. As our interpreter was not with us, it was proposed that we should adopt a method resorted to by Captain Cooke in such situations, and prevail upon some of these men by signs, to accompany us on board. Four of them consented, among who was the chief. They followed us to the place where the boat was stationed, but expressed visible uneasiness, and began to call loudly to their companions on shore, as we stretched out from the land toward the Tauride. We conducted them, however, upon deck, when a new dilemma occurred; for captain Castle, conceiving that he had been insulted by these men, insisted upon fighting with their chief. It was with difficulty we could prevent this from being noticed by the party who had ventured with us; but getting them all at last into the cabin, and having appeased our worthy captain, by pointing out the danger to which he would expose others of our countrymen in offending the natives of a coast frequented at that time by our ships for wood and water, he consented to overlook the indignity. After giving them a dram each, with a little gunpowder, some Constantinople pipes, tobacco, and coffee, they were so gratified, that we might perhaps have ventured with them, even to Koynûcky, whither they offered to escort us. We contented ourselves, however, in gaining their permission to botanize unmolested around the gulph, and for that purpose accompanied them back to their companions.

We landed upon the western side of the bay, near the place laid down in the chart as the most convenient for watering ships, where a river empties itself into the gulph. Here we found ruins of several buildings, situated in pools of stagnant water and most unwholesome marshes. The sands were covered with

exceedingly rare plants. To add to the extraordinary allurements presented by the coast of Macri, it is pre-eminently distinguished by the interest it offers to the botanist. We found no less than eleven new species, beside many almost unknown, during our short examination of the place. The new-discovered plants alone will be mentioned in a note.* We also visit-

* I. A non-descript shrubby species of *daphne*, with slender flexuose shining shoots, and pointed leaves, about two-thirds of an inch long, of a lanceolate form upon the lower part of the branches, but gradually becoming more oval as they ascend; the rays of the umbel nearly of the same length with the involucre; the divisions of the calyx very short, rounded, and entire; the petals toothed, nearly wedge shaped. We have named it EUPHORBIA MICRONATA. *Euphorbia fruticosa, glabra: foliis ovato-lanceolatis mucronatis integerrimis: foliolis involucri ovalibus: involucelli obovatis: integerrimis petalis dentatis; capsulis verrucosis glabris.*

II. A small non-descript species of *trigonella*, with prostrate pubescent stems, from three to five inches long; the largest leaflets measuring only a quarter of an inch. The pods very narrow, hanging down, with the points again turned upward. Like a bunch of fish-hooks. We have named it TRIGONELLA HAMIGERA. *Trigonella leguminibus pedicellatis, linearibus, hamatis, declinatis, pubescentibus, pedunculo fructifero inerm foliolo longiore foliolis cuneato-obovatis, dentatis, sericeo-pubescentibus.*

III. A non-descript species of *galium*, in habit resembling the *aparine*, or common cleavers, and the stems and leaves in the same manner rough, with hooked prickles; but differing in having fewer leaves together, and their points more elongated, and in the fruit being quite concealed in its long hooked bristles. We have called it GALIUM TRACHYCARPUM. This species is very nearly allied to the *galium aparinoides* of Forskhal. *Galium foliis senis septenisve angusto lanceolatis longè mucronatis, carinis marginibusque aculeatis: fructu denuissimè hispido.*

IV. A non-descript dwarf annual species of *bromus*, about a foot in height, with the heads of flowers nearly of an oval form, very close, and shining, their length from one to two inches. We have called it BROMUS NITIDUS. *Bromus annuus humilis, paniculâ ovatâ coarctatâ: spiculis brevissimè pedunculatis, erectis, glabris, nitidis, subnovem floris; floribus diandris, aristis rectis glumis paulo-longioribus, scabris: foliispiloso-hirsutis*

V. A non-descript species of *alopecurus*, about the height of the *bromus nitidus*, the heads of flowers nearly oblong, and placed very little above their inflated sheath, the end of which generally rises above them; the awns more than double the length of the glumes. The species ought to be placed near the *alopecurus angustifolius* of Dr. Sibthorpe. We have called it ALOPECURUS FOLIOSUS. *Alopecurus spicâ ovato-oblongâ glumis acutis aristâ dimidio brevioribus, basin versus hirsutis, dorso-asperis: vaginis inflatis longis: foliis striatis margine asperis.*

VI. A non-descript species of *onosma*, with short crooked woody stems, lanceolate, and blunt bristly leaves, from about half an inch to an inch in length, the bunches of flowers short, nodding, generally simple; the corolla about a third part longer than the calyx, and the stigma two-cleft. We have named it *bristly onosma.* ONOSMA SETIGERA. *Onosma caule fruticente, humilo tortuoso: ramis brevibus hispidis; foliis lanceolatis, papillosis, setis pungentibus asperis: racemis brevibus: calycibus densè setosis: corollâ elongatâ subcylindrica: antheris excertis.*

VII. A non-descript species of *trifolium*, about nine or ten inches long, the stem a little hairy upward, with few branches, or quite simple, the leaflets inversely heart-shaped and toothed; the flowers purple, in short close heads, persisting, and becoming rigid; the standard very large, rounded above, but narrowing, downward. The species ought to be arranged near the well known *trifolium spadiceum* of Linnæus, and the *trifolium speciosum* of Professor Willdenow. We have called it TRIFOLIUM CILIATUM. *Trifolium annuum, spicis subovatis hemisphæriave paucifloris, corollâ cariosâ majusculâ: petalis denticulatis: calycis dentibus subulatis, ciliatis, inæqualibus: foliolis obcordatis denticulatis: stipulis ciliatis majusculis.*

* * * *

Upon the Isle of Abercrombie, in the mouth of the gulph, we discovered, among other very rare plants, the four following entirely new species, hitherto undescribed by any author.

I. A tall non-descript species of *scrophularia*, with the leaves repeatedly cut and jagged into narrow sharp segments; the pannicle of flowers from one to two feet or more in length, with bracts, the lowermost of which are pinnatified, and the uppermost ends nearly linear at the subdivisions; and the flowers about as large as in

ed a beautiful little uninhabited island, lying in the mouth of the bay. It consists of a single mountain covered with an exuberant vegetation, and full of mosquitoes, "wheeling their droning flight," sole tenants of the wilderness, with the exception of a few rabbits. The aromatic odour exhaled from the shrubs and herbs whereby it is completely mantled, is full as powerful as is the scented atmosphere of the Rhodes. A few solitary graves of unknown persons appeared near the shore; containing, probably, the bodies of British seamen, who had fallen victims to the pestilential air of the gulph, during their station here. We added to the number of the animals found upon it, by losing four out of the fourteen sheep put on shore by our crew, to graze while we remained at anchor. Neither ancient nor modern geographers have bestowed any name upon this island: this is the more remarkable, as it affords a very important landmark for vessels entering the gulph. Its lofty conical form, resembling those sepulchral mounds erected by ancient nations as monuments of departed heroes, together with its situation, surrounded by colossal monuments of the dead, not ill befits it for a natural cenotaph. It may therefore bear the name of ABERCROMBIE, whose deathless glory, green as the perennial foliage by which it is invested, will flourish to the end

rophularia canina. We have called it SCROPHULARIA SILAIFOLIA. *Scrophularia glabra, foliis tripinnatifidis laciniis angustis acutis: panicula terminali longissima.*

II. A non descript species of *laserpitium*, the lower leaves of which are from eight inches to a foot or more in length, and from two to three inches across where they are broadest, having nearly the general outline of an ostrich feather, except in being less flattened, and more attenuated upward; their segments repeatedly subdivided, till they become as fine as threads; the leaves on the stem have the same outline, but their segments are more distant from each other. The stems are smooth; and vary, in the specimens we saw, from a foot to more than two feet in height. The umbels have from eight to twelve rays, and measure from two to four inches over; their partial umbels are small, and crowded with flowers: the petals yellow. We have called this very beautiful plant LASERPITIUM ELEGANS. *Laserpitium foliis decompositis circumscriptione oblongo-plumiformibus, laciniis subsetaceis mucronatis glabris: petiolis glabris striatis: involucri laciniis elongatis apice tenuissimis: umbellis hemisphæricis.*

III. A non-descript species of *verbascum*, from five to six feet high, the stem erect, shrubby, and a little cottony, as well as the leaves, which are from an inch and a half to two inches or more in length; the lowermost attenuated downward into long footstalks, the uppermost sessile. The bunches of flowers on the smaller plants eight to ten inches long, nearly simple, on large plants eighteen inches or more in length, very much branched, and twiggy; the flowers yellow, about an inch in diameter; the filaments woolly toward the base, and one of them always shorter than the rest. We have named this species VERBASCUM STRICTUM. *Verbasum caule fruticoso erecto, foliis inferioribus spatulato-ovatis petiolatis, superioribus ovato-lanceolatis obsoletissimè dentatis integerrimisve sessilibus: omnibus pilis stellatis canescentibus, muticis: racemo elongato: pedicellis calyce longioribus divaricatis.*

IV. A non-descript shrubby species of *hypericum*, with upright stems, from one to two feet high; the largest leaves little more than an inch in length: the flowers of a golden yellow, small, with petals double the length of the calyx. We have called it HYPERICUM VIRGATUM. *Hypericum fruticosum floribus trigynis, calycibus obtusis, glanduloso-ciliatis: racemis caulibus gracilibus quintuplò brevioribus, terminalibus: foliis internodiis, longioribus erectopatulis, punctatis, nudis, subtus glaucis: inferioribus spatulato-oblongis; superioribus linearibus margine revolutis.*

of time, while the boasted renown of every howling soothsayer of Telmessus is hushed in oblivion.

CHAP. IX.

FROM ASIA MINOR TO EGYPT.

The Tauride sails for Egypt—Vigilance of the English Cruisers—Extraordinary Instance of the Propagation of Sound—Astonishing Appearance presented by the British Fleet—Spectacle caused by the Ravages of War—State of Affairs upon the Author's Arrival—Obstacles encountered by the Expedition under Sir Ralph Abercrombie—Sir Sidney Smith—Account of the Campaign—Causes of the Delay in landing the Troops—Death of Major M'Arras—Descent of the Army—Battle, and Victory, of the Eighth of March—General Menou—Affair of the Twelfth—Action of the Thirteenth—Battle of the Twenty-first—Sensation caused by the Death of Abercrombie—Measures pursued by his Successor—The Author's View of the Country—Journey to Rosetta.

The impatience of our captain to get forward with his cargo to the fleet, added to the weak state of my health, made us eager to leave Macri. Having got in our stock of water, and our sheep from Abercrombie's, isle a contrary wind prevailing, we beat out of the gulph, and made our course for Egypt. The wide surface of the Lybian sea was before us. We entertained anxious thoughts concerning the safety of our little bark, deeply laden and ill suited, either in her complement of mariners or style of construction, to encounter the deadly gales and the calms of the Mediterranean. Landsmen, however, are generally erroneous in their calculations at sea. The success of the voyage surpassed our most sanguine expectations. A land breeze came on soon after we had cleared the gulph: the sea was unruffled: we stole along almost imperceptibly, with hardly wind or sensible motion, over a surface so tranquil that a glass full of water might have remained upon deck without spilling a drop. During this voyage, which continued only five days, the most surprising vigilance was manifested by our cruizers, who had

the guardianship of the coast of Egypt. Over an expanse comprehending six degrees of latitude, it might have been supposed a vessel lying so low in the water, and so small as that wherein we sailed, would escape observation; but we were spoken to at least half a dozen times; and the master of one of the ships actually boarded the Tauride, believing, from her French aspect, that he should take possession of her as a prize. A very remarkable circumstance occurred, which may convey notions of the propagation of sound by means of water, greater than will perhaps be credited. I can appeal to the testimony of those who with me were witnesses of the fact, for the truth of what I now relate. By observation of latitude, we were an hundred miles from the Egyptian coast: the sea was perfectly calm, with little or no swell, and scarcely a breath of wind stirring: suddenly, captain Castle called our attention to the sound as of distant artillery, vibrating in a low, gentle murmur upon the water, and distinctly heard at intervals during the whole day. He said it was caused by an engagement at sea, and believed the enemy had attacked our fleet off Alexandria. No such event had, however, taken place; and it was afterward known, that the sounds we then heard proceeded from an attack made by our troops against the fortress of Rachmanie upon the Nile, beyond Rosetta: this had commenced upon that day, and hence alone the noise of guns could have originated. The distance of Rachmanie from the coast, in a direct line, is about ten leagues; allowing a distance of one hundred and thirty miles for the space through which the sound had been propagated when it reached our ears.

On the sixteenth of April, toward sunset, we first made the fleet off Alexandria from the masthead of the Tauride. Our captain, being out of his course, mistook it for the fleet of troop ships and other transports. Evening coming on, we steered for the harbour of Alexandria. believing it to be Aboukir Bay, and wishing to get in before it grew dark; an intention which would soon have been interrupted by the guns of our fleet, if we had persevered; but the boatswain at length perceiving our error, we luffed up, and lay to all night. In the morning of April the seventeenth, we saw Alexandria very distinctly, with the French ships lying in the harbour; and had a fine view of the famous column of Diocletian, then called Pompey's pillar, as well as of the obelisk, to which mariners give the name of Cleopatra's needle. A stiff gale coming on, we steered along the coast for Aboukir. About nine o'clock A. M. we made

Nelson's island, and presently saw the whole fleet of troop ships, transports, with all the Turkish frigates, merchant vessels, and other craft belonging to the expedition. It was the grandest naval sight I had ever beheld; much more surprising in its appearance than the famous Russian armament, prepared during a former war. Innumerable masts like an immense forest covering the sea; swarms of sailing boats and cutters, plying about in all directions between the larger vessels; presented a scene which it is not possible to describe. We stood on, for a considerable distance, to the eastward of Nelson's island, in order to avoid the shoal where the Culloden struck before the action of the Nile; our course being precisely the same pursued by the British fleet previous to that memorable engagement; and the fleet of transports lying at anchor afforded a correct representation of the position of the French armament upon that occasion.

Bearing down at last upon the fleet, we passed under the stern of the Delft frigate. Unmindful of the temerity of such proceeding, I seized the trumpet, hailing a young officer upon the poop, and inquired for the situation of the Braakel. Captain Castle immediately warned us to beware of repeating the question; saying, that we should soon discover the immeasurable distance at which the inhabitants of those floating islands hold the master of a merchant smack: and so the answer proved, coming like thunder, in three monosyllables, easier for the reader to imagine than for me to express. Soon after, the quartermaster of the Braakel came alongside, in the jollyboat; my brother, who expected us, having surmised, as he afterward informed us, from our pitiful appearance and wavering track, that we were his visiters, and in want of a pilot. Having reached his comfortable cabin, we were soon introduced to the officers both of the army and the navy: and found, after our long absence from England, the society of our countrymen particularly grateful. We enjoyed what we had long wanted, the guidance of books and of well-informed men, concerning countries we were yet to explore. According to the promise I had made to the Capudan Pacha, I accompanied my brother on board his magnificent ship, and introduced them to each other. Several other days were employed visiting the different ships in search of friends and schoolfellows, some of whom, particularly of those belonging to the guards, I had the misfortune to find desperately wounded. The sight of many of our gallant officers, mutilated, hacked, or wounded by shot in different

parts of their bodies, and of others brought off from the shore incapable of service from the injuries of the climate, presented a revolting picture of the ravages of war. Nor was this all. One day, leaning out of the cabin window, by the side of an officer who was employed in fishing, the corpse of a man, newly sewed in a hammock, started half out of the water, and slowly continued its course, with the current, toward the shore. Nothing could be more horrible: its head and shoulders were visible, turning first to one side, then to the other, with a solemn and awful movement, as if impressed with some dreadful secret of the deep, which, from its watery grave, it came upward to reveal. Such sights became afterward frequent, hardly a day passing without ushering the dead to the contemplation of the living, until at length they passed without our observation. Orders were issued to convey as many as possible for interment upon Nelson's Island, instead of casting them overboard. The shores of Egypt may in truth be described as washed with blood. The bones of thousands yet whiten in the scorching sun, upon the sands of Aboukir.* If we number those who have fallen since the first arrival of the French upon the coast, in their battles with the Turks,† Arabs, and English, we shall find no part of their own ensanguined territory so steeped in human gore. Add to this the streams from slaughtered horses, camels, and other animals, (the stench of whose remains was almost sufficient to raise a pestilence even before the arrival of the English,) and perhaps no part of the world ever presented so dreadful an example. When a land wind prevailed, our whole fleet felt the tainted blast: while from beneath the hulks of our transports, ships that had been sunk,‡ with all the encumbering bodies of men and carcasses of animals, sent through the waves a fearful exhalation.

At the time of our arrival, the French had been defeated in three successive actions; that of the eighth of March, the day of landing our troops; the thirteenth, when the English drove them from the heights to which they had retreated; and the memorable battle of the twenty-first, when Abercrombie fell.

* Between the village of *Utko* and a place called the *Caravanserai*, I saw the shore entirely covered with human sculls and bones. Dogs were raking the sands for human flesh and carrion. Nelson's Island became a complete charnel-house, where our sailors raised mounds of sand over the heaps of dead cast up after the action of the Nile.

† Ten thousand Turks were drowned at once in the Bay of Aboukir; being driven into the sea by Buonaparte, after the slaughter of four thousand of their countrymen in the field of battle. See the plate, representing this dreadful massacre, in *Denon's "Voyage d'Egypte," Pl.* 89. and also a narrative of the fact. p. 259.

‡ Part of the L'Orient, with one of her cables, was raised by the crew of the Ceres, Captain Russel, in weighing anchor.

There had been a skirmish on the twelfth, in which Colonel Archdale, of the twelfth dragoons, lost an arm, and Captain Butler of the same regiment was taken prisoner. In the action of the twenty-first, the French lost five thousand men, eleven hundred of whom the English themselve buried before their own lines, and in different parts of their camp. We saw the trenches wherein they were deposited.

It is a subject of wonder, that our troops should have succeeded in this instance so well as they did. They landed under every possible circumstance of disadvantage, and yet drove from their posts, with the bayonet, the veteran legions of Buonaparte's army; a mode of fighting in which the French were supposed, at that time, to be superior to every other nation. It was there manifested, as it has since been so decidedly proved, that, man to man, they have no chance of success when opposed to British soldiers. The laurels acquired by our army in Egypt can never fade. Posterity will relate the heroism, which, on these remote and almost unknown deserts, enabled an inexperienced army to vanquish an enemy, not only in possession of the territory, but also inured to the climate, and well acquainted with the country. The obstacles encountered by our troops were greater than have ever been described. The most powerful originated in their want of information. Never did so much ignorance accompany an expedition. The maps they brought with them would have disgraced a Chinese atlas. The instruction they had received was a mere mass of error: and their guides were unable to direct them. It is said, Sir Ralph Abercrombie lamented, in his last moments, the false notions he had been taught to entertain of Egypt, and of the situation in which the French were there placed. In fact every one possessed more information than the conductors of the British armament. There was not a clerk in the factory of Constantinople or Smyrna who was not better informed. Instead of the flat sands they expected to find between Aboukir and Alexandria, they discovered a country full of eminences, and advantageous posts; so that the French, when defeated, had only to fall back from one strong position to another. Once having effected a landing, our troops were told, and they believed the tale, that they might march without interruption to the walls of Alexandria. It may be important to the interest of our empire to state the truth at this distance of time; and to afford a brief record of this memorable campaign, as far as it can be communicated by a writer destitute of any military science: It will

be given as he recived it, from the most impartial among the French, as well as the most candid of his own countrymen.

The divisions and cabals among the chiefs on both sides were productive, often of failure, and sometimes of disaster. The rare military talents and valour of Sir Sidney Smith, beloved too as he was by the soldiers and sailors of the expedition, could not be viewed without jealousy by the commanding officers both of the army and navy. The most unpardonable resistance was therefore opposed to his measures, and to his suggestions. His situation was, in truth, singular. Certain of the captains in the fleet felt umbrage because one of their profession associated so much with landsmen, and was so often on shore; while the generals of the army could ill brook counsel, or even assistance, from a naval officer. On this account, the important project, recommended by him, of sending gunboats into the lake of Aboukir,* previous to the action of the thirteenth of March, and the voluntary offer he made of conducting that operation, with a view to impede the retreat of the French, was not only rejected, but his information respecting that lake was scouted as false; it was even asserted, that there was not water sufficient in the lake for the free passage of boats of burden, fit for the conveyance of artillery or troops; although Sir Sidney Smith had himself been there, in his ship's cutter, and had sounded every part of it. One of his private letters, about this time, to his brother † in Constantinople, reflects so much credit upon his patriotism and national character, that it deserves a place in the history of the expedition. Having stated the peculiarities of his situation, and the obstacles he had to encounter in his earnest endeavours to serve his country, he added, "*it is true, I once held the helm where I must now work a labouring oar; but I shall not pull less stoutly on that account,*"

The fleet with our army arrived in Marmorice harbour,

* In the extraordinary changes to which this part of Egypt has been liable, the very limited observations of the author do not authorise even an attempt to reconcile the existing appearance of the country with the descriptions of ancient geographers. Strabo (lib. xvii. p. 1135. ed. *Oxon.*) journeying by land from the Canopian gate of Alexandria toward the east, arrives, after the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia (fifteen miles), at the city of *Canopus* This seems to coincide with the position of Aboukir. But as to the present lake, the result of an inundation during the year 1784, whether it cover the original course of the Διώρυξ, by means whereof, as distinct from the Alexandrian canal, the annual voyage took place from *Canopus* to Alexandria; or occupy territory formerly inundated, in a similar manner, by the sea; or whether the site of Aboukir may be not rather that of *Taposiris* than of *Canopus*, according to Forster's conjecture, in his notes upon Granger, supported by the testimonies of Niebuhr; may remain for future determination.

† John Spenser Smith, Esq. his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, previous to the arrival of the earl of Elgin, at the Ottoman Porte.

upon the coast of Caria, on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1800. Having waited there near two months, during which time a small reinforcement arrived from England, it sailed for Egypt on the twenty-second* of February. The troops, burning for action, in excellent health and spirits, arrived in Aboukir Bay upon the second of March, at ten o'clock A. M. A sham descent had been practised in Marmorice, to exercise the soldiers. By this it was found, that six thousand men might be landed, in the most perfect order, and ready for immediate action, in the short space of twenty-three minutes. Their passage had been boisterous. Several Greek transports parted from the fleet during a gale of wind, and disappeared for many days, with part of the 12th, the 26th, and Hompesch's regiments of dragoons. Owing perhaps to this circumstance, or finding it was too late to land the troops upon the day of their arrival, the undertaking was postponed until the next: an unfortunate circumstance, although perhaps unavoidable, as an opportunity was thereby lost not to be afterward recovered. Had the landing been then effected, it is certain we should have encountered no opposition; and it was well known that the reserve at least might have been put on shore. The enemy, although long before informed of our approach, was totally unprepared; and the lives of many brave soldiers might have been spared. The following day proved unpropitious, and our army was unable to land: in consequence of this, the enemy gained time to strengthen himself, and to spread news of the invasion in all part sof the country where his forces were stationed. Preparations were accordingly made for a stout opposition. The succeeding morning was equally unfavourable, and six days were lost in the same manner; during all which time, the English fleet remained in sight of the French army, and were at length so little regarded, that the French, becoming dupes by the delay, believed the whole was intended to operate as a feint, in order to beguile their attention from the part of the coast where the descent was really meditated. So completely did this opinion finally prevail, that the time thus allowed them to prepare for their defence was not employed so advantageously as it might have been. A Greek deserter, sent, as they afterward believed, by our army, had circulated among them a report, to

* According to Sir R. Wilson's narrative, this happened on the twenty-third. The author gives his information as he received it from the captains of the fleet, and from the logbooks of their ships.

which implicit credit was given. This man affirmed, that our intention was to land the army at Jaffa, upon the coast of Syria.

The delay shown upon this occasion was not solely owing to the weather. A principle source of it might be referred to another cause. Major M'Arras, chief engineer, had been forwarded in a vessel, previous to the sailing of our fleet from the bay of Marmorice, in order to reconnoitre the country, and to obtain information necessary for expediting the landing of our troops. This officer had been twice on shore, either in the Penelope's or Petrell's boat, and with the greatest success. He had observed the lake of Aboukir; had surveyed all the adjoining territory; ascertained the different heights; and selected a convenient place for landing. Having finished all his plans, he unfortunately ventured on shore the third time, to confirm the accuracy of certain observations, and was observed by a French armed boat, in the very instant when he was putting off to return to his ship. The wind was against him; and the crew of his boat, finding every effort ineffectual, suffered it to fall alongside, and surrendered. By a most dastardly instance of cruelty on the part of the French, they poured a volley of musquetry into the boat, after the surrender had taken place; by which Major M'Arras was killed. Soon after this disaster, our fleet arrived; and the commander in chief, instead of obtaining the information confidently expected, was reduced to the dilemma of waiting until the business of reconnoitring, now rendered more difficult than ever, could in some measure be again accomplished.

Thus was the descent of our army postponed until the eighth of March. The French had gained even more time than they thought proper to employ for the means of defence; and were stationed upon the sandy heights eastward, and within gun shot of Aboukir castle, between that fortress and the entrance to the lake Said. The spot selected for landing the troops was immediately under this hill; and that a worse place could hardly have been chosen, is evident from this circumstance, that the enemy had, beside their artillery upon the heights, a covering for their flanks, of eight field pieces upon the right, and four upon the left. These, together with the guns of the castle, bore down upon the place of landing.* The day prior

* It is known to every officer who attended this expedition, that the army might have been landed any where to the eastward, near Rosetta, without the loss of a single man. Whenever it is asked, why was not this the case? there is but one mode of

to that of the descent, signals were made to cook three days' provisions for the troops, and for boats of every description to put off from their respective ships, and repair to the Mondovi brig, as a point of rendezvous, when a false fire should be shown from the Foudroyant, the ship of the commander in chief. On the following morning, the eighth of March, at three o'clock A. M. the expected signal was made. Agreeably to the instructions given, every boat then repaired to take in her proportion of troops from the ship, or ships, to which they were allotted; and then proceeded to the appointed station, close in under the hill, about a league from the enemy, whence they were to move, according to the order of battle: there they all remained, until the whole of the reserve was collected around the Mondovi.

Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity: The French, to their astonishment, as they afterward often related, instead of beholding a number of men landed pell-mell, saw the British troops preserving a regular line, as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth; and, finally, landing in regular order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon balls, and grape shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail* about them; yet not a soldier quitted his seat nor moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musket was suffered to be charged, until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats; and this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey; with the exception only of returning for each volley of shot from their enemies three general cheers, an effect of ardour in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children; and many of those upon the quarter decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears.

But the moment of triumph was at hand. For three long miles, pulling in this manner against the wind, did our brave

reply; namely, that suggested by another interrogation: why were we as ignorant of the country whereof we came to take possession, as of the interior of Africa?

* The sailors upon this occasion compared the thick shower of shot falling about them to a violent storm of hail the fleet had experienced in the Bay of Marmorice, when the hailstones were said to have been as large as musket balls. "On the eighth of February," says Sir R. Wilson, (*Hist. of the Exp.* p. 5.) "commenced the most violent thunder and hail storm ever remembered, and which continued two days and nights intermittingly. *The hail, or rather the ice stones, were as big as large walnuts.*"

tars strain every sinew. Several boats were sunk by the bursting of the shells, and about two hundred and seventy men were killed before they reached the shore. At length, with all their prows touching the beach at the same instant, the boats grounded. Then a spectacle was presented that will be ever memorable. Two hundred of the French cavalry actually charged into the sea, and were seen for a few seconds hacking the men in the boats: these assailants were every one killed. It was now about ten o'clock; and within the space of six minutes, from this important crisis, the contest was decided. The 42d regiment, leaping up to their middle in water, formed rapidly upon the shore; and with a degree of impatience nothing could restrain, without waiting to load their muskets, broke from the main line before it could be formed, and ran gallantly up the hill, sinking deep in the sand at every step they took.* In this perilous situation a body of French cavalry pushed down upon them; but instead of being thrown into any disorder, they coolly received the charge upon the points of their bayonets; and the rest of the army coming up, routed the enemy on all sides. The French fled with the greatest precipitation. Our troops had been taught to expect no quarter, and therefore none was given. The wounded and the dying neither claimed nor obtained mercy; all was blood, and death, and victory. It is in the midst of the glory this day's success reflected upon the British arms, that humanity remembers some things she may wish to forget, but never will record. The cool and patient valour with which our soldiers had sustained the torrent of French artillery, and beheld the streaming wounds of their companions, previous to their landing, could but prove a prelude to the fury they would manifest, when it became their turn to attack; and a consequence so inseparable from human nature must bring along with it thoughtless havoc, and indiscriminate slaughter. Our loss in killed and wounded upon this occasion amounted to five hundred and sixty.

* Sir R. Wilson relates, that the 23d and 40th ran first up the hill, and, charging with the bayonet the two battalions which crowned it, carried the two Nole hills in the rear, and took three pieces of cannon. "The 42d," says he, "*had landed, and formed as on a parade.*" Hist. of Exped. p. 14. Where "*almost preternatural energy*" was every where displayed, it is of little moment to ascertain the most impetuous. Sir Robert had every opportunity of ascertaining the truth; but a difference in his statement would not justify the author in altering notes made from testimony upon the spot, in order to copy the narrative even of a more accurate writer. Having afterward an occasion to examine the place of landing, the author visited the hill here alluded to; and was at a loss to conceive, how troops could charge rapidly with fixed bayonets against a heavy fire, where, unimpeded by any other difficulty than the sinking of his feet in the loose sand, he found it almost impracticable to ascend. The fact, however, only proves what ardent valour may accomplish; for that this was really done, it would be absurd to doubt.

When our troops landed, Jaques Abd'allah Menou, commander in chief of the French forces in Egypt, was in Cairo. Intelligence had been repeatedly sent to him, accompanied by entreaty, that he would hasten to the relief of Alexandria. The French described him as a pompous, obstinate, corpulent man, entirely absorbed in composing or in delivering harangues to his soldiers. No persuasion could induce him to move. He considered the affair of our invasion as of little importance. Until our army had actually gained footing in the country, and twice defeated the French troops, he took no measures to interrupt their progress. According to the French statement, General Friant, with a body of cavalry, amounting to fifteen hundred men, was the only force upon the spot to oppose the landing of the English army. Had the resistance been greater, and Menou present, it is believed, that, with all the advantages possessed by the French, a descent upon the coast would have been impracticable.

A skirmish took place upon the twelfth of March. In this affair the 12th regiment of dragoons, by too precipitate a charge, suffered very considerably. Colonel Archdale, who commanded it, lost an arm, receiving a shot in the very instant that he raised his sabre as a signal for his troop to advance, from one of the French *tirailleurs*. This did not prevent him from leading his men gallantly through a body of the enemy, much superior in numbers. Captain Butler of the same regiment was also taken prisoner. This brave, but rash action, was publicly noticed by our commander in chief; and a caution promulgated, warning the army against the ill effects of too impetuous zeal and intemperate valor. The command of the 12th devolved upon Colonel Brown, and Colonel Archdale came on board the Braakel.

On the thirteenth, the following day, our army attacked and drove the enemy from the heights to which they had retreated after the action of the eighth. This battle was desperately fought on both sides, and mutual loss sustained to a very considerable amount. The result, however, made it evident that no resistance could be offered to the English bayonet. It was also discovered, that upon this occasion the French used bullets and cannon shot of copper and brass; generally deemed a dishonourable practice, as calculated only to gratify cruelty and malice. The slightest wounds so inflicted are said, with what truth others may determine, to be mortal. This species of ammunition was obtained from the sheathing of ships in the port of

Alexandria. Several of those balls were exhibited in the fleet, and some of them we afterward found in the sand where the action took place. An opinion then prevailed, that if the action of the thirteenth had been properly followed up, the English would have been the same day in possession of Alexandria. We had reason afterward to believe this would have been the case, by information, from the people of the city; stating, that no reinforcement having arrived from Cairo, the merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants, were compelled to mount the ramparts, and attend the gates as sentinels; who would gladly have cast away their arms to receive the English, or would have turned them upon the French during their retreat. Instead of this being done, the enemy were allowed to establish themselves, in a very advantageous position, upon some heights before the walls, whence it was found exceedingly difficult to dislodge them. To this place our army pursued them, and then retreated to an eminence near some ruins, rendered afterward renowned, as the theatre of the most dreadful carnage during the glorious battle of the twenty-first.

About the nineteenth, Menou arrived in Alexandria, pouring forth a torrent of abuse upon the garrison and troops who had opposed the landing of the English army. Delivering one of his turgid harangues, he reproached them,* "*in allowing, to their everlasting shame, an army of heroes to be chastised by a mob of English school boys.*" The fat figure of Menou, added to his blustering and gasconading manner, rendered him a pleasant object of ridicule to the natural vivacity of Frenchmen, who distinguished him by the appellation of "*Cochon General;*" frequently retiring from the parade highly diverted by his *fanfaronnades.* Having ended the speech he had prepared for the occasion of his arrival, immediate preparations were made for a general attack upon the English, with his whole force; "*pour anéantir les Anglois,*" as he termed it, "*tout d'un coup.*" The day for this great event was fixed for the twenty-first, when our army was to be surprised before day light in its encampment, routed, and *tumbled*† into the lake of Aboukir.

At the hour appointed, the attack was made. In the beginning of it, the French conducted themselves with admirable skill. It is certain our army did not then expect them; al-

* The words were given to me by some French officers present upon that occasion.

† The literal translation of *culbuter*, the word used by Menou in the orders given for that attack; as found in the pocket of General Roise, whose head was taken off by cannon ball. See the original, in Sir Robert Wilson's *Hist. of the Expedition.*

though, for two preceding nights, the soldiers had been ordered to lie down upon their arms, and be ready at a moment's notice. They came silently on, and in good order; which is the more remarkable, as it was said the greater part of them had been dosed with brandy. They had crept with amazing perseverance, even upon their hands and knees, through fear of alarming our videttes. The French videttes were, however, observed to draw nearer and nearer to ours, until, at length, the English sentinel observed the French army close behind, coming slowly on in a line. This man gave the alarm, by firing his piece, and retreating with all possible expedition. The French instantly and rapidly charged up the hill, beginning a false attack upon our left, and, carrying a redoubt by means of the bayonet, hoped thereby to throw our army into confusion, by drawing the attention from its right, where the main assault was intended. This project was soon perceived by our commander in chief, and failed of its effect. It was still dark. The firing ceased upon the left, and was soon heard very warm upon the right. To that point General Abercrombie directed all his attention, although both armies discharged their artillery without discerning a single object, except during the flashes of the cannon; when, as an officer belonging to the reserve assured us, the French army was not otherwise visible, although now so near, than by the appearance of a long black line, disclosed during those momentary coruscations. As dawn appeared, the French were found to have succeeded in turning our right wing; and a party of their cavalry were actually seen advancing in the rear of the 28th regiment. The prudence and gallant conduct of this regiment gave the first favourable turn to the conflict of the day. Cavalry, in the rear of infantry, have generally the power to throw them into disorder. It was, at this critical moment, decisive as to the fate of Egypt, that an adjutant of the 28th, gave the word, "*Rear rank! right about, face!*" This was readily obeyed, and the soldiers, with astonishing firmness and presence of mind, sustained a severe attack in front and rear at the same time, without a single man moving from his place.* At this juncture, the 42d regiment, coming up to aid the 28th, were themselves overwhelmed and broken by a body of the enemy's cavalry. Still, although dispersed, they resisted to a man; and were seen so intermingled with

* The 58th is said to have been also in a similar situation. *Wilson's Hist. of the Exped.* p. 32.

the enemy, that the flank companies of the 40th, stationed in the openings of the ruin upon the right, were afraid to fire, for fear of destroying them. Menou had promised a Louis to every French soldier who should be concerned in establishing a position in that building; and several attempts were made for the purpose. The 58th had been stationed there in the beginning of the action, with a part of the 23d, and had already repulsed a column of the enemy in its attack upon this place; when, during the severe conflict sustained by the 28th in front, three columns forced in behind the redoubt where that regiment was stationed; and while some of them remained to carry on the attack upon its rear, the principal part penetrated into the quadrangular area formed by the ruin. Here they were received by the 58th and 23d, and followed by a part of the 42d, who cut off their retreat, so that a most desperate contest ensued. Our men attacked them like wolves, with less order than valour, displaying a degree of intrepidity nothing could resist. After expending all their ammunition, they had recourse to stones and the but ends of their pieces, transfixing the Frenchmen with their bayonets against the walls of the building, until they had covered the sand with the blood and bodies of their enemies; where they remain heaped, at this hour, a striking monument of the tremendous glory of that day. Not fewer than seven hundred Frenchmen were bayonetted or shot among those ruins.

By some unaccountable negligence, the principal part of the artillery and ammunition had not been brought to the station then occupied by our army; hence originated a saying, that the French had been defeated by an enemy destitute of artillery. Certain it is, that both the 28th and 42d regiments, toward the termination of the contest, were reduced to the necessity of throwing stones.* General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with a view, as it is related, of rallying the 42d, and restoring order among their ranks, hastening toward the dreadful conflict in the ruin upon the right, where the action was hottest, was nearly surrounded by a party of French cavalry. A dragoon made a thrust at him; but Sir Raph, receiving the sabre between his breast and his left arm, wrested the weapon from his antagonist. At this instant, an English soldier, seeing another

* "The French on the right, during the want of ammunition among the British, having also exhausted theirs, pelted stones from the ditch at the 28th; who returned these unusual, yet not altogether harmless, instruments of violence, as a sergeant of the 28th was killed by one breaking through his forehead." *Hist. of the Exped.* p. 32.

riding toward the general to aim a blow at him, and being without ball, thrust his ramrod into his piece, and with it shot the dragoon. Soon after, Sir Ralph was seen without his horse, the animal having been shot under him; when Sir Sidney Smith coming up, supplied him with that whereon he was mounted. It was on this occasion that Sir Ralph presented to Sir Sidney the sabre he had wrested from the dragoon.* Soon after, our venerable commander received, in the hour of conquest, the fatal shot in his thigh, of which he afterward expired.

Victory now declared itself for the English; and it may be said to date from the moment when Abercrombie received his mortal wound. Five French generals were killed. Menou's horse was shot under him. It was reported, that he wept when he beheld the fate of the day, and exerted himself in vain endeavours to rally his retreating army. Among the wounded, on our side, were Generals Oakes, Moore, Hope, and Sir Sidney Smith. The loss sustained by the French was not less than four thousand. Eleven hundred of their dead, as before stated, were buried by our own troops. After the action, both armies maintained the positions they had occupied before the battle.†

After the twenty-first of March, the affairs in Egypt remained for a considerable time at a stand. We joined the fleet, as before mentioned, upon the seventeenth of April. The death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie had then thrown a gloom over every thing; and to its dissipation, neither the splendid talents nor the acknowledged popularity of his successor were in any degree adequate. Although General, now Lord, Hutchinson, received as members of his council all those persons whose advice or assistance was esteemed by the late commander in chief, and implicitly adopted every measure to which it had been his intention to adhere, the regret of the army and navy in the loss of their beloved veteran was expressed only by murmur and discontent. A less enviable situation could not have been sought than that which General Hutchinson was called upon to fill. There is now, indeed, both satisfaction and pleasure in dwel-

* Sir Sidney has since placed this sabre upon the monument of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

† The French army upon this occasion consisted, according to their own statement, of nine thousand seven hundred men, including fifteen hundred cavalry, with forty-six pieces of cannon. The British force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the eighth and thirteenth, &c. did not yield an effective strength of ten thousand men, including three hundred cavalry. As the battle was fought by the right of the English army only, half that number resisted the concentrated attack of all the French force. *See Hist. of the Exped.* p. 43.

ling upon the difficulties of his arduous station; because the result has proved, that no one could either have been better qualified for the undertaking, or could have devised a scheme more wisely for the ultimate success of the enterprise, than the very system he pursued, and accomplished, for the final delivery of Egypt. Profiting by the moral inference contained in the ancient fable of "the four bulls and the lion," he directed the operations of the army successively to the different stations held by the dispersed forces of the enemy: subduing these, one after another, instead of allowing them to combine their strength, he was enabled to effect what no other plan of carrying on the campaign could possibly have brought to pass. It is true, matters did not proceed so rapidly as before, but they advanced with greater certainty. A mere spectator in the fleet would have heard continual complaint of the tardiness and torpor seeming to prevail. Even the French, from their advanced posts, conversing with our officers, were known to indulge their sarcasm at the slowness of our operation, by expressing pretended impatience for better quarters, and by occasionally remarking, "*Messieurs, vous vous hâter très lentement.*" The sentiments, however, of their own generals might now be cited, if it were necessary, to prove that a more soldier-like undertaking was never brought to issue, nor one more characterized by sound military science, than the plan for the expulsion of the French, which the successor of Abercrombie adopted.

To accomplish this desirable object, the first effort was, to prevent all communication between the garrison of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt. This was effected by destroying the canal of Alexandria, and thereby not only preventing a supply of fresh water, but also causing the waters of the lake of Aboukir to fall into the ancient bed of the the lake Mareotis. We were present during this operation. The canal was cut through in two places: the torrent rushing vehemently down a steep of eight feet, soon carried away the intervening mound, and produced an inundation extending to such a prodigious distance, over all the desert to the east and south of Alexandria, that before the middle of May, the French, than whom no people show more alertness in converting even disaster to some advantage, had a flotilla of gun boats upon this new created sea.

About this time, Fort Julien, upon the Rosetta branch of the Nile, was taken by the English and Turks; which was followed by the evacuation of Rosetta. Rachmanie, an important fort, was then attacked and carried: by the capture of this

place, all communication with Alexandria was said to be interrupted. Immediately after the capture of Rachmanie, the English army began its march to Cairo. Their route was along the banks of the Nile. They proceeded about ten miles a day, suffering much from the heat, as well as from the drenching dew and the mosquitoes during the night. Berelos and Damiata, upon the coast, were moreover abandoned by the French and Maltese, and taken possession of by the Turks. The Maltese deserted to us, and the French, putting to sea, were captured by our fleet.

Upon the twenty-second of April, Captain Clarke conveyed us, in his cutter, to visit the English camp off Alexandria; on which occasion we first landed in Egypt. We entered the lake of Aboukir by the block house, remaining a short time to examine the landing place of our troops. The waters of this extensive lake broke in from the sea in the year 1784. It is every where shallow; and so full of fishes, that they leap into the boats passing over the lake; a circumstance which greatly surprised us. The opening of the sluices for the inundation of the old bed of lake Mareotis had then drained it so low, that boats could barely pass. We were often stranded, and every one of us obliged to get into the water, for the purpose of heaving our bark over the mud, upon which she rested. We landed just below the English camp, and beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a desert rendered lively by the presence of a British army; admiring the singular concurrence of circumstances which had occasioned an exhibition of English soldiers and sailors, lounging about, and seemingly at home, upon the sands of Egypt. The shore was covered with palm trees in full bloom, making, at this season of the year, a splendid appearance.—Arabs and Moors were seen mounted on dromedaries and camels; while the officers of our army appeared cantering upon asses, to and from the little shops established by Greeks in tents near the shore. The strong reflection of the sun's rays from the sand is painful; but the most refreshing breezes, as constant as the sun, daily cool this parched coast. We did not experience any oppressive degree of heat, but walked about two miles, from the shore to the camp, with great pleasure. The sands were covered with rare plants; and these were all in flower.

The 12th dragoons, the regiment to which our visit was principally intended, had received orders to march for Rosetta the day following that on which we arrived. We dined with them in their Egyptian mess room: this consisted of a square hole

in the sand, covered with the branches of palm trees. In the evening we rode with them throughout the camp, and passed the outside of the lines. The whole front of the British army was then drawn out, and under arms, behind the breast work. We visited the 28th regiment, in which were several officers of our acquaintance: and also the artillery upon the heights opposite Alexandria. Our videttes were then going out. From this place we very distinctly saw the French cavalry descending from the works before Alexandria, to relieve their own videttes. They were so near, that we could discern the riders, and distinguish them putting on their long white cloaks for the night. The French and English videttes were then stationed within an hundred paces of each other, and often conversed; the French party coming frequently over to ours, to ask for water. At that time, the enemy occupied a lofty mound opposite to our line, and a deep valley separated the two armies. This valley reminded me of the neutral territory in America where Major André was taken, while endeavouring to effect his escape from the enemies' works he had been so hardy as to reconnoitre. As we returned to the station occupied by the 12th, we passed the ruin where the action was hottest during the battle of the twenty-first; visiting its interior, an old soldier, one of the heroes who had there distinguished himself, pointed out the heaps of sand raised over the bodies of those who fell during the terrible conflict, and showed us the dark traces of their blood yet remaining upon the walls. Afterward we rode to examine the sluices made through the Alexandria canal, and beheld the torrent still gushing, with unabated force, from the lake of Aboukir. We had a tent allotted to us for the night; and although it was double lined, so copious are the dews of Egypt after sunset, that the water ran plentifully down the tent pole. We slept upon the sand, not without dread of scorpions, which are here very numerous, and had stung several of the soldiers.* In the morning, we discovered that our tent was the only one remaining upon that station. The 12th had marched before day light. During our return to the fleet, we had greater difficulty than before in getting our boat over Aboukir Lake.

Upon the twenty-fifth we again quitted the Braakel; and sailed for the caravanserai at the mouth of the lake Maadie, determined to visit Rosetta. As there was not sufficient depth of water in the lake, we steered along the coast, and landed at the

* One of the privates received a wound from a scorpion, and lost the upper joint of his fore-finger before it could be healed.

village of Utkô, to the west of an old castle upon the shore.—The surf ran very high, and is here generally dangerous. We found the sand covered with human sculls and other bones, which the sea and the sun had whitened; the jackals having previously stripped them of every particle of flesh. These were described to us as the remains of those Turks who fell in the dreadful slaughter, when Buonaparte drove a whole army into the sea.*

We had to cross a perfect specimen of the pathless African desert,† in our way to Utkô. The distance, however, did not exceed three miles. High mounds of sand, shifting with every change of wind, surrounded us on all sides, and concealed the view of other objects. Yet even here were found a few rare plants, and some of these we collected; but the heat was extremely oppressive. We also observed in this desert an interesting proof of the struggle maintained by man against the forbidding nature of the soil. Here and there appeared plantations of pumpkins, and a few jars and cylinders of *terra cotta* containing young palm trees: these were placed in holes deep in the sand; a hollow space surrounding each plant, to collect the copious dew falling every night. The vegetation of Egypt, even the redundant produce of the Delta, is not owing solely to partial inundation from the Nile, or artificial irrigation. When we hear that rain is unknown to the inhabitants, it must not be supposed the land is on that account destitute of water. From all the observations we could collect during our subsequent residence, it seemed doubtful whether any other country has so regular a supply of moisture from above. Even the sands of the desert partake largely of "the dew of heaven," and, in a certain degree, of "the fatness of the earth." Hence it is that we meet with such frequent allusion to the copious dew distilled upon oriental territories in the sacred writings. Brotherly love is compared by David‡ to "the dew of Hermon." The goodness of Judah is described as the dew.§ "The remnant of Jacob shall be," it is said,‖ "in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord." And the blessings promised by the son of Beeri,** are to "be as the dew unto Israel." In all this sandy district, palm trees are very abundant, and their presence is a never-failing indication of water below the surface: wheresoever they are found, a

* See note, page 163.

† This is a part of the desert described by Savary. *Letters on Egypt*, vol. 1. p. 47 *ed. 2. Lond.* 1767.

‡ Ps. cxxxiii. 3. § Hos. vi 4. ‖ Micah. v. 7. ** Hos. xiv. 5.

brackish and muddy pool may speedily be formed, by digging a well near their roots. The natives are chiefly occupied in the care of them; tying up their blossoms with bands formed of the foliage, to prevent their being torn off, and scattered by the winds. Our soldiers were at first ignorant of the extent of the mischief caused by cutting down these trees, each of which proves as a little patrimony to the native who is fortunate enough to be its owner. We had ventured into these wilds without guides; and were therefore glad to perceive, as we advanced, the traces of dromedaries' feet upon the sand, crossing the line we pursued. Following the track marked out by these animals, we presently arrived at the wretched solitary village of Utkô, near the muddy shore of the lake Maadie. Here we procured asses for all our party, and, setting out for Rosetta, began to recross the desert, appearing like an ocean of sand, but flatter and firmer, as to its surface, than before. The Arabs, uttering their harsh guttural language, ran chattering by the side of our asses; until some of them calling out "*Raschid!*" we perceived its domes and turrets, apparently upon the opposite side of an immense lake or sea, that covered all the intervening space between us and the city. Not having in my own mind, at the time, any doubt as to the certainty of its being water, and seeing the tall minarets and buildings of Rosetta, with all its groves of dates and sycamores as perfectly reflected by it as by a mirror, insomuch that even the minutest detail of the architecture and of the trees might have been thence delineated, I applied to the Arabs to be informed in what manner we were to pass the water. Our interpreter, although a Greek, and therefore likely to have been informed of such a phenomenon, was as fully convinced as any of us that we were drawing near to the water's edge, and became indignant when the Arabs maintained that within an hour we should reach Rosetta by crossing the sands in the direct line we then pursued, and that there was no water. "What," said he, giving way to his impatience, "do you suppose me an ideot, to be persuaded contrary to the evidence of my senses?" The Arabs, smiling, soon pacified him, and completely astonished the whole party, by desiring us to look back at the desert we had already passed, where we beheld a precisely similar appearance. It was, in fact, *the mirage*,* a prodigy to which every one of

* An explanation of the phenomenon, called *mirage* by the French, was published at Caïro, in the "*Décade Egyptienne*," vol. 1. p. 39. by Monge. It is too long for insertion here; but the author thus previously describes the illusion:

"Le soir et le matin, l'aspect du terrain est tel qu'il doit être; et entre vous et les

us were then strangers, although it afterward became more familiar. Yet upon no future occasion did we ever behold this extraordinary illusion so marvellously displayed. The view of it afforded us ideas of the horrible despondency to which travellers must sometimes be exposed, who, in traversing the interminable desert, destitute of water, and perishing with thirst, have sometimes this deceitful prospect before their eyes.

Before we arrived at Rosetta, seeing a flag displayed upon the tower of Abu-mandur, to the right of our route, we supposed a part of our troops might be there stationed, and therefore climbed that mountain of sand, to visit them. Here we were unexpectedly greeted with an astonishing view of the Nile, the Delta, and the numerous groves in all the neighbourhood of Rosetta: it is the same so wretchedly pictured in Sonnini's travels, and of which no idea can be formed from his engraved representation. The scene is beyond description. The sudden contrast it offers, opposed to the desert we had traversed, the display of riches and abundance poured forth by the fertility of this African paradise, with all the local circumstances of reflection excited by an extensive prospect of the Nile, and of the plains of Egypt, render it one of the most interesting sights in the world. Among the distant objects, we beheld the English camp, stationed about five miles up the river, upon its western side; and all the country as far as the fortress of Rachmanie. The beautiful boats peculiar to the Nile, with their large wide-spreading sails, were passing up and down the river. Unable to quit the spot, we dismissed our guides, and remained some time contemplating the delightful picture. Afterward, descending on foot, close by the superb mosque of Abu-mandur, we continued our walk along the banks of the Nile, through gardens richer than imagination can pourtray, beneath the shade of enormous overhanging branches of sycamore and fig trees, amidst bowers of roses, and through groves of date, citron, lime, and banana trees, to Rosetta. As we entered the town, Arabs, in long blue dresses, welcomed our com-

derniers villages qui s'offrent à votre vue, vous n'appercevez que la terre: mais dès que la surface du sol est suffisamment échauffée par la présence du soleil, et jusqu' à ce que, vers le soir, elle commence à se refroidir, le terrain ne paraît plus avoir le même extension, et il paraît terminé à une lieuë environ par une inondation générale. Les villages qui sont placés au delà de cette distance paraissent comme des îles situées au milieu d'un grand Lac, et dont on serait séparé par une étendue d'eau plus ou moins considérable. Sous chacun des villages on voit son image renversée, telle qu'on la verrait effectivement s'il y avait en avant une surface d'eau réfléchissante."

To this Monge adds, that the large masses only are distinctly reflected; but when the *mirage* is very perfect, the most minute detail, whether of trees or buildings, may be plainly perceived, trembling, as when the inverted images of objects appear in water, the surface whereof is agitated by wind.

ing, placing their hands upon their breasts, and saying, "*Salaam, Alla! Bon Ingleses!*" while from the camp, English officers, on horses, camels, or on foot, and boats, filled with troops, upon the water, gave to the place a character of gayety never, perhaps, possessed by it in any former age. All authors mention the beauty of its scenery, complaining only of the monotony and dulness of the city. At the time we saw it, no such complaint was applicable; for, with unrivalled natural beauty, Rosetta then exhibited one of the liveliest and most varied pictures of human life it is possible to behold. From the different people by whom it was thronged, its streets resembled an immense masquerade. There was hardly a nation in the Mediterranean but might have been then said to have had its representative in Rosetta; and the motley appearance thus caused was further diversified by the addition of English ladies from the fleet and army, who, in long white dresses, were riding about upon the asses of the country.

Upon our arrival, we went to the quarters of Sir Sidney Smith. He was then with our army, in the camp near Rachmanie; but we were conducted to a house he had kindly prepared for our reception, "that the turbulence of war might not," as he was pleased to express it, "interfere with the arts of peace." This dwelling was the most delightful of any in Rosetta. Placed in a prominent situation upon the quay, it commanded a view of the Nile, and of the Delta, in every direction.* We had therefore only to return to the fleet for a few articles of convenience, and for our books, and here to fix our residence.

* Sir Sidney Smith, afterward viewing this prospect from our terrace, said, "We have often abused Savary for his extravagance and amplification; but the view here may at least reconcile us to his account of Rosetta."

CHAP. X.

FROM ROSETTA IN EGYPT, TO LARNECA IN CYPRUS.

Return to the Fleet—Nelson's Island—Antiquities—Rosetta—Trilinguar Inscription—Scarabæus Pilularius—*Curious Edifice in Rosetta of the Gothic form—Voyage to Cyprus—Appearance of the Island—Salines—Hot Winds—Larneca—Insalubrity of the Island—Produce of the Land—Wine of Cyprus—Wretched Condition of the Country—Phœnician Idols—Nature of the Cyprian Venus—Ancient Gems—Signet Rings—Origin of the Camachuia—Theban Stone—Paintings commemorated upon Gems—Notice of a Picture by Zeuxis from an ancient Greek Manuscript—Substances used for the Signets of Cyprus—their most ancient form.*

Upon the first of May, we returned to the fleet for our baggage, and took this opportunity to examine the Isle of *Bekier*, (or Aboukir,) or, as it is now called, "*Nelson's Island.*" We procured here about half a bushel of the bulbs of a very superb species of lily, with which the whole island was covered. Heaps of human bodies, cast up after "the action of the Nile," as it has been rather improperly termed,* and not having been exposed to the devouring jackals, still presented upon the shore a revolting spectacle. Captain Clarke, who was with us, employed the crew of his cutter in burying their remains; and we were proud to aid their pious labour. Small as this island is, it yet contains some very remarkable antiquities. We observed the paved floors of buildings, with part of their superstructure, and some arched chambers lined with stucco, stretching out from the island toward Aboukir. Other remains might also be observed under water; a convincing proof of the changes to which the coast has been liable, from the encroachment of the sea. A very singular subterranean passage, now open at its northern extremity, leads to some apartments in the opposite direction, which have an aperture above them, even with the surface of the higher part of the island: no conjecture can

* Even the Rosetta branch of the Nile is at such a considerable distance to the east of Aboukir Bay, which was the real scene of action, that to call it the action of the Nile is not less absurd than to name the battle of Trafalgar the action of Tangiers.

be formed whither this passage extended elsewhere, as it has been opened by the sea toward the bay. Pliny, speaking of Canopus, says it was an island; on which account these ruins may have belonged to that city. Sonnini has described other remains upon the opposite coast; and these seem to owe their origin to Canopus. If, therefore, Pliny's statement be incorrect, and the island once formed a part of the continent, as the inhabitants of the country maintain, the ruins here, and those mentioned by Sonnini, may altogether have resulted from the destruction of the same place, now lying buried beneath the waves, a memorable instance of the fate attending cities distinguished only by their vices. We found here a few other curious plants, and observed in great abundance, among the sand, those small and beautiful shells worn by Maltese sailors in their ears.

We were detained with the fleet until the ninth. Upon the morning of that day, the Braakel's cutter being ordered to Rosetta, we again set out for that place; sailing in company with the Dorothea frigate, until she came off the mouth of the Nile. The surf of the bar being low, we were able to pass over it, and therefore entered the Rosetta branch of the river. Of the seven mouths this river formerly possessed, only two now remain; those of Damiata and Rosetta. Soon after passing the bar in the embouchure of the Rosetta branch, an island divides the stream into two broad channels; and just beyond the point where these again unite, upon the western side of the river, Rosetta is situated; appearing equally beautiful, whether approached by land or by water. The small island I have mentioned is covered with clover and date trees, and was then appropriated to the use of the French and Maltese prisoners, taken at Damiata, and other places upon the Nile toward Cairo.

We remained at Rosetta until the twentieth, visiting, occasionally, the Delta, and environs of the town. Concerning this place, the account already published by Sonnini is so faithful, that to attempt another would be introducing a superfluous repetition. Chameleons are very common in the gardens, and upon the island in the midst of the river, where we procured two, that lived with us until we finally left Egypt. These were large, and of a most vivid green colour when first taken. Afterward, their ordinary appearance was that of a common lizard; and we found, as they became unhealthy, that their power of changing colour diminished. Indeed, this effect is

seldom rapid or instantaneous. It seems always the result of sudden apprehension or surprise, when the poor defenceless animal, having no means of resistance, gradually assumes the colour of some substance over which it passes, being thus provided by nature with the means of concealment. Frogs and toads appear to possess this property in a certain degree, although it may have escaped the observation of naturalists. After these reptiles have remained a certain time upon a recently turned border of earth, their colour so much resembles that of the soil, that they are not easily perceived; and sometimes among grass, when alarmed by the sudden approach of any other animal, they assume a greenish hue. The inclosures for gardens near Rosetta are formed by hedges made of palm branches, or of the *cactus ficus indica*, prickly pear. We had often the pleasure of collecting its fine yellow blossoms: these are faithfully represented by an engraving published in the account of Lord Macartney's voyage to China. Apricots of a small size, the produce of standard trees, together with the fruit of the banana,* sugar canes, pumpkins, lettuces, and cucumbers, are common in the markets of Rosetta, at this season of the year.

In viewing Egypt, there is nothing more remarkable than the scarcity of those antiquities which appear so common in all the museums of Europe. From Rosetta, the French had removed almost every thing of this description; but their acquisitions were by no means so remarkable as might have been expected. We found only some granite columns remaining: these, indeed, were frequent in the streets of the place, and they were the only antiquities of the city. The famous trilingular inscription, preserved upon a mass of syenite, commonly called *the Rosetta stone*, afterward a subject of contention between General Menou and our commander in chief, during the capitulation of Alexandria, was not found in Rosetta. Its discovery was first officially announced by an article in the "*Courier d'Egypte*," or Cairo Gazette:† it is there described as the result of an excavation made in digging for the fortifications of Fort Julien, situated upon the western side of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, between that city and the embouchure of the river, at three thousand *toises*, or fathoms, distance from the latter.‡ The peculiar form of countenance discernible upon

* *Musa sapientum.*

† Dated "*Rosette, le 2 Fructidor, An 7.*"

‡ The following is the bulletin of the event: remarkable for the ignorance betrayed by the French *savans* employed by Menou in translating the Greek inscription upon

the statues of Isis may yet be recognized in the features of the Egyptian women, and particularly in those of Rosetta, when they can be prevailed upon to lay aside their veils. Upon the sands around the city may be seen the *scarabæus pilularius*, or rolling beetle, as sculptured upon the obelisks and other antiquities of the country, moving before it a ball of dung, wherein it deposits an egg. The natural history of this little insect exhibits, in a surprising manner, the force of that incomprehensible emanation of the mundane soul, to which we give the name of instinct. With the ancients it was a type of the sun. We often find it figured among the characters used in hieroglyphic writing. As it makes its physical appearance in that season of the year immediately preceding the inundation of the Nile, it may have been so represented as a symbol, generally, of the spring, of *fecundity*, or of the Egyptian month anterior to the rising of the water.* An argument for the second hy-

the stone. By this also it appears, that an officer of the name of *Bouchard* made the discovery.

"Parmi les travaux fortifications que le Citoyen d'Hautpoul, chef de bataillon du génie, a fait faire à l'ancien Fort du Raschid, nommé aujourd'hui Fort Julien, situé sur la rive gauche du Nil, à trois mille toises du Boghaz de la branche de Rosette, il a été trouvé, dans des fouilles, une pierre d'un très beau granit noir, d'un grain très fin, très dure au marteau. Les dimensions sont de 36 pouces de hauteur, de 28 pouces de largeur, et de 9 à 10 pouces d'épaisseur. Une seule face bien polie offre trois inscriptions distinctes et separées en trois bandes parallèles. La premiere et supérieure est écrite en caractères *hieroglyphiques:* on y trouve quatorze lignes de caractères, mais dont une partie est perdue par une cassure de la pierre. La seconde et intermédiaire est en caractères que l'on croit être *Syriaque*; on y compte trente deux lignes. La troisième et la derniere est écrite en Grec; on y compte cinquante quatre lignes de carectères très fins, très bien sculptés, et qui comme ceux des deux autres inscriptions supérieures, sont très bien conservés.

"Le Général Menou a fait faire traduire en partie l'inciription Gréque. Elle porte en substance que *Ptolemy Philopater fit rouvrir tous les canaux de l'Egypte, et que ce prince employa a ces immenses travaux un nombre très considerable d'ouvriers, des sommes immenses et huit années de son regne.* Cette pierre offre un grand intérêt pour l'étude des caractères hieroglyphiques; peut être même en donnera-t-elle enfin la clef.

"La Citoyen BOUCHARD, officier du corps de génie, qui sous les ordres du Citoyen d'Hautpoul, *conduisoit les travaux du Fort du Raschid*, a bien voulu se charger de faire transporter cette pierre au Kaïre. Elle est maintenant à Boulag." *Courier de l'Egypte, No.* 37. *p.* 3. *Au Kaïre, de l'Imprimerie Nationale.*

* There are other reasons for believing it the sign of an epocha, or date; and among these may be particularly stated the manner of its occasional introduction in the apices of Egyptian obelisks, beginning their inscriptions according to the style of the translated legend upon the Rosetta stone. With such evidence, we have, perhaps, something beyond mere conjecture for its illustration. We there find the promulgation and commemoration of a decree, inscribed in hieroglyphic characters, opening with a date: "*On the 4th day of the month Xandicus, and the* 18*th of the Egyptian Mecheir.*" There seems to be as little reason for doubting that the characters upon Egyptian obelisks were used to register transactions, according to annals preserved by the priests of the country, as that the pillar of Forres in Scotland, similarly inscribed, and other more ancient Gaelic monuments, were erected to record public events. Yet the learned Kircher, upon the authority of Plutarch, explains this symbol in a more abstract manner; and to his illustration, the natural history of the insect offers very remarkable support. He considers it as a type of the *Anima Mundi*, or *Giver of Light.* Inasmuch as every sign used in the writings of the priests had a mystical as well as a literal signification, this may be true concerning its sacred and original import. The figure of *Aries*, used to denote the month of March, had also, among the ancients, its mythological signification. The image of the *scarabæus* was worn as an amulet both by Egyptians and by Greeks; and so was the head of the ram. "Scarabæi

pothesis may be urged, in the fact that the women of the country eat those beetles, in order to become prolific.*

A building of considerable, although unknown, antiquity, still exists in Rosetta; which seems to afford proof that the pointed Gothic arch owes its origin to the appearance presented by contiguous palm trees. The roof is entirely of stone, and consists of curvatures supported by props, representing the trunks of palm trees, placed in the sides and corners of the structure. Their branches, crossing each other upward, form intersections corresponding in shape with the pointed arches of our cathedrals.

We had not remained a fortnight in Rosetta, when our plan of residence was suddenly interrupted by an invitation from Captain Russell, of the Ceres frigate, to accompany him to Cyprus; his ship having been ordered to that island for water. We accepted his kind offer, and, returning to the Braakel on the twentieth of May, set sail in the Ceres on the twenty-ninth, steering first toward the mouth of the Nile; Captain Russel being commissioned to send to Rosetta some chests of dollars, to purchase supplies for the fleet. We lay all that night off the mouth of the Nile, after taking the latitude of its embouchure at noon. Our own latitude we found to be 31° 25′; and our distance from the mouth being two miles at the time of the observation, makes the junction of the Nile with the Mediterranean precisely 31° 27′. Our voyage was attended by no circumstance worth notice. In the examination of the ship's log-book, we found only a repetition of the same statement, of favourable breezes and fair weather. In the Archipelago and Mediterranean, during the summer season, mariners may sleep. Their vessels glide over a scarcely ruffled surface, with almost imperceptible motion. But in other months, no part of the main ocean is more agitated by winds,

figura circulo insignita . . . . nihil aliud indicat, quàm Solem supra mundanum." *Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* iii. p. 320 *Rom.* 1654. "Anima Mundi, sive Spiritus Universi, ex Scarabæo constat." *Ibid.* p. 147.

* This curious remnant of an ancient superstition is also not without its illustration in Kircher: "*Accedit quod idem Scarabæus significatione ad mores translata idem, teste Horo, lib.* 1. *cap.* 10. *quòd patrem et masculam virtutem notet.*" *Œdip. Ægypt. tom.* iii. cap. 4. p. 179. The subject admits of further illustration, by reference to Plutarch. According to him, soldiers wore the image of the *beetle* upon their signets; and this perhaps may account not only for the number of them found, but also for the coarseness of the workmanship. "Of a like nature," says he "is the *beetle*, which we see engraven upon the signets of the soldiers; for there are *no females* of this species, but all *males*, who propagate their kind by casting their seed into those round balls of dung, which they form on purpose; providing thereby, not only a proper nidus for the reception of their young, but nourishment likewise for them as soon as they are born." *Plutarch. de Iside et Osir. cap.* 10.

or exhibits, during calms, a more tremendous swell. It is indeed singular, that even fresh gales in the Mediterranean, throughout May and June, cause no turbulent waves. In a subsequent voyage to the coast of Syria, on board the Romulus frigate, we took in the royals, and carried reefs in the topsail, fore and aft, and also in the mizen, playing all the while at chess in the cabin, as if we were sailing on the Thames.

About six o'clock in the evening of June the third, we made land, northeast and by east. It fell to my lot to give the first intelligence of its appearance, being aloft, upon the look-out, in the phuttock shrouds. Cape Blanco, anciently *Curias* Promontory, then hove in view, (to use the language of seamen,) and soon after the whole island was seen indistinctly, looming amidst thick fogs. It appeared very high and mountainous. We had such light breezes and frequent calms, that we did not reach *Salines* bay until three o'clock, P. M. on Saturday the sixth of June. We had coasted the whole island, from its western extremity, and so near to the shore, that we had a distinct survey of the features of the country. We saw the fortress and town of Baffa, anciently Paphos, backed by high mountains. The coast toward the west much resembles the southern part of the Crimea; the villages and cultivated places being near the shore, and all behind craggy and mountainous. From Baffa to Limasol, near the spot where the ancient city of *Amathus* stood, the coast appears very fertile, and more so than any part of the island that we afterward visited. Toward the south western district the country is well covered with forest trees, and particularly the neighbourhood of Baffa. Limasol produces the finest muscadine wine of Cyprus; some of this pours like oil, and may be kept to a great age. The wine called *Commanderia* is, however, held principally in esteem among the natives.

As we sailed into *Salines* bay, anciently that of *Citium*, now called Ἁλίνες, from a cluster of salt lakes near the sea, the town of Salines appeared covered with that white fog, so much dreaded, and so well known in Italy, by the name of *mal-aria*. The mountains behind the place were partially concealed by this unwholesome vapour. It rose from the shore and buildings like smoke. Whenever this appearance is presented, the heat upon the island is excessive. Few of the natives venture out of their houses during mid-day; and all journeys, even those of caravans, are performed in the night; the dews are then neither abundant nor dangerous: in this re-

spect Cyprus differs entirely from Egypt, and from all the neighbouring shores. Its ports are more sultry than any other in the Levant. Salines, and the towns situated on the eastern and north eastern coasts of the island, are subject to such dangerous temperature, that, in the months of June and July, persons fall victims to the afflicting malady called *a sun-stroke*, or *coup de soleil*, if they venture out at noon without the precaution of carrying an umbrella. The inhabitants, especially of the lower order, wrap their heads as if exposed to the rigour of a severe winter; being always covered with a turban, over which, in their journeys, they place a thick shawl, many times folded. The great heat experienced upon the eastern coasts of Cyprus is owing to two causes: to the situation of the island with respect to the Syrian, Arabian, and Lybian deserts; and to its mountainous nature, preventing the cooler winds, the west and northwest, from the low shores to the east and northeast.

We had scarce entered the bay, when we observed, to the northeast, a lurid haze, as if the atmosphere was on fire; and suddenly, from that quarter, a hurricane took us, that laid the Ceres upon her beam-ends. At the time of this squall I endeavoured to ascertain the temperature of the blast. We found it so scorching that the skin instantly peeled from our lips; a tendency to sneeze was excited, accompanied with great pain in the eyes, and chapping of the hands and face. The metallic scale of the thermometer, suspended in a port hole to windward, was kept in a horizontal position by the violence of the gale; and the mercury, exposed to its full current, rose six degrees of Fahrenheit in two minutes, from eighty to eighty-six; a singular consequence of north east wind to Englishmen, accustomed to consider this as the coldest to which their island is exposed. All the coast of Cyprus, from Salines to *Famagosta*, anciently *Salamis*, is liable to hot winds, from almost every point of the compass; from the northeast; from the east; from the southeast; from the south; and southwest. The northeast coming from the parched deserts of Curdistan; the east from the sands of Palmyra; the southeast from the great desert of Arabia; and the south and southwest from Egypt and Lybia. From the west, northwest, and north, the inhabitants are shut by high mountains, lying open to the beams of a scorching sun, reflecting from a soil so white, that the glare is often sufficient to cause temporary blindness, without even the prospect of a single tree, beneath which one might hope for shade. In the

middle of the day, few animals are seen in motion, except the lizard, seeming to sport with greatest pleasure where the sun is most powerful, and a species of long black serpents, abounding in Cyprus: one of these we killed, four feet three inches in length. Sometimes, also, a train of camels may be noticed, grazing among dusty thistles and bitter herbs, while their drivers seek shelter from the burning noon.

We found at anchor, in this bay, the Iphigenia, Captain Stackpole, from the fleet, with several transport ships, waiting for supplies of cattle and water. On the following morning, June the seventh, about ten o'clock, we landed, and carried our letters of recommendation to the different consuls residing at Larneca, about a mile from Salines, toward the north. Here the principal families reside, although almost all commercial transactions are carried on at Salines. We dined in Larneca, with our own consul: collecting, during our walk to and from his house, beneath the shelter of umbrellas, the few plants that occurred in our way. In our subsequent visits, we soon found that the *mal-aria* we had witnessed from the deck of the Ceres, veiling all the harbour with its fearful mist, could not be approached with impunity. Our lamented friend, and exemplary commander, captain Russel, was the first to experience its baneful influence; being seized with a fever, from which he never afterward recovered.* Indeed, the fevers of Cyprus, unlike those caught upon other shores of the Mediterranean, rarely intermit; they are almost always malignant.† The strictest attention is therefore paid by the inhabitants to their diet. Fortunately for them, they had no butter on the island; and in hot weather they deem it fatal to eat fat meat, or indeed flesh of any kind, unless boiled to a jelly. They likewise carefully abstain from every sort of pastry; from eggs, cream and milk. The island produces abundance of delicious apricots, from standard trees, having a much higher flavour than those of Rosetta, but equally dangerous to foreigners, and speedily causing fever, if they be not sparingly used. Those of Famagosta are the most celebrated. They are sent, as acceptable presents to

* The salt lakes in the neighbourhood of Salines contribute much to the insalubrity of the bay, and of the surrounding territory. For an account of them, see *Drummond's Travels*, p. 141. Travellers should be particularly cautioned to avoid all places where salt is made in the Levant; these are generally called *lagunes*.

† "Some authors," says the Abbé Mariti, vol. i. p. 6. "tell us that the air of this island is bad and unhealthful. This prejudice prevents many strangers from remaining in it long enough to make the experiment themselves. But people who have lived here a year, have been convinced of the wholesomeness of the air, and of *the error of the ancient writers*." With similar effrontery Tournefort maintained, "*Quoiqu'en aient dit anciens, les la mer noir n'a rien de noir.*"

Nicotia, the capital. The apricots of Larneca are also fine, and may be purchased in the market at the small price of three shillings the bushel. Many different varieties of the gourd, or pumpkin, are used in Cyprus for vegetables at table. The young fruit is boiled, after being stuffed with rice. We found it refreshing and pleasant, partaking at the same time the flavour of asparagus and artichoke. We noticed also the beet root, melons, cucumbers, and a very insipid kind of mulberry of a white colour. The corn of the island, wherever the inhabitants have courage or industry enough to venture on the cultivation of the land, in despite of their Turkish oppressors, and the dangers of the climate, is of the finest quality. The wheat, although bearded, is very large, and the bread made from it extremely white and good. Perhaps there is no part of the world where the vine yields such redundant and luscious fruit. The juice of the Cyprian grape resembles a concentrated essence. The wine of the island is so famous all over the Levant, that, in the hyperbolical language of the Greeks, it is said to possess the power of restoring youth to age, and animation to those who are at the point of death. Englishmen, however, do not consider it a favourite beverage, as it requires nearly a century of age to deprive it of that sickly sweetness which renders it repugnant to their palates. Its powerful aperient quality is also not likely to recommend it, where wine is drunk in any considerable quantity, as it sometimes causes a disorder of the bowels, even after being kept for many years. When it has been in bottles for ten or twelve years, it acquires a slight degree of effervescence; and this, added to its sweetness and high colour, causes it to resemble Tokay more than any other wine. This, however, is not the state wherein the inhabitants of Cyprus drink their wine. It is preserved by them in casks to which the air has constantly access, and will keep in this manner for any number of years. After it has withstood the changes of a single year, it is supposed to have passed the requisite proof, and then it sells for three Turkish piastres the gooze.* Afterward, the price augments in proportion to its age. We tasted some of the *commanderia*, which they said was forty years old, and was still in the cask. After this period it is considered quite as a balm, and reserved, on account of its supposed restorative and healing quality, for the sick and the

* About twenty-one pints. The value of the piastre varies continually. It was worth about twenty pence when we were in Turkey.

dying. A greater proof of its strength cannot be given, than by relating the manner in which it is kept; in casks neither filled nor closed. A piece of sheet lead is merely laid over the bung hole; and this is removed almost every day, whenever persons visit their cellars to taste the different sorts of wine proposed for sale. Upon these occasions, taking the covering from the bunghole, they dip a hollow cane or reed into the liquor, and, by suction drawing some of it, let it run from the reed into a glass. Both the *commanderia* and the *muscad* are white wines. When new, they have a slight tinge of a violet hue; but age soon removes this, and afterward they retain the colour of Madeira. Cyprus produces also red wines; but these are little esteemed, and used only as weak liquors for the table, answering to the ordinary "*vin du pays*" of France. If the people of Cyprus were industrious, and capable of turning their vintage to the best account, the red wine of the island might be rendered as famous as the white; and perhaps better calculated for exportation. It has the flavour of Tenedos; resembling that wine in colour and strength; and good Tenedos not only excels every other wine of Greece, but perhaps has no where its rival in Europe.

This island, that had so highly excited, amply gratified our curiosity, by its most interesting antiquities: although there is nothing in its present state pleasing to the eye. Instead of a beautiful and fertile land, covered with groves of fruits and fine woods, once rendering it the paradise of the Levant, there is hardly upon earth a more wretched spot than it now exhibits. Few words may forcibly describe it: Agriculture neglected—inhabitants oppressed—population destroyed—pestiferous air—contagion—poverty—indolence—desolation. Its antiquities alone render it worthy of resort; and these, if any person had leisure and opportunity to search for them, would amply repay the trouble. In this pursuit, Cyprus may be considered as yet untrodden. A few inscribed marbles were removed from Baffa by Sir Sidney Smith. Of two that the author examined, one was an epitaph, in Greek hexameter and pentameter lines; and the other commemorated public benefits conferred by one of the Ptolemies. But the Phœnician reliques upon the island are most likely to obtain notice, and these have hitherto been unregarded. The inhabitants of Larneca rarely dig near their town without discovering either the traces of ancient buildings,

subterranean chambers, or sepulchres.* Not long before our arrival, the English consul, signor Peristiani, a Venetian, dug up, in one place, about thirty idols belonging to the most ancient mythology of the heathen world. Their origin refers to a period long anterior to the conquest of Cyprus by the Ptolomies and may relate to the earliest establishment of the Phœnician colonies. Some of these are of *terra cotta;* others of a coarse lime stone; and some of soft crumbling marble. They were all sent to our ambassador at Constantinople, who presented them to Mr. Cripps. The principal figures seem to have been very ancient representations of the most popular divinity of the island, the *pantamorpha mater;* more frequently represented as Ceres than as Venus, (notwithstanding all that poets have feigned of the Paphian goddess,) if we may safely trust to such documents as engraved gems, medals, marbles, and to these idols, the authentic records of the country. Upon almost all the intaglios found in Cyprus, even among the ruins of Paphos, the representations are either those of Ceres herself, or of symbols designating her various modifications. Of these, the author collected many, which it would be tedious to enumerate. In their origin, the worship of Ceres and of Venus was the same. The Moon, or *Dea Jana*, called *Diana* by the Romans,† and *Astarte*, "*daughter of Heaven*," by the Phœnicians,‡ whether under the name of *Urania*, *Juno*, or *Isis*, was also the *Ceres* of Eleusis. Having in a former publication§ pointed out their connexion, and their common reference to a single principle in nature, (a subject involving more extraneous discussion than might be deemed consistent with the present undertaking,) it is not necessary to renew the argument further, than to explain the reason why the symbols of the Eleusinian Ceres were

* De la Roque was in Cyprus in May, 1688. At that time, a relation of his, Monsr. Feau, the French consul at Larneca, showed to him sundry antiquities recently discovered in sepulchres near the town. He particularly mentions, lachrymatories and lamps. *Voy. de Syrie et du Mont. Liban, par De La Roque, tom.* i. p. 2. *Par.* 1722.

† "The Latin Diana (*Vossius de Idolat.* lib. ii. c. 25.) is the contract of *Diva Jana*, or *Dea Jana*." See also the erudite dissertation of Gale (*Court of the Gentiles*, p. 119. *Oxon.* 1669.) "They styled the moon *Urania*, *Juno*, *Jana*, *Diana*, *Venus*, &c.; and as the sun was called Jupiter, from יה *ja* πατηρ, and *Janus* from the same יה, so also the moon was called first *Jana*, and thence *Juno*, from יה *jah*, the *proper name of God*." So *Vossius de Idolat.* lib. ii. c. 26. "Juno is referred to the moon, and comes from יה *Jah*, the proper name of God, as *Jacchus* from יה *ja Chus*. Amongst the ancient Romans, *Jana* and *Juno* were the same."

‡ According to the learned Gale, our word *Easter*, considered of such doubtful etymology, is derived from the Saxon goddess ÆSTAR, or *Astarte*, to whom they sacrificed in the month of April. See *Gale's Court of the Gentiles*, b. ii. c. 2.

§ "Greek Marbles," p. 74.

also employed as the most ancient types of the Cyprian Venus.* A very considerable degree of illustration, concerning the history of the idols discovered at Larneca, is afforded by the appearance of one of them, although little more of it remains than a mere *torso*. It belonged to an androgynous figure, represented as holding, in its right hand, a lion's cub, pendent by the tail, upon the abdomen of the statue. We might in vain seek an explanation of this singular image, were it not for the immense erudition of Athanasius Kircher, whose persevering industry enabled him to collect, and to compare, the innumerable forms of Egyptian deities; while his learning qualified him for the task of exploring every source, whence indisputable testimony might be derived, touching their hidden meaning. According to the different authorities he has cited,† the *momphta* or type of *humid nature*.‡ (that is to say, the passive principle,) was borne by Isis in her left hand, and generally represented by a lion. In her right she carried the dog Anubis.§ Either of these symbols separately denoted the *magna mater;* and may thus be explained. The leonine figure, as employed to signify water, was derived from the astronomical sign of the period for the Nile's inundation.‖ Hence we sometimes see the *momphta* expressed by a sitting image with the lion's head.** Plutarch gives to Isis the epithet *momphiœan*.†† Her double sex is alluded to by Orpheus, who describes her as at once father and mother of all things.‡‡ By the figure of Anubis, Isis was again typified as the Hecate of the Greeks. It is a symbol frequently placed upon their sepulchral monuments;§§ and was otherwise represented by the image of Cerberus, with *three* heads, or with *fifty*, as allusion is intended either to the *diva triformis*, or to the *pantamorphic* nature of the goddess. Among

* CUJUS NUMEN UNICUM, MULTIFORMI SPECIE, RITU VARIO, NOMINE MULTIJUGO, TOTUS VENERATUR ORBIS.

† Vid. Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii. pp. 98, 184, 221, 323, 504. *Rom.* 1654.

‡ "Per Leonem, *Momphta*, humidæ naturæ præses." *Kirch. De Diis Averruncis. Synt.* 17.

§ See the engravings in Kircher. Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 502. Also tom. ii. part 2. p. 259.

‖ "Pingitur leonino vultu, quod Sole in Leonem incrediente incrementa Nilotica seu inundationes contingant." Kircher, Œdip. Ægypt. tom. iii. p. 323.

** A beautiful colossal statue of this description is now in the British museum. It was among the antiquities surrendered by the French, at the capitulation of Alexandria.

†† Plut. de Isid. et Osir. Kirch. Obel. Sallust Syntag. 4. cap. 4.

‡‡ Also as *Luna*, according to Plutarch (De Is. et Osir. c.43.), Isis bears the same description with regard to her double sex. "*They call the moon*," says he, "*Mother of the World, and think it has a double sex.* Διὸ καὶ Μητέρα τὴν Σελήνην τοῦ Κόσμου καλοῦσι, καὶ φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρσενόθηλυν οἴονται.

§§ See the author's "Greek Marbles," p. 10. No. XII.

the gems found in Cyprus, we noticed intaglated scarabæi with similiar symbols; and obtained one whereon Isis was exhibited holding the quadruped, precisely according to the appearance presented by the statue discovered at Larneca. Since these antiquities were found, the inhabitants have also dug up a number of stone coffins, of an oblong rectangular form. Each of these, with the exception of its cover, is of an entire mass of stone. One of them contained a small vase of *terra cotta*, of the rudest workmanship, destitute of any glazing or varnish.* Several intaglios were also discovered, and brought to us for sale. We found it more difficult to obtain ancient gems in Larneca than in the interior of the island, owing to the exorbitant prices set upon them. At Nicotia, the goldsmiths part with such antiquities for a few *parâs*. The people of Larneca are more accustomed to intercourse with strangers, and expect to make a harvest in their coming. Among the ring stones we left in that town, was a beautiful intaglio representing Cupid whipping a butterfly: a common method among ancient lapidaries, of typifying the power of love over the soul. Also an onyx, which there is every reason to believe one of the Ptolemies had used as a signet. It contained a very curious monogram, expressing all the letters of the word ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ, according to the manner here represented:

The use of such instruments for signature is recorded in the books of Moses, seventeen hundred years before the christian æra; and the practice has continued in eastern countries, with little variation, to the present day. The signets of the Turks are of this kind. The Romans, Greeks, and Egyptians, had the same custom; indeed, almost all the ancient intaglios were so employed. In the thirty-eighth chapter of Genesis, it is related that Tamar demanded the signet of Judah; and above three thousand years have passed since the great lawgiver of

* It is now in the author's possession.

the Jews was directed* to engrave the names of the children of Israel upon onyx-stones, "like the engravings of a signet;" that is to say, (if we may presume to illustrate a text so sacred, with reference to a custom still universally extant,) by a series of monograms, graven as intaglios, to be set "in ouches of gold, for the shoulders of the ephod." That the signet was of stone, set in metal, in the time of Moses, is also clear from this passage of sacred history: "With the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet, shalt thou engrave the two stones. Thou shalt make them to be set in ouches of gold." Signets without stones, and entirely of metal, did not come into use, according to Pliny,† until the time of Claudius Cæsar. The most ancient intaglios of Egypt were graven upon stones, having the form of scarabæi.‡ This kind of signet was also used by the Phœnicians, as will further appear. The characters upon them are therefore either in hieroglyphical writing, Phœnician letters, or later monograms derived from the Greek alphabet. Alexander, at the point of death, gave his signet to Perdiccas;§ and Laodice, mother of Seleucus, the founder of the Syro Macedonian empire, in an age when women, profiting by the easy credulity of their husbands, apologized for an act of infidelity by pretending an intercourse with Apollo, exhibited a signet found in her bed, with a symbol afterward used by all the Seleucidæ.‖ The introduction of sculptured animals upon the signets of the Romans was derived from the sacred symbols of the Egyptians: hence the origin of the sphinx for the signet of Augustus. When the practice of deifying princes and venerating heroes became general, portraits of men supplied the place of more ancient types. This custom gave birth to the *camachuia*, or *caméo;* a later invention, merely exhibiting a model of the impression or cast yielded to a signet. The use of the caméo does not, in my opinion, bear date anterior to the period of the Roman power. The remains of these are rarely found in Greece; and even when discovered, with the exception of the remarkable stone found at Thebes, representing a female Centaur suckling its foal,** the workmanship is bad.

* Exod. xxviii. 9, 10, 11.
† Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 1.
‡ See a former note in this chapter, for the history of the ancient superstition concerning the *scarabæus*.
§ Justin. lib. xiii.
‖ Ibid. lib xv. c. 4.
** This celebrated caméo has been long known to all travellers who have visited Greece. It belonged to a peasant, who esteemed it beyond all price, from its ima-

Concerning the Theban gem, it can perhaps be proved that the subject thereon exhibited was originally derived from a very popular picture painted by Zeuxis; and as its execution is by no means uniformly excellent, there is reason to conclude that the work is not of remote antiquity. Every traveller who has visited Italy may have remarked a practice of representing, both by caméos and intaglios, the subjects of celebrated pictures; such, for example, as those of the Danae and the Venus by Titian, and many other. Copies of this kind were also known among the Romans,* and perhaps at an earlier period, taken from the works of Grecian painters. The first style of imitating such pictures by engraving was probably that exhibited by the intaglio, from whose cast the caméo was made. Gems of this kind, executed by the lapidaries of Greece, even so long ago as the age of Zeuxis, may have given origin to the Theban stone. That it does exhibit a subject nearly coinciding with an ancient description of one of his pictures, is manifest from a Greek Commentary upon Gregory Nazianzen, discovered by the late professor Porson, in a manuscript of that author brought by me from the library of the monastery of the Apocalypse in the Isle of Patmos.† The commentary would perhaps have been illegible to other eyes than those of the learned professor.‡ I shall therefore subjoin an extract from his own copy of this very curious marginal illustration,§ as authority

ginary virtue in healing diseases. Many persons in vain endeavoured to purchase it. The earl of Elgin, ambassador at the Porte, at last found the means of inducing its owner to part with it.

* The famous Mœsaic picture of the *vase and pigeons*, found in the Villa of Mecænas, and lately in the capitol at Rome, exhibits a subject frequently introduced upon the ancient gems of Italy.

† The writing both of the commentary and of the text, in that manuscript, was deemed, by the learned professor, as ancient as that of Plato from the same place, now with the copy of Gregory in the Bodleian library.

‡ It is impossible to give an idea of the difficulty thus surmounted, without exhibiting the manuscript itself. Above two thirds of every letter in the beginning of the note had been cut off; these the professor restored, from their reliques, and from the context; and the abbreviated style of the whole is such as would baffle all but Porsonian acumen.

§ Ζευξὶς ἐκεῖνος ἄριστος, συγγραφέων γενόμενος, τὰ μὲν δημοσίᾳ καὶ κοινὰ οὐκ ἔγραφέν, ἢ ὅσα τάνυ ὀλίγα· ἀεὶ δὲ καινοτομεῖν ἐπειράτο, καί τι ξένον καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἐπινοήσας, ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο τὴν τῆς τέχνης ἀκρίβειαν ἐπεδείκνυτο· θήλειαν οὖν ἱππόκένταυρον Ζεύξις ἐποίησεν ἀνατρόφκεαν προσέτι παιδίον ἱππόκενταύρου διδύμου κομιδῆ νηπίου· τῆς εἰκόνος ταύτης ἀντίγραφον Ἀθήνησι γέγονε πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἀκριβεῖ τῆι σταθμῆι· τὸ γὰρ ἀρχέτυπον ὁ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων σκύλων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπέςτειλεν· εἶτα περὶ Μαλίαν καταδύσει τῆς ὁλκάδος πάντα καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπολέσθαι· λέγεται μόλις δὲ γράφουσι Καλλίμαχος καὶ Καλαίσης (sic; fortasse Καλάκης) τὴν εἰκονα τῆς (excide fortasse vox ἀρχαίας) εἰκόνος οὕτως. Ἐπὶ χλόης εὐθαλοῦς Κένταυρος αὐτὴ πεποιηται ὅλης μὲν τῆι ἵππωι χαμαὶ

for the following translation.* "*That same Zeuxis, the best painter that ever lived, did not paint vulgar and common subjects, or certainly but a very few; but was always endeavouring to strike out something new; and employed all the accuracy of his art about some strange and heterogeneous conceit. He painted, for instance, a female Hippocentaur, nursing two infant Hippocentaurs. A copy of this picture, very accurately taken, existed at Athens: for the original, Sylla, the Roman general, sent away, with the rest of the plunder, to Italy; and it is said that the ship, having foundered off the Malean Promontory, the whole cargo, and with it this picture, was lost. The copy of the original painting is thus with some difficulty described by Callimachus and Callæses (or Callaces.)* "*The female centaur herself is painted as reclining upon a rich verdure, with the whole of her horse's body on the ground, and her feet extended backwards; but as much of her as resembles a woman, is gently raised, and rests on her elbow. Her fore feet are not stretched out, like her hind ones, as if she were lying on her side, but one of them is bent, and the hoof drawn under, as if kneeling, while the other is erect, and laying hold of the ground, as horses do when endeavouring to spring up. One of the two infants she is holding in her arms, and suckling, like a human creature, giving it her teat, which resembles that of a woman; but the other she suckles at her mare's teat, after the manner of a foal. In the upper part of the picture, a male Hippocentaur, intended to represent the husband of her who is nursing the*

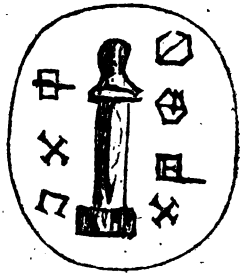
κειμένη, καὶ ἀποτέτανται εἰς τοὐπίσω οἱ πόδες· τὸ δὲ γυναικεῖον ὅσον αὐτῆς ἡρέμα ἐπεγήγερται καὶ ἐπ' ἀγκῶνός ἐστιν· οἱ δὲ πόδες οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐκετὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποτάδην οἷον ἐπίπλευρον κειμένης· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ὀκλάζοντι ἔοικε καμπύλος ὑπεσταλμένοι τῇ ὀπλῇ· ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπανέστατται καὶ τοὐδάφους ἀντιλαμβάνεται, ὅλος εἰσὶν οἱ ἵπποι πειρωμένοι ἀναπηδᾶν· τῶν νεογνῶν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἔχει ταῖς ἀγκάλαις καὶ τρέφει ἀνθρωπικῶς, ἐπέχουσα τὸν γυναικεῖον μαστόν· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ τῆς ἵππου θηλάζει εἰς τὸν πωλικὸν τρόπον· ἄνω δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος, οἷον ὡς ἀπό τινος σκοπῆς Ἱπποκένταυρος, ἀνὴρ ἐκείνης θηλαδὴ τῆς τὰ βρέφη τιθηνουμένης ἐπικύπτει γαλοῦν· οὐχ ὅλος φαινόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέσον, λέοντος σκύμνον ἔχων ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὡς δεδίξαιτο τὰ βρέφη· Τὸ δὲ θαυμαστὸν τοῦ Ζεύξιδος, ὅτι τὸ ποικίλον τῆς τέχνης ἐν μιᾷ ὑποθέσει ἐπεδείξατο ἵππον σοβαρόν, ἄγριον, καμιδῆ κάσιον τῇ χαίτῃ στέρνον τε καὶ ὤμους, ὄμμα θηριῶδες καὶ ἄγριον· τὴν δὲ ἵππον, οἷαι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἀνεπίβατοι, ἀδμῆτες ἔτι καθύπερθεν ἐμίτομον γυναικός· ὅσα δὲ τῶν ποδῶν ἔξω, σατυρώδη· καὶ μίξις τις καλὰρμοζὴ τῶν σωμάτων.

Antiquissimo in Commentario Gregor. Nazianzen. Cod. MS.

* The merit of this translation is entirely due to the Rev. Charles James Blomfield, M. A. of Trinity College; the learned editor of the Prometheus of Æschylus, printed at the university press in 1810; whose illustrious acquirements peculiarly qualify him to supply a version suited to the style of interpretation adopted by professor Porson.

children, is leaning over an eminence as it were, and laughing; not being wholly in sight, but only half way down, and holding a lion's whelp in his right hand, to frighten the children. The admirable skill of Zeuxis consists in displaying all the variety of the art in his treatment of one and the same subject: here we have a horse, proud, spirited, a shaggy mane over his chest and shoulders, a wild and fierce eye; and a female, like the Thessalean mares, never to be mounted nor tamed; the upper half a woman, but all below the back like a satyr; and the different bodies fitted, and, as it were, blended together."

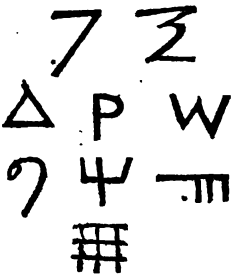
The signet stones of Cyprus, althought cut in a variety of substances, were more frequently of red carnelian than of any other mineral. Some of the most diminutive size were finely executed in red garnet, the carbuncle of the ancients. Others were formed of plasma, onyx, bloodstone, topaz, jasper, and even of quartz. Of all these, the most ancient had the scarabæan form. Two very interesting examples are here represented.



The first is of the most remote antiquity. It was found among the ruins whence the idols recently alluded to were discovered. The substance of it is an onyx, in a very advanced state of decomposition. The characters are evidently Phœnician, and correspond with those exhibited by inscriptions found upon the same spot, and published by Pococke.* The subject represented appears to be the dove, a very ancient symbol of Venus; but whether the figure placed before the bird be a grain of the bearded wheat so common in Cyprus,

* See Pococke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 273.

or any other type connected with its ancient mythology, it is not easy to conjecture. The second is a carnelian scarabæus, bought in the bazar of Nicotia, representing, in front, a sepulchral stele. One of the letters is evidently a compound; and four others agree with characters in the Etruscan alphabet. There is, moreover, the following inscription upon the back of this stone, which is evidently Phoenician; but this also exhibits Etruscan letters. Hence it seems manifest that the Etruscans and Phœnicians were originally the same people.*



* It is a curious circumstance, that Leonhart Rauwolf, in his itenary into the eastern countries, (*as published by Ray in* 1693. part 2 c. 13) calls the Druses of Mount Libanus by the name of Trusci. This people now use the Arabic language but very mistaken notions prevail concerning their origin.

CHAPTER XI.

CYPRUS.

Ancient Geography of the Island—Situation of Citium—Phœnician Settlements—Illustrious Citians—Last Remains of the City—Reports concerning Baffa—Minerals of Cyprus—Journey to Nicotia—Women of Cyprus—Gardens of Larneca—Desolate Appearance of the Country—Village of Attien—Primæval Mills—Curious Mode of keeping Bees—Carob Tree—Appearance of Nicotia—Banishment of Prostitutes—Palace of the English Dragoman—Visit to the Turkish Governor—His reception of the Author—Oriental Mode of Entertaining Guests—Gûyûmjee, or Goldsmiths of Turkey—Antiquities obtained in the Bazar—Polished Stones of Cyprus—Ancient Gems found in Nicotia—Camels—Rivers of the Island—Ancient Phœnician Medal—Tetradrachm of Tyre—Return to the fleet—Loss of the Iphigenia.

It will now perhaps be interesting to ascertain from what Phœnician city the antiquities discovered at Larneca derived their origin; and if the reader will give an author credit for the difficulties he has encountered, in order to ascertain this point, he may perhaps spare himself some trouble, and render unnecessary any ostentatious detail of the volumes it was necessary to consult. The ancient geography of Cyprus is involved in greater uncertainty than seems consistent with its former celebrity among enlightened nations. Neither Greeks nor Romans have afforded any clue by which we can fix the locality of its eastern cities. Certain of them, it is true, had disappeared in a very early period. Long prior to the time of Pliny, the towns of *Cinyria*, *Malium*, and *Idalium*, so necessary in ascertaining the relative position of other places, no longer existed.* Both the nature and situation of important landmarks, alluded to by ancient geographers, are also uncertain. According to Strabo, the *Cleides* were *two* islands upon the north-

* After enumerating fifteen cities belonging to Cyprus, Pliny adds, "*fuere et ibi Cinyria, Malium, Idalium.*" (*Plin.* lib. v. c, 31. *L. Bat.* 1635.) *Idalium* signifies, literally, the "*place of the goddess;*" whence *Idalia Venus.* In Hebrew it was called *Idala*, and under this appellation it is mentioned in the scriptures, (Jos. xix. 15) as the name of a town belonging to the tribe of Zabulon. See Gale's "*Court of the Gentiles,*" also *Bochart. Can.* lib. 1. c. 3.

east coast; Pliny makes their number *four:* and Herodotus mentions a promontory that had the name given to these islands. If we consult the text of Strabo, his description of Cyprus* appears to be expressed with more than usual precision and perspicuity. Yet of two renowned cities, *Salamis* and *Citium*, the first distinguished for the birth of the historian Aristus, and the last conspicuous by the death of Cymon, neither the situation of the one nor the other has been satisfactorily determined. D'Anville assigns a different position for these cities, and for the present towns of Famagosta and Larneca; although Drummond,† "*Vir haud contemnendus,*" as he is styled by a late commentator upon Strabo,‡ and also Pococke,§ whose proverbial veracity is beyond all praise, from their own ocular testimony reconcile the locality of the ancient and modern places. "At Larneca," observes the former of these writers,‖ are undeniable proofs of its having been the ancient Citium. Perhaps the antiquities now described may hereafter serve to confirm an opinion of Drummond's, founded upon very diligent inquiry, and repeated examination of the country. During the time he was consul at Aleppo, he thrice visited Cyprus, and upon every occasion industriously surveyed the existing documents of its ancient history. The sepulchral remains occupying so considerable a portion of the territory where the modern town is situated, appear to have been those of the Necropolis of Citium; and this city probably extended from the port all the way to Larneca, called also *Larnec*, and *Larnic*;** implying, in its etymology, independently of its tombs, "*a place of burial.*" Descending to later authors, we find this position of Citium strongly confirmed by the Abbé Mariti,†† who discovered very curious testimony concerning it, in a manuscript preserved at Venice.‡‡ From his very interesting account of Cyprus, we learn that the erroneous notions entertained with regard to the locality of the city, originated with Stephen de

* Strabon. Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 970. ed. *Oxon.*

† Travels, &c. in a series of letters, by Alexander Drummond, *Lond.* 1754.

‡ See the notes to the Oxford edition of Strabo, p. 972.

§ It should be observed, however, that Drummond, although he seems to agree with Pococke in the situation of Citium, criticises very severely the freedom used by that author, in presuming to trace the walls of the city from imaginary remains; and also for his erroneous map of the coast. See Drummond's Travels, lett. xii. p. 248.

‖ Drummond's Travels, lett. xiii. p. 251.

** *Larneca* is the name in most common acceptation among foreign nations: but the inhabitants call it *Larnec*, and the Abbé Mariti writes it *Larnic*. The bay of *Salines* is also sometimes called *Larneca Bay*.

†† Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, by the Abbé Mariti. Eng. edition, *London*, 1791.

‡‡ MS. description of Cyprus, by *Ascagne-savornien*, in the library of *Dominico Manni*.

Lusignan: who was deceived by the name of a neighbouring village, called *Citi*, from a promontory at present bearing that appellation. Mariti places Citium between Salines and Larneca, upon the authority of the manuscript before mentioned, and the ruins he there observed.* It is, as he remarks,† of some importance to determine the true situation of a city once so renowned, on account of the celebrated men it produced, and the splendid actions of which it was the theatre. Yet it is singular, that this writer makes no mention of its Phœnician origin. Concerning this fact, so well ascertained, a few observations may therefore suffice.

Citium, from whose ruins we shall now consider both the modern towns of Salines and Larneca to have arisen, was founded, together with the city of *Lapethas*, by a Phœnician king, of the name of Belus.‡ Its inhabitants, according to Cicero, were originally Phœnicians.§ Cyprus, from its vicinity to their country, and its commercial advantages, was the first island of the Mediterranean that came under this dominion. Eusebius observes, that Paphos, a Phœnician city in Cyprus, was built when Cadmus reigned at Thebes.‖ It is moreover affirmed by the learned Bochart,** that before the time of the Trojan war, Cinyras, king of Phœnicia, possessed this island of Cyprus, having derived it from his ancestors. To this monarch, Agamemnon, according to Homer,†† was indebted for his breast plate. The cities of *Urania* and *Idalium* were also founded by the same people; the former received its name from *Urania Venus*, whose worship, as related by Herodotus, was transferred to Cyprus by the Phœnicians from Ascalon.‡‡ Citium derived its name from the Hebrew appellation for the island CHETIM; the *Chittim*, or *Cittim*, of the Holy Scriptures.§§ It was famous

* This is also the position assigned to it by Pococke. There is reason to believe it occupied a greater extent of territory, and reached from the port as far as Larneca.

† Mariti's Travels, vol. i. p. 53.

‡ There were many kings of Phœnecia who had this name; so called from *Baal*, signifying *Lord*. Hence all the Phœnician *Baalim* had their denomination. See Gale's "*Court of the Gentiles*," b. i. c. 8. p. 47.

§ See also Gale, p. 48; Cic. lib. iv. de Finibus; Laertes and Suidas on the life of Zeno; Grotius; and Vossius de Philos. Sectis, lib. ii. c. 1.

‖ Euseb. Chronicon. in Num. 1089.

** Bochart. Præf. ad. Canaan.

†† Hom. Iliad. A. Boch. Can. lib. i. c. 3.

‡‡ There were four cities in Cyprus famous for the worship of Venus:

"Est *Amathus*, est celsa mihi *Paphos*, atque *Cythera*,
Idaliæque domus"——

§§ This word, having a plural termination, is said to imply the descendants of *Cetim* the son of Javan. Josephus places their establishment in the isle of Cyprus: and the seventy interpreters render the word by KHTIOI, that is to say, the *Ketii* or *Cetii*. The valuable compilation of Dapper (*Description des Isles de l'Archipel.*) written originally in the Flemish language, of which a French translation was published in folio at Amsterdam, in 1703, concentrates much valuable information upon the subject o

as the birth place of Apollonius, a disciple of Hippocrates; and of Zeno, who, being shipwrecked upon the coast of Attica, from a Phœnician merchant became founder of the Stoics, and had for his illustrious followers, Epictetus and Seneca. According to Plutarch, it was with the sword presented by a king of Citium that Alexander triumphed over Darius.* This weapon was held by him in such estimation, that he always wore it upon his person. The same author also informs us, that at the siege of Citium, Cimon, son of Miltiades, received the wound whereof he died. It is quite uncertain when this city was destroyed. Mariti believes that event did not take place later than the beginning of the third century.† In 1767, an excavation being made to procure from its ruins materials for building, the workmen discovered a marble bust of Caracalla, some medals of Septimius Severus, Antoninus Caracalla, and Julia Domna, with Greek inscriptions. Upon their obverse sides were exhibited the temple of Paphos,‡ with the legend KOINONKTΠΙΩΝ. Some of them had the image of Caracalla on one side,

Cyprus. The author believes he shall contribute to the reader's gratification, by inserting from that work, which is now rare, the observations concerning the name of the island "This island, which all the Greek and Latin authors have called Κύπρος, or *Cyprus*, and which is designated under that name in the New Testament, had been known under that of *Chetima*, or of *Chetim*, among the Hebrews; as Josephus relates in the first book, chap. 7. of his Jewish antiquities; deriving it from *Chetimos*, or *Chetim*, son of Javan, son of Japhet, son of Noah, who, in the division of territories, had the first possession of this isle. Thence it followed, that all islands, and maritime places, were called *Chetim* by the Hebrews. He supports this opinion, by showing that CITIUM is a name corrupted from that of one of the cities of the island, which is derived from the appellation *Chetim*, borne by the whole island; '*for*,' says he, 'it was called CITIUM by those who wished to render, by a Greecism, the name of *Chetimos*, of *Chittiem*, or of *Chetim*, which seems couched under that of CITIUM. St. Jerom relates [*Comment. in Esgi. in Traduct. Hebr. in Genes.*] that some authors have translated the word *Chetim*, in the prophet Isaiah, by that of *Cyprus*; and that the *Chetims* are the *Cyprians*, whence a city of the island still bore, in his time, the name of CITIUM Theodoret, [*In Heremi.* c. 2.] shows that it is called *Chetim* in the Prophet Jeremiah, and Zonoras [2. c. 2. v. 9 *Annal.*] affirms that *Chetima* is the island which the Greeks call Κύπρος, whereof *Chetim*, great grandson of Noah, had been the original possessor." *Les Isles de l'Archipel. par Dapper, Amst.* 1702. p. 21.

* The reverend and learned Dr. Henly, writing to the author upon the circumstance here noticed, makes the following remarks: "You mention," says he, "the sword presented to Alexander by the king of Citium. It is to be observed, that the prophecy of Balaam closes with the following prediction: '*Ships shall come from the coast of* CHITTIM, [i. e Citium,] *and shall afflict Assur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.*' This prediction I propose hereafter more fully to illustrate; but at present shall only observe, that the naval armament, by which Alexander was alone enabled to overcome Tyre and the whole power of the Persian empire by sea was hiefly furnished to him from *Cyprus*, or *Chittim*. [See 1 Maccab. i. 1.] 'And it happened, after that Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian, *who came out of the land of Chettim*, had smitten Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, the first over Greece.' From not adverting to this historical fact, geographers have made a strange mistake, in supposing that Macedonia had been called *Chittim*; for Arrian, who has given a distinct account of Alexander's maritime equipment, expressly mentions, that the reinforcement from *Cyprus*, consisted of *one hundred and twenty ships*, whilst from *Macedonia* he had but *a single vessel*. See ARRIAN. *de Expeditione Alexandri*, lib. ii. c. 20.

† Mariti's Travels, vol. i. p. 61.

‡ I have never seen any medals corresponding with this description; but they are

Lanciparas also was derived
villages, called Cit, from a pro
appellation. Model places Ci
[illegible] upon the authority of th
[illegible] rules he there observ
[illegible] imperfection to determine
[illegible] conjectured, on account of th
[illegible] opposite reasons of which
[illegible] that this writer makes
Considering this fact, as well
many [illegible] offer.

Citium, from whose name
modern town of Selina and
[illegible] together with the cit
[illegible] of the name of Belus.
[illegible] were originally Phœnician
[illegible] their country, and its ramp
[illegible] of the Mediterranean
Eusebius observes, that Paphe
[illegible] built when Cadmus reign
[illegible] by the learned Boch
Trojan war, Cinyras, king of
Cyprus, having derived it from
Agamemnon, according to Ho
[illegible] plate. The cities of Urania
[illegible] by the same people; the form
Venus, whose worship is relat
to Cyprus by the Phœnicians
Fix came from the Hebrew app
the *Chittim*, or *Citim*, of the H

* This is one [illegible]
[illegible]
† Strabo's Travels, vol. [illegible] p. 83.
‡ There were [illegible] cities of Phœnicia
[illegible] Tyre. Here dwelt the Phœnicians
—Count of the Gaulic," [illegible] p. 47.
‖ See also Isai. [illegible] Ch. [illegible] Ver. [illegible]
Chittim, Sorrim, and Kittim in Pliny, [illegible]
¶ Homer, Odyssey, [illegible]
See the Chart. Prof. of Europe.
** Hom. Iliad. A. Nota, Cap. 10. [illegible]
†† There were [illegible] cities in Cyprus [illegible]
‡‡ There were [illegible] cities in Cyprus [illegible]
"Tu Lanciparas, et urbis [illegible]
Indulgis Deque"———
[illegible]
¶¶ This word, [illegible] Greek [illegible]
[illegible] Greek [illegible] Angelo [illegible] the word by [illegible]
[illegible] Dupuy [illegible]
[illegible] of Cyprus [illegible]
[illegible] of which a [illegible]
[illegible] of [illegible] [illegible]

ness superior to every other, excepting the real diamond. The ancient mines of Cyprus, now entirely neglected, appear to have been situated toward the Paphian extremity of the island; for if the natives exhibit any mineral substance remarkable for its beauty, utility, or hardness, they name it, by way of eminence, "*a Baffa stone.*" Amianthus of a very superior quality is found near Baffa,* as flexible as silk, and perfectly white; finer, and more delicately fibrous, than that of Sicily, Corsica, or Norway. The Cypriots call this mineral "*the cotton stone.*"

Early on the morning of June the eighth, having procured an order for mules and asses, and a *firmân* to authorise the expedition, we left the Ceres, and set out for *Nicotia*, the *Leucusia* or *Leucosia* of the Greeks, and present capital of Cyprus We were detained at Larneca until the evening, by the hospitality of the English consul, Signor Peristiani, who had prepared a large party of ladies and other inhabitants, all eager to represent to us the danger of travelling during the day; and to gratify very reasonable curiosity—for a sight of strangers, and for news from Egypt. Among the party was the English consul from Berytus, from whom I obtained a silver tetradrachm of Tyre, in the highest state of

* See Drummond's Travels, p. 157. Mariti mentions a village called *Amianthus*, as still existing in Cyprus, in his time; and adds, that it "was a considerable town in the time of the Romans. The neighbouring country," says he, "produced the stone asbestos, used for making a kind of incombustible cloth, in which the bodies of emperors were burned." (Mariti's Trav. vol. I. p. 177.) This village is mentioned by Dapper, (Isles de l'Archipel. p 52.) as marking the spot where the stone amianthus was found in abundance, and manufactured, by being mixed with flax, spun and then wove, for the incombustible cloth of the ancients. The process is given by Dioscorides. (Lib. v. c. 46.) Dapper says the village took its name from the mineral; and that it was once a place of great renown, on account of the cloth and thread there manufactured of amianthus

It is often supposed, that the art of manufacturing an incombustible cloth, by means of amianthus, is not possessed by the moderns; but the inhabitants of a certain district in Siberia are in the practice of preparing thread by mixing flax with this substance, and then spinning it After weaving with this thread, the cloth is exposed to the action of fire, which consumes the flax, and leaves an incombustible web. This, according to Dioscorides, (as above cited,) was the method used by the ancients. The principal manufacture of *amianthine cloth* existed in this island, the mineral being found here in abundance and perfection. The art of making it was also formerly known in India. If we might rely upon the mineralogy of the ancients, real diamonds were once found in Cyprus; but Pliny's observations concerning them, (Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 4.) although he describes the Cyprian diamond as "*efficacissimus in medicinâ*," prove they were nothing more than the sort of quartz before mentioned. The *aetites*, or *eagle stone*, which they superstitiously esteemed on account of the aid it was supposed to render to women in labour, is still valued by the ignorant inhabitants for this, its imaginary virtue. Pliny considered the *jasper* of Cyprus as ranking next in perfection to that of Scythia; and *crystal*, he says, was turned up by the plough. The other minerals of the island were, *emerald* (a name they gave to any greenish transparent stone), *agate*, *opal*, *sapphire*, *lazulite* (which they called *lapis cyaneus*), *mica*, or *Muscovy glass*, *alum*, *nitre*, *sulphur*, *gypsum*, and great abundance of *salt*. The latter was chiefly collected from the environs of Citium, where the salt marshes now are.

preservation. The interesting costume presented in the dress of the Cyprian ladies ought not to pass without notice. Their head apparel was precisely modelled after the kind of *calathus* represented upon the Phœnician idols of the country, and upon Egyptian statues. This was worn by women of all ranks, from the wives of the consuls to their slaves. Their hair, dyed of a fine brown colour, by means of a plant called *henna*, hung behind, in numerous long straight braids; and, in some ringlets disposed near the face, were fastened blossoms of the jasmine, strung together, upon slips from leaves of the palm tree, in a very curious and pleasing manner. Next to the Calauck women, the Grecian are, of all others, best versed in cosmetic arts. They possess the valuable secret of giving a brown colour to the whitest locks, and also tinge their eye-brows with the same hue; an art that would be highly prized by the hoary courtezans of London and of Paris. The most splendid colours are displayed in their habits; and these are very becoming to the girls of the island. The upper robe is always of scarlet, crimson, or green silk, embroidered with gold. Like other Greek women, they wear long scarlet pantaloons, fastened round the ankle; and yellow boots, with slippers of the same colour. Around the neck, and from the head, were suspended a profusion of gold coins, chains, and other trinkets. About their waists they have a large belt or zone, fastened in front by two large and heavy polished brass plates. They endeavour to make the waist appear as long as possible, and the legs, consequently, short. Naturally corpulent, they take no pains to diminish the size of their bodies by lacing, but seem rather vain of their bulk; exposing their bosoms, at the same time, in a manner highly unbecoming. Nothwithstanding the extraordinary pains they use to disfigure their natural beauty by all sorts of ill-selected ornaments, the women of Cyprus are handsomer than those of any other Grecian island. They have a taller and more stately figure; and the features, particularly of the women of Nicotia, are regular and dignified, exhibiting that elevated cast of countenance so universally admired in the works of Grecian artists. At present, this kind of beauty seems peculiar to the women of Cyprus: the sort of expression exhibited by one set of features may be traced, with different gradations, in them all. Hence were possibly derived those celebrated models of female beauty, conspicuous upon the statues, vases, medals, and gems of Greece; models selected from the throng of Cyprian virgins, who, as priestesses of

Venus, officiated at the Paphian shrine.* Indefinite as our notions of beauty are said to be, we seldom differ in assigning the place of its abode. That assemblage of graces, which, in former ages, gave celebrity to the women of Circassia, still characterizes their descendants upon Mount Caucasus; and with the same precision that enables us to circumscribe the limits of its residence, we may refer to countries where it never was indigenous. Foremost in the list of these, may be mentioned Egypt. The statues of Isis, and the mummies, exhibit, at this hour, the countenance common to the females of the country; nor did the celebrated Cleopatra much differ from the representation thus afforded, if the portrait given of her upon Mark Antony's medals may be considered as authority. There are some countries (for example, Lapland) where it might be deemed impossible to select a single instance of female beauty. Here, it is true, the degraded state of human nature explains the privation. But among more elightened nations, a traveller would hardly be accused of generalizing inaccurately, or partially, who should state that female beauty was rare in Germany, although common in England; that it exists more frequently in Russia than in France; in Finland, than in Sweden; in Italy, than in Greece; that the Irish women are handsomer than the Spanish; although learned antiquaries would assure us, that both were originally of Pelasgian origin.

The gardens of Larneca are very beautiful, and constitute the only source of delight the women of the place seem to possess. They are, however, no ornament to the town, being inclosed by high walls. Almost every house has its garden: the shade and verdure thus afforded is a delightful contrast to the glare of a white and dusty soil, every where observed around.—In these gardens we noticed two sorts of jasmine, one common in European countries, and the other derived from Syria; the double blossomed pomegranate, a most beautiful shrub; also lemons, oranges, plums, and apricots. The *phaseolus caracalla*, kept in the greenhouses of the seraglio gardens at Constantinople, flourished here in the open air. They had also the *arbutus andrachne*, growing to an enormous size.

We left Larneca in the evening, and found a very good road to Nicotia; travelling principally over plains, by a gradual and almost imperceptible ascent, toward the northwest. Mountains appeared in the distant scenery, on almost every side. The

* "———ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo,
Thure calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."

soil every where exhibited a white marly clay, said to be exceedingly rich in its nature, although neglected. The Greeks are so oppressed by their Turkish masters, that they dare not cultivate the land: the harvest would instantly be taken from them if they did. Their whole aim seems to be, to scrape together barely sufficient, in the course of the whole year, to pay their tax to the governor. The omission of this is punished by torture, or by death: and in cases of their inability to supply the impost, the inhabitants fly from the island. So many emigrations of this sort happen during the year, that the population of all Cyprus rarely exceeds sixty thousand persons; a number formerly insufficient to have peopled one of its towns. The governor resides at Nicotia. His appointment is annual; and as it is obtained by purchase, the highest bidder succeeds; each striving, after his arrival, to surpass his predecessor in the enormity of his exactions. From this terrible oppression the consuls and a few other families are free, in consequence of protection granted by their respective nations. Over such a barren tract of land, altogether desolate, and destitute even of the meanest herbage, our journey was neither amusing nor profitable. It might have suggested reflections to a moral philosopher, thus viewing the horrid consequences of barbarian power; but when a traveller is exposed to the burning beams of an eastern sun, mounted on a sorry mule dislocating his very loins, fatigued, and breathing hot pestilential vapours, he will feel little disposition to moralize. We rejoiced indeed, when, in a wide plain, we came in view of the little huts where we were to pass part of the night, previous to four more hours of similar penance.

The venerable pair with whom we rested in the village of *Attiên** were the parents of our mule drivers, and owners of the mules. They made us welcome to their homely supper, by placing two planks across a couple of benches, and setting thereon boiled pumpkins, eggs, and some wine of the island in a hollow gourd. I observed upon the ground the sort of stones used for grinding corn, called *querns* in Scotland, common also in Lapland, and in all parts of Palæstine. These are the primæval mills of the world; and they are still found in all corn countries, where rude and ancient customs have not been liable to those changes introduced by refinement. The employment of grinding with these mills is confined solely to females; and the practice illustrates the observation of our saviour, alluding

* Mariti writes the name of this place *Atenè*. See vol. I. p. 87.

to this custom in his prediction concerning the day of judgment:* "two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken, and the other left."

In these little cottages we found very large establishments for bees, but all the honey thus made is demanded by the governor; so that keeping these insects is only considered as the means of an additional tax. The manner, however, in which the honey is collected, is so curious, and so worthy of imitation, that it merits a particular description: the contrivance is very simple, and was doubtless suggested by the more ancient custom, still used in the Crimea, of harbouring bees in cylinders made from the bark of trees. They build up a wall formed entirely of earthen cylinders, each about three feet in length, placed, one above the other, horizontally, and closed at their extremities with mortar.† This wall is then covered with a shed, and upwards of one hundred swarms may thus be maintained within a very small compass. Close to this village grew the largest carob tree we noticed in all our travels. It is, by some, called St. John's bread tree: the *ceratonia siliqua* of Linnæus. It was covered with fruit, the pods being then green, and had attained the size of our largest English oaks. We could neither discover nor hear of antiquities near this village; except one large reservoir for water, pointed out as an ancient work, although probably of Venetian origin. This is still in a perfect state, lined with square blocks of stone, about twenty-five feet deep, and fifteen feet wide. It is situated in a field close to the village.

Two hours before sun rise, we again set out for Nicotia.—The road lay through an open country; but high mountains were every where in view, as on the preceding evening. Some of these, as we drew nearer to them, exhibited very remarkable forms, standing insulated, and with flat tops, like what are usually called table mountains. On our right, we observed one that rose out of a fine plain, having a most perfect conical form, excepting that its vertex appeared truncated parallel to its base. Upon the road we noticed distinct masses of the purest transparent selenites, or crystallized sulphat of lime, as diaphanous as the most limpid specimens from Montmartre, near Paris. It

* Matt. xxiv. 41.

† The bee hives of Egypt, and of Palestine, are of the same kind. 'Those of Egypt,' says Hasselquist, 'are made of cowdust and clay, which being well blended together, they form of the mixture a hollow cylinder, of a span diameter, and as long as they please, from six to twelve feet: this is dried in the sun, and becomes so hard, that it may be handled at will. I saw some thousands of these hives at a village between Damiata and Mansora.' *Hasselquist's Voy. and Trav. p.* 236. *Lond.* 1766.

seemed as if they had been dropped by caravans passing the road; although we could learn nothing, either of the place whence they were derived, or the purpose for which they were intended. A ridge of mountains bounded all the view in front of our route: at length, at the distance of two hours and a half from Attiéu, we beheld the city of Nicotia, situated in the middle of one of the fine plains common in this part of the island, at the base of one extremity of the mountain barrier. As we advanced toward it, we were struck with the magnitude of its fortifications: these, although neglected, still remain nearly entire, surpassing, in extent and beauty, those of almost every other city. The moat is half a mile wide; it is now dry, or at best an unwholesome swamp. Beneath the walls, the bed of this moat abruptly terminates in a deep and wide fosse. The ramparts are still mounted with a few pieces of artillery. The road winds round the walls toward the gate, which had once a portcullis. We found the entrance filled with beggars. The guard demands a toll from all Greeks passing through. As we rode into the town, we met a long train of women, dressed in white robes, the beautiful costume of the capital, filling the air with their lamentations. Some of these were of the middle age, but all were handsome: as they came on, they exposed their faces and breasts to public view, tearing their hair, and weeping piteously. In the midst of the procession rode a Turk upon an ass, smoking his pipe in the most tranquil manner, and wholly indifferent to their cries. Upon inquiring the cause of this tumult, we were told that these women were all prostitutes, whom the governor had banished the city, and whom they were therefore conducting beyond the gates. Their dress was modelled after a very ancient form, and highly elegant: it consisted entirely of fine white linen, so disposed as to veil at once the whole figure, unless when pusposely cast aside; and it fell to the ground in long graceful folds.

We went to the house of Mr. Sékis, (the English *Dragoman*, as he is vulgarly called,) a rich Armenian merchant, who enjoys the English protection for transacting whatsoever business their nation may have with the governor. His house was in all respects a palace, possessing the highest degree of oriental magnificence. The apartments were not only spacious, but they were adorned with studied elegance; the floors being furnished with the finest mats brought from Grand Cairo, and the divans covered with sattin, set round with embroidered cushions. The windows of the rooms, as in all oriental houses,

were near the roof, and small, although numerous, and placed close to each other. They had double casements, one being of painted glass, surrounded by carved work, as in the old Gothic palaces of England. These perhaps derived their original form from the east, during the crusades. So many instances occur to strengthen the opinion, that I may be liable to unnecessary repetition, when allusion is made to this style of building. The custom of having the floor raised in the upper part of a chamber, where the superiors sit, as in our old halls, is strictly oriental: it is the same in the tents of the Tartars. We were permitted to view the charem. This always consists of a summer and a winter apartment. The first was a large square room, surrounded by divans; the last an oblong chamber, where the divans were placed parallel to each other, one on either side, lengthways; and at the upper extremity was the fireplace, resembling our ancient English hearths.

About half an hour after our arrival, the worthy old Armenian came home; and throwing himself at full length upon the divan, began to fan himself with a bunch of coloured feathers, while his secretary opened and red to him our letters. Refreshments were instantly served, and pipes brought by his attendants; soon after this he proposed that we should accompany him to the governor's. As we descended, he showed us his beautiful garden, filled with standard apricot trees laden with ripe fruit, and our wine, as he said, for dinner, already cooling in marble fountains, beneath the shade of orange, citron, lemon, fig, vine, and pomegranate trees. We entered the court yard of the governor's palace, and observed several beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, standing without any attendants, each fastened by a chain to its fore leg, and to a spike in the ground. This custom exists, as a kind of parade, in almost all the palace yards of pachas who are governors, and are called *Mussuleem*.* We were conducted first into the chamber of the dragoman, or interpreter, where we found a crowd of persons assembled upon business. Here again pipes were brought, while our firmans were examined, and some questions put, concerning the state of affairs in Egypt, the death of the Emperor Paul, and the victory gained by Nelson over the Danes. We were then led through seve-

* The Dutch ambassadors from the East India Company to China, in the middle of the seventeenth century, observed the same custom of exhibiting state horses in the court of the emperor's palace at Pekin. See *Nieuhoff's Account of the Embassy, as published by Ogilby, p. 126. Lond. 1669.*

veral passages, until we came to the governor's apartment, who having heard our names and business, desired us to be seated upon the divan opposite to him. As this man affected all that haughtiness with which Franks were formerly received, in times when the English name was not quite so much respected as it is now in Turkey, I shall particularly specify the ceremony attending our visit. The custom shown in the reception of strangers, is the same over all the Ottoman empire; and in all countries the punctilios of hospitality are best exercised by proud men. It is only our equals who lay aside ceremony.*

The governor of Cyprus was no pacha, nor had he any other rank than what his wealth had procured in his temporary station at Nicotia; an honour annually purchased of the Capudan Pacha, as before stated, by the highest bidder. One short year of dominion, wholly dedicated to the exercise of a vain ostentation, and to unbounded rapacity, was therefore all that awaited him, in return for the expenditure whereby the post had been obtained. It was truly amusing, therefore, to see the manner of displaying his new soverignty. Our credentials were of a very superior nature; because, in addition to our firman, we carried with us letters from the Capudan Pacha, and the commander in chief, both of the fleet and of the army. At sight of these, however, his new-made excellency affected to turn up his nose, muttering between his teeth the expressive word *djowr*† with considerable emphasis, and taking up the skirts of his pelisse, (as our venerable friend the Armenian kneeled before him, to act as our interpreter,) that they might not be defiled by the touch of an infidel. This insolence was the more remarkable, as the Turks, except when in a state of open rebellion, generally salute the Grand Siguior's firman: even the haughty pacha of Acre always made sign of obeisance when it was produced. After thus endeavouring to make us feel our inferiority, he next strove to dazzle our senses with his splendour and greatness.

* Persons of enlightened understanding, whatsoever be their rank, know very well that real greatness is best displayed by affability and condescension. I remember hearing an Italian physician at Naples, a man of the world, who had studied human nature well, and travelled much, give this advice to a young practitioner, who was beginning his career: "If thou be called," said he, "to attend a man of real high birth, with an accomplished mind, throw thyself into the best chair in his room, and make thyself at home with him; but if the summons be to a newmade dignitary, to one of newly acquired wealth, or to a tradesman who has retired from business, stand till he bids thee sit, and then take the humblest seat that offers."

† A term used by the Turks to express either a *dog* or *an infidel*.

Having clapped his hands,* a swarm of attendants, most magnificently habited, came into the room, bearing gilded goblets filled with lemonade and sorbet, which they presented to us. A high priest of the dervishes then entered, and prostrated himself before the governor, touching his lips with his fingers, crossing his hands upon his breast, and raising his thumbs afterward to his ears. All these marks of reverence ended, he rose and took his station upon the divan, on the left side of the governor. Next came a fresh party of slaves, bringing long pipes of jasmine wood with amber heads, to all the party; these were suddenly followed by another host of myrmidons in long white vests, having white turbans on their heads, who covered us with magnificent cloths of sky-blue silk, spangled and embroidered with gold. They also presented to us preserved fruits and other sweetmeats; snatching away the embroidered cloths, to cover us again with others of white satin, still more sumptuous than before. Then they brought coffee, in gold cups studded with diamonds; and the cloths were once more taken away. After this, there came slaves kneeling before us with burning odours in silver censers, which they held beneath our noses; and finally, a man, passing rapidly round, spattered all our faces, hands, and clothes, with rose-water; a compliment so little expected at the time, and so zealously administered, that we began to wipe from our face and eyes the honours which had almost blinded us. The principal dragoman belonging to the governor next presented each of us with an embroidered handkerchief; "gifts," he said, "by which infidels of rank were always distinguished in their interviews with his master." The handkerchief consisted of embroidered muslin, and was enclosed in a piece of red crape. These presents we in vain solicited permission to decline; adding, that "as private individuals, meanly habited, in the view of travelling expeditiously through the island, we hoped he would not form his ideas of Englishmen of rank either from our appearance or pretensions." Upon further conversation, we found that all intercourse with Baffa and the western side of the island was cut off by the plague, which had begun to show itself even in the neighbourhood of Nicotia; we therefore resolved to return to our more humble host in the village of Attiên the same night; when, to our great surprise, the governor requested that we would spend a

* This method of summoning slaves to the presence of their master is common all over the Turkish empire.

few days with him; and as we stated this to be impossible, he even threatened to detain the frigate at Salines for that purpose. We were however resolute in our determination; and therefore representing to him the illness of our captain, and our utter inability to remain an instant after the Ceres had got her cargo on board, we took our leave; accompanied by an officer of his guard, whom he permitted to attend us among the goldsmiths of the place, in search of medals and other antiquities.

It is to these artificers bearing the name of *Gûyûmjee*, almost universally in Turkey, that the peasants of the country, and lower order of people in the towns, carry all the pieces of gold or silver they may chance to find in the soil, to be exchanged for modern trinkets. They are generally men in a very small way of trade, sitting in a little stall, with a crucible before them, a touchstone,* and a handful of very ordinary tools. Their chief occupation consists in making coarse silver rings, of very base metal, for the women, and in setting signets for Turks of all denominations. There is hardly a Mahometan who does not bear upon one of his fingers this kind of ornament. The Turkish signet is generally a carnelian stone,† inscribed with a few words from the Koran, a proverb in Arabic, or a couplet in Persian. We found, as usual, ample employment among these men; and were so much occupied in the pursuit, that we even neglected to visit the Cathedral of St. Sophia,‡ built in the Gothic style by the Emperor Justinian, when he raised the edifice of the same name in Constantinople. We have the testimony both of Drummond and Mariti for the architecture exhibited in this building. The cathedrals both of Famagosta and Nicotia are described as Gothic. If it be true, therefore, that the Nicotian church was erected by Justi-

* Various substances are in use under the name of *touchstone*, and of course it has various appellations. Mineralogists have called it *lapis lydius*, *corneus trapestus*, *primitive basalt*, *basanite*, *trap*, *schistus*, &c. The substance most employed by oriental goldsmiths is a dark and very compact basalt.

† To supply these stones, they frequently disfigure or conceal the finest antique gems; either by cutting them into a more diminutive form, or by hiding the work of the ancient lapidary in the setting, and turning the obverse side outwards for the writing.

‡ "The most beautiful edifice here, is, without doubt, the church of St. Sophia, where the kings of Cyprus were formerly crowned. It is built in the *Gothic style*, and has three large naves. It contains the tombs of the Lusignans, and of several ancient Cypriots and noble Venetians. The choir and the altars were destroyed when the city was taken. This church then became the principal mosque; and Mustapha the Turkish general, went to it for the first time, to offer thanks to the Almighty, on the fourteenth of September 1570." *Mariti's Travels*, vol. I. p. 98. It is said by Dapper (*Déscript. des Isles de L'Archipel.* p. 32. *Amst.* 1733.) to contain an ancient tomb of very beautiful jasper, of one entire piece, eight feet and a half long, four feet and a quarter wide, and five feet high. Dapper, perhaps, alludes to that beautiful kind of marble called *Rosso Antico* by the Italians.

nian, we have authority for the existence of that style of architecture, in a high degree of perfection, so long ago as the middle of the sixth century, six hundred and forty years before the conquest of Cyprus by Richard the First; and certainly long anterior to the introduction of any specimen of the architecture called Gothic in Great Britian. Other instances of still higher antiquity exist in Egypt and Palæstine.

Our success in collecting gems was so great, that the number of our acquisitions in Nicotia exceeded the total of what we had been able to procure since our departure from Constantinople. We found also silver medals of Antoninus Pius, Severus, Faustina, and of the Ptolemies. The bronze were all of late date, and almost all after the time of Constantine. We also made diligent inquiry concerning the *yeny madem* crystal. Some detached and very ordinary specimens of crystallized quartz were shown to us, by the name of *Baffa stones;* but the inhabitants were unable to polish even these. All the stones found in the island, capable of being polished, are sent to Grand Cairo for this purpose. This fact, while it serves to show the wretched state of the arts in Cyprus, also conveys a proof of their flourishing state in the present capital of Egypt, beyond the notions usually entertained of that remote city. Among our intaglios were numerous representations and symbols of Isis, Ceres, and Venus: a very beautiful gem representing Mercury leaning upon a sepulchral *stêlê;** of Anubis, kneeling with the dove upon his left hand;† and one of very diminutive form, but of exquisite beauty, meriting a more particular description: it is a highly transparent garnet. The subject engraven represents a colossal statue, whose two arms extended touch the extremity of the stone. Before this figure is seen a person kneeling, in the act of worshipping the idol. This corresponds so accurately with the descriptions given of the statue of Jupiter Serapis at Alexandria, whose two hands touched the sides of the temple, that it is probable the gem was intended to preserve a

* The learned antiquary will perceive the classical accuracy observed by the ancients in such representations. The subjects displayed upon their pictured vases, sculptured marbles, medals, and gems, were not the result of any idle fancy or momentary caprice. Copious as the sources were whence all their varied imagery was derived, its exhibition was nevertheless circumscribed by canons. Mercury is pourtrayed reclining upon a *stêlê*; thereby typifying his office of conducting departed souls.

† "Per columbam verò aërem intelligit Horapollo, lib. i. rationem ibidem dat quod adeo sinceræ et puræ naturæ sit, ut à nullo contagioso aëre quemadmodum cætera animalia, infici possit." *Kircher Œdip. Ægypt.* tom. iii. p. 291.

"Albæ Palæstinæ Sancta Columba Syro."

Tibullus, Lib. i. *El.* 8. vers. 18.

memorial of the image. It has no resemblance to the appearance of any Grecian Deity; the *calathus*, or rather the *pileus* upon its head, is like that seen upon Indian or Chinese idols: and this further coincides with the history of the worship of Serapis, transferred by one of the Ptolemies from Asia to Egypt.

In the evening we mounted our mules, and again returned to Attién. Our good friend Mr. Sekis had laden an ass with all sorts of provisions for our journey, but we would only accept a basket of his fine apricots. These he said were nothing in comparison with the apricots he received annually from Famagosta, yet they were the finest we had ever seen. We met caravans of camels in our way to Attién, marching according to the order always observed in the east; that is to say, in a line, one after the other; the whole caravan being preceded by an ass, with a bell about its neck. Camels never seem to seek the shade: when left to repose, they kneel down, exposed to the hottest beams of the sun. Trees, however, are rarely seen in this part of the island: the inhabitants relate, that eastward of Nicotia, toward Baffa, the country being more mountainous, is also well covered with wood.* The rivers of Cyprus are dry during the summer months. Sudden rain swells them into torrents. Some fell during the second night we passed at Attién. In the morning, two hours before sunrise, we set out for Larneca; and having to cross a bridge, found it shaking so violently with the impetuosity of the water, that we feared it would fall. The ancient Cypriots pretended, that their paphian altars, although exposed to the atmosphere, were never wetted by rain. Probably they would not have escaped drenching during the showers

* The list of plants found during this visit to Cyprus, being too long to be inserted here, we shall only mention three new discovered species.

I. A non descript, tall, branchy, strong-thorned species of *ononis*. This we have called ONONIS MACRACANTHA. *Ononis caule suffrutescente ramisque spinosis, foliis superioribus solitariis obovatis glandulosis apice dentatis; floribus solitariis pedunculatis—Caulis ramosissimus, flexuosus, deorsum, hirsutus. Rami valde spinosi, acuti, crassi, rigidi, supra glabri. Spinæ foliatæ, validæ, floriferæ, subbinæ. Folia petiolata lineas tres longa, inferiora non vidi. Pedunculi breves. Calyces glandulosi; corolla breviores, basin versus pilosi.*

II. A non-descript species of *Euphorbia*. This we have called EUPHORBIA MALACHOPHYLLA. *Euphorbia dichotoma, foliis ovatis, acute denticulatis, hirsutis subtus; pedunculis solitariis unifloris, petalis laciniatis.—Planta annua magnitudine E. scordifoliæ, tota hirsuta. Folia exacte ovata, lineas octo ad duodecim longa, mucrone innocuo terminata, basin versus integerrima. Petioli foliis ter brevioris. Flores è dichotomiis pedunculati parvi.*

III. A non-description species of *centaurea, or star thistle*. This we have called CENTAUREA MONACANTHA. *Centaurea divaricata, calycis foliolis integris spina simplicissimâ terminatis, glabris; foliis superioribus spinoso denticulatis, lanceolato oblongis; inferioribus dentato pinnatifidis, scabris—Planta humilis ramosissima, ramis divaricati, dichotomi. Capitula sessilia. Calycis foliolis arcte imbricatis glabris, margine scariosis. Spinæ patulæ, validissimæ.*

which had caused this inundation. We reached Larneca at eight o'clock, and were on board the Ceres before ten. Captain Russel's fever had much increased. The apricots we brought for him seemed to afford a temporary refreshment to his parched lips and palate, but were ultimately rather injurious than salutary. The symptoms of his melancholy fate became daily more apparent, to the great grief of every individual of his crew.

During our absence, the English consul had been kindly endeavouring to procure for me other reliques from the interesting vestiges of Citium. Before I left the island, he obtained, from one of the inhabitants, a small, but thick, oblong silver medal of the city; considered, from its appearance, as older than the foundation of the Macedonian empire.* A ram is represented couched in the front. The obverse side exhibits, within an indented square, a rosary or circle of beads, to which a cross is attached. Of these rosaries, and this appendage, as symbols, (explained by converted heathens at the destruction of the temple of Serapis,†) having in a former publication been explicit,‡ it is not now necessary to expatiate. That the soul's immortality was alluded to, is a fact capable of the strictest demonstration.§ The consul from Berytus also presented to me a magnificent silver tetradrachm of Tyre, with the inscription "OF TYRE . HOLY . AND . INVIOLATE"

ΤΥΡΟΤΙΕΡΑΣΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ

and also this monogram, marking the year when it was struck; namely, 183 of the Seleucidan æra:

We left Cyprus on the sixteenth of May, steering for the coast of Egypt, and first made land off Damiata. Thence pass-

* Of this opinion is that learned antiquary, R. P. Knight, Esq. author of some of the most erudite dissertations in our language.

† Socrates Scholasticus, lib. v. c. 17.

‡ See "Greek Marbles," p. 78.

§ Ibid A most satisfactory proof, not only of the Phœnician origin of this medal, but of its relationship to Citium, is afforded by the Citiean inscriptions published by Pococke, (*Description of the East*, vol. II. p. 213.) wherein more than one instance occurs of the introduction of the identical symbol, seen upon its obverse side.

ing round a head land, called Cape Brule, we saw again the whole coast of the Delta, as far as the Rosetta branch of the Nile. We arrived in Aboukir Bay upon the morning of the twentieth. An alarm had been given at day break, as we drew near to the fleet, of smoke issuing from a frigate on fire. It proved to be the Iphigenia, Captain Stackpole, which ship we had so lately seen at Cyprus. She broke from her mooring as we were sailing toward her, and, passing through all the fleet, discharged her guns as they grew hot, but without doing any mischief. Exactly at nine o'clock, the very instant we let go our anchor, she blew up, and presented a tremendous column of smoke and flame, being then close in with the shore. We beheld the explosion from our cabin windows. After it took place, not a vestige of the ship remained. We breakfasted with Captain Russell, and took leave of the crew: my brother's barge then coming alongside, conveyed us to the Braakel.

We had been only two days in the fleet, when, being on board the Dictator, Captain Hardy, to attend a court martial held in consequence of the loss of the Iphigenia, Captain Culverhouse, of the Romulus frigate, said he was ordered to Acre for a supply of bullocks; and asked if we were willing to accompany him. To this proposal we readily assented; happy in the favourable opportunity it offered of enabling us to visit the Holy Land, as well as to become acquainted with a very extraordinary man, *Djezzar Pacha*, tyrant of Acre, the *Herod* of his time, whose disregard for the Ottoman government, and cruel mode of exercising government among his people, rendered him the terror of all the surrounding nations. The old story of Blue Beard seemed altogether realized in the history of this hoary potentate. Sir Sidney Smith entrusted some presents for him to my care; and Captain Culverhouse* expressed a wish that I would act as his interpreter with Djezzar's dragoman, who could only translate the Arabic spoken in the country into the Italian language. We therefore made all things ready for another embarkation.

* Neither of these excellent officers, Captain Russel, and Captain Culverhouse, are now living. Captain Russel died of the fever he caught in Cyprus; and Captain Culverhouse fell a victim to his endeavours to save a beloved wife, who was upset with him in a boat off the Cape of Good Hope. He narrowly escaped a similar fate in early life, being by accident on shore when the Royal George sunk at Spithead, to which ship he then belonged, as a midshipman.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM EGYPT TO SYRIA.

Departure from Egypt—Course of the Romulus frigate, in her Voyage to St. John-d'Acre—Djezzar Pacha—Importance of the Port of Acre—Druses—Interview with Djezzar—its Consequences—Climate of Acre—Shores of the Mediterranean—Present State of the City—its former Condition—Remains of ancient Buildings—Medals of Acre and of Sidon—Attack upon the Long Boat of the Romulus—Appeal to the Pacha—his Conduct upon that occasion—Further interview with Djezzar—Commerce of Acre.

On Wednesday morning, June 24th, the Romulus having made the signal for sailing, we left the Braakel, and were received by Captain Culverhouse upon his quarter deck, at eleven o'clock. At half past eleven the ship's crew weighed anchor. At twelve, the island of Aboukir, or Nelson's island, bore west, distant five miles.* Our observation of latitude at that time was 31° 26′, the ship's course being northeast, and the wind northwest and by north. An officer, Mr. Paul, came on board from the Foudroyant, as second lieutenant of the Romulus. At three, P. M. the point of Rosetta bore southwest and by south, distant five leagues. At six, cape Brule bore south of us, distant five leagues; the Romulus steering east and half north. This day we sailed, upon the average, about seven miles an hour. At noon, Fahrenheit's thermometer indicated 78°.

Thursday, June the 25th. It had been calm all night. About eight A. M. a light breeze sprung up from the E. S. E. and we were compelled to steer S. S. W. south, and S. S. E. until twelve o'clock. Then found our latitude to be 31° 43′. Nothing more occurred worth notice this day.

Friday, June the 26th. At ten this morning a strange sail appeared, bearing S. E. and by south; the Romulus then steering east, and half south. At eleven, bore up, and made sail toward her. Ship's latitude at noon 31° 48′. At half past

* For the sake of greater precision, the author has detailed the observations as taken from the ship's logbook. The navigation of this part of the Mediterranean being little known, these may, perhaps, not be without utility.

one fired a gun, and brought to the strange vessel. At two o'clock boarded her. She proved to be a Turkish brig from Gaza bound to Damiata, with ammunition, &c. for the Turkish army. At half past two dismissed her, and bore up again.

Saturday, June the 27th. At five this morning discerned the haze over the coast of Syria, and at seven A. M. made the land from the mast head, bearing east and by south. At eight, light breezes and clear weather; observed two strange sail bearing S. E. At noon, saw the town of Jaffa, bearing east, distant five or six miles. Latitude observed, 31° 59'. Found no bottom in seventy-five fathoms water. At one P. M. the extremes of the land visible bore N. E. and by north, and S. W. and by south. At five, Jaffa lay to the S. E. distant four leagues and a half. At half past seven the northernmost extremity of the land bore N. E. half east, distant seven leagues.

Sunday, June the 28th. At half past five this morning saw the land in the S. E. quarter. At ten made the coast more distinctly. At noon, the extremes visible bore northeast and south. A sail appeared close in with the shore. Latitude 32° 40'. At sun set, observed the point of mount Carmel, called cape Carmel, bearing east by south, half south, distant six leagues. Also cape Blanco,* bearing north; the extremes of the land being northeast and south. Stood off and on all night.

Monday, June the 29th. At six A. M. cape Carmel bore S. E. by east, distant only four leagues. At half past eight, a calm; let down the boats to tow the ship ahead. Sent the jolly boat and master to take the soundings. At half past nine, A. M. came to anchor in the bay of Acre, in five fathoms water; cape Carmel bearing S. W. and by south, and the town of Acre, north. Fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which was returned from the fort in a most irregular manner. At noon, got out the launch, and moored with the current to the northeast. Coming into the bay, we found a shoal; soundings varying instantly from eleven to five fathoms. The town of Caipha S. W. and by south, distant five miles; cape Blanco N. N. E.; and the centre of the town of Acre, N. E. by south.

Soon after we arrived, we went on shore with the captain, to visit Djezzar Pacha, whom Baron de Tott found at Acre,

* A part of Mount Libanus.

and described as a horrible tyrant* about twenty years prior to our coming. Having acted as interpreter for Captain Culverhouse, in all his interviews with this extraordinary man, and occasionally as his confidential agent, when he was not himself present, I had favourable opportunities of studying Djezzar's character. At that time, shut up in his fortress at Acre, he defied the whole power of Turkey, despised the Vizier, and derided the menaces of the Capudan Pacha: although he always affected to venerate the title and the authority of the Sultan. His mere name carried terror with it over all the Holy Land, the most lawless tribes of Arabs expressing their awe and obeisance, whensoever it was uttered. As for his appellation, *Djezzar*, as explained by himself, it signified *butcher*; but of this name, notwithstanding its avowed allusion to the slaughters committed by him, he was evidently vain. He was his own minister, chancellor, treasurer and secretary; often his own cook and gardener; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant. Yet there were persons who had acted, and still occasionally officiated, in these several capacities, standing by the door of his apartment; some without a nose, others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye; "*marked men*," as he termed them; persons *bearing signs* of their having been instructed to serve their master with fidelity. Through such an assemblage we were conducted to the door of a small chamber, in a lofty part of his castle, overlooking the port.† A Jew, who had been his private secretary, met us, and desired us to wait in an open court or garden before this door, until Djezzar was informed of our coming. This man, for some breach of trust, had been deprived of an ear and an eye at the same time. At one period of the pacha's life, having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wives, he put seven of them to death with his own hands. It was after his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca; the Janissaries, during his absence, having obtained access to the charem. If his history be ever written, it will have all the air of a romance. His real name is Achmed. He was a native of Bosnia, and speaks the Sclavonian language better than any other. It is impossible to give

* De Tott says, that he immured alive a number of persons of the Greek communion, when he rebuilt the walls of Berytus, now called *Berooty*, to defend it from the invasion of the Russians. The heads of those unfortunate victims were then to be seen. Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 316. ed. Lond. 1785.

† Many wretched objects, similarly disfigured, might be observed daily in the streets of Acre.

even a detail of his numerous adventures here. At an early period of his life, he sold himself to a slave merchant in Constantinople; and being purchased by Ali Bey, in Egypt, he rose from the humble situation of a Mamluke slave, to the post of governor of Cairo. In this situation, he distinguished himself by the most rigorous execution of justice, and realized the stories related of oriental caliphs, by mingling, in disguise, with the inhabitants of the city, and thus making himself master of all that was said concerning himself, or transacted by his officers.* The interior of his mysterious palace, inhabited by his women, or, to use the oriental mode of expression, the charem of his seraglio, is accessible only by himself. Early in every evening he regularly retired to this place, through three massive doors, every one of which he closed and barred with his own hands. To have knocked at the outer door after he had retired, or even to enter the seraglio, was an offence that would have been punished with death. No person in Acre knew the number of his women, but from the circumstance of a certain number of covers being daily placed in a kind of wheel or turning cylinder, so contrived as to convey dishes to the interior, without any possibility of observing the person who received them.† He had from time to time received presents of female slaves; these had been sent into his charem, but, afterward, whether they were alive or dead, no one knew except himself. They entered never to go out again; and, thus immured, were cut off from all knowledge of the world, except what he thought proper to communicate. If any of them were ill, he brought a physician to a hole in the wall of the charem, through which the sick person was allowed to thrust her arm; the pacha himself holding the hand of the physician during the time her pulse was examined. If any of them died, the event was kept as secret as when he massacred them with his own hands; and this, it was said, he had done in more than one instance. Such stories are easily propagated, and as readily believed; and it is proba-

* The author received this information from Djezzar himself, together with the fact of his having been once governor of Cairo. He has generally been known only from his situation as pacha of Seïde and Acre. Volney described his pachalic, in 1784, as the emporium of Damascus and all the interior parts of Syria. (See Trav. in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 181. Lond. 1787.) The gates of his frontier towns had regular guards. (Ibid. p. 183.) His cavalry amounted to nine hundred Bosnian and Arnaut horsemen. By sea, he had a frigate, two galiots, and a xebeck. His revenue amounted to four hundred thousand pounds. (Ibid. p. 182.) His expenses were principally confined to his gardens, his baths, and his women. In his old age he grew very avaricious.

† He possessed eighteen white women in 1784; and the luxury allowed them, according to Volney, was most enormous. (Ibid. p. 269.) This may be doubted; extravagance of any kind, except in cruelty, being inconsistent with Djezzar's character.

ble that many of them are without foundation. We must however admit the truth of the terrible examples he made after his return from Mecca, in consequence of the infidelity of his women. From all the information we could obtain, he considered the female tenants of his charem as the children of his family. When he retired, he carried with him a number of watch papers he had amused himself by cutting with scissars during the day, as toys to distribute among them; neither could there be any possible motive of cruelty, even in the worst of tyrants, toward such defenceless victims. He was above sixty years old at the time of our arrival, but vain of the vigour he still retained at that advanced age. He frequently boasted of his extraordinary strength; and used to bare his arm, in order to exhibit his brawny muscles. Sometimes, in conversation with strangers, he would suddenly leap upright from his seat, to show his activity. He has been improperly considered as Pacha of Acre. His real pachalic was that of *Seïde*; anciently called Sidon; but, at the time of our arrival, he was also Lord of Damascus, of Berytus, Tyre, and Sidon; and, with the exception of a revolt among the Druses, might be considered master of all Syria. The seat of government was removed to Acre, on account of its port, which has been at all times the key to Palestine. The port of Acre is bad: but is better than any other along the coast. That of *Seïde* is very insecure, and the harbour of Jaffa worse than any of the others. The possession of Acre extended his influence even to Jerusalem. It enables its possessor to shut up the country, and keep its inhabitants in subjection. All the rice, which is the staple food of the people, enters by this avenue; the Lord of Acre may, if so it pleases him, cause a famine to be felt even over all Syria. Here then we have a clue to the operations of the French, in this, as well as in every other part of the world. They directed every effort toward the possession of Acre, because it placed the food of all the inhabitants of this country in their power, and, consequently, its entire dominion. It is a principle of policy, which even Djezzar Pacha, with his propensity for *truisms*, would have deemed it superfluous to insist upon, that the key of a public granary is the mightiest engine of military operation. Hence we find Acre to have been the last place from which the christians were expelled in the Holy Land; and hence its tranquil possession, notwithstanding the insignificant figure it makes in the map of this great continent, is of more importance than the greatest armies, under the most victorious leader, ever

sent for its invasion. This it was that gave to an old man pent up in a small tower by the sea side the extraordinary empire he possessed. Djezzar had with him, in a state of constant imprisonment, many of the most powerful chieftains of the country. The sons of the princes of Libanus remained with him always as hostages; for the Druses,* inhabiting all the mountainous district to the north and east of Seide, were constantly liable to revolt. Sir Sidney Smith, by cultivating an alliance with this people, when the French were endeavouring to march through Syria, prevented their affording assistance to our enemies. He undertook to guaranty their safety from all attacks, whether of the French or of Djezzar: and when the latter most unjustifiably violated his treaties with them, he enabled them to protect their territory. It was this circumstance which, ever honourable on the part of Sir Sidney Smith, gave rise to a misunderstanding between him and Djezzar. Matters had not been adjusted between them at the time of our arrival. With due intimation therefore of his prejudice against the hero of Acre, as well as the knowledge we had obtained of his private character and disposition, we were ushered to his presence.

We found him seated on a mat in a little chamber, destitute even of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel, for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured in the manner before described. He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then constructing.† His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his divan. In his girdle he wore a poignard set

* A sect of Arabs inhabiting the environs of Mount Libanus; so called from their founder, surnamed *El Durzi*, who came from Persia into Egypt in the year 1020. (See Egmont and Heyman's Trav. vol. i. p. 293.) Niebuhr and Volney have given a full account of their history. It has been ignorantly supposed that they are the offspring of a colony of French crusaders; but their name occurs in the itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, written anterior to the crusades; their language, moreover, is purely Arabic. Pococke fell into the error of their Christian origin. "If any account," says he, "can be given of the original of the Druses, it is, that they are the remains of the Christian armies in the Holy War." Descript. of the East, p. 94. Lond. 1745.

† Djezzar built the mosque, the bazar, and a most elegant public fountain, in Acre. In all these works he was himself both the engineer and the architect. "He formed the plans," says Volney, "drew the designs, and superintended the execution." Trav. in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 226.

with diamonds; but this he apologized for exhibiting, saying it was his badge of office, as governor of Acre, and therefore could not be laid aside. Having ended his orders to the engineer, we were directed to sit upon the end of the divan; and Signor Bertocino, his dragoman, kneeling by his side, he prepared to hear the cause of our visit.

The conversation began by a request from the Pacha, that English captains, in future, entering the bay of Acre, would fire only one gun, rather as a signal, than as a salute, upon their arrival. "There can be no good reason," said he, "for such a waste of gunpowder, in ceremony between friends. Besides," he added, "I am too old to be pleased with ceremony: among forty-three pachas of three tails, now living in Turkey, I am the senior. My occupations are consequently, as you see, very important," taking out a pair of scissars, and beginning to cut figures in paper, which was his constant employment when strangers were present: these he afterward stuck upon the wainscoat. "I shall send each of you away," said he, "with good proof of old Djezzar's ingenuity. There," addressing himself to Captain Culverhouse, and offering a paper cannon, "there is a symbol of your profession;" and while I was explaining to the captain the meaning of this singular address, he offered me a paper flower, denoting, as he said, "*a florid interpretation of blunt speech.*" As often as we endeavoured to introduce the business of our visit, he affected to be absorbed in these trifling conceits, or turned the conversation by allegorical sayings, to whose moral we could find no possible clue. His whole discourse was in parables, proverbs, truisms, and oriental apologues. One of his tales lasted nearly an hour, about a man who wished to enjoy the peaceful cultivation of a small garden, without consulting the lord of the manor, whenever he removed a tulip; alluding, perhaps, to his situation with reference to the grand signior. There was evidently much cunning and deep policy in his pretended frivolity. Apparently occupied in regulating the shape of a watch paper with his scissars, he was all the while deeply attentive to our words, and even to our looks, anxious to discover whether there was any urgency in the nature of our visit; and certainly betraying as much ostentation in the seeming privations to which he exposed himself, as he might have done by the most stately magnificence. He was desirous of directing the attention of his visiters to the homeliness of his mode of living: "If I find," said he, "only bread

and water in another world, I shall have no cause of complaint, because I have been accustomed to such fare all my days; but those who have fared sumptuously in this life, will, I suspect, be much disappointed in the next." We spoke of the camp of his cavalry, then stationed near the town; and of the great preparations he seemed to be making against the Druses, and other rebel Arabs, with whom he was at war. "It is not," said he, "the part of a wise man to despise his enemy, whatsoever shape he may assume. If he be but a pismire, there is no reason why he should be permitted to creep upon your cheek while you are sleeping." We found we had touched a tender string: he believed these dissentions had been excited in his dominions by Sir Sidney Smith, to divert him from the possibility of assisting the French, by attacking the Vizier's army in its march through Syria; and was much incensed while he complained to us of this breach of confidence. "I ate," said he, "bread and salt with that man; we were together, as sworn friends. He did what he pleased here. I lent him my staff;* he released all my prisoners,† many of whom were in my debt, and never paid me a para. What engagements with him have I violated? What promises have I not fulfilled? What requests have I denied? I wished to combat the French by his side; but he has taken care that I shall be confined at home, to fight against my own people. Have I merited such treatment?" When he was a little pacified, we ventured to assure him that he had listened to his own and to Sir Sidney's enemies; that there did not exist a man more sincerely allied to him; and that the last commission we received, previously to our leaving the fleet, were Sir Sidney's memorials of his regard for Djezzar Pacha. In proof of this, I presumed to lay before him the present Sir Sidney had entrusted to my care. It was a small but very elegant telescope, with silver slides. He regarded it however with disdain, saying, it had too splendid an exterior for him; and taking down an old ship glass, that hung above his head, covered with greasy leather, added, "Humbler instruments serve my purposes; besides, you may tell Sir Sidney that Djezzar, old as he is, seldom requires the aid of a glass to view what

* A short crutch, frequently inlaid with mother of pearl, of which I cannot recollect the oriental name, serves men of rank in the east to support their bodies while sitting erect. Djezzar always had one of these; and the possession of it enabled the bearer to exercise the authority of the pacha himself

† Djezzar's prisoners were confined in a dungeon beneath the apartment wherein he lived; so that all persons ascending or descending the staircase leading to his chambers passed the grated window of their jail.

passes around him." Finding it impossible to pacify him upon this subject,* we turned the conversation, by stating the cause of our visit to Acre, and requested a supply of cattle for the use of the British fleet. He agreed to furnish an hundred bullocks, but upon the sole condition of not being offered payment for them in money.† He said it would require some time to collect cattle for that purpose: we therefore persuaded Captain Culverhouse to employ the interval in making, with us, a complete tour of the Holy Land. Djezzar, having heard of our intention, promised to supply us with horses from his own stables, and an escort, formed of his body guard, for the undertaking; ordering also his dragoman, Signor Bertocino, to accompany us during the expedition, and to render us every assistance in his power.

The air of Acre is much better than that of Cyprus, and the same may be said generally of all the coast of Syria and of Palæstine. The maritime districts of these two countries consist of the finest territories in the Levant. As a proof of the salubrity of their climate, may be mentioned the absence of noxious reptiles, and of those venomous insects which, by their swarms, peculiarly characterize unwholesome air. We observed neither toads nor mosquitoes, nor even locusts; although it is probable that the last of these have not altogether forsaken a region where their visits have been occasionally calamitous. There are few exceptions to an observation which has, in a certain degree, been confirmed by my own actual experience; namely, that unwholesome air prevails, during certain seasons, over all the shores of the inland seas, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the marshes of the Don. We are told, indeed, of the salubrity of the south of France; and certain situations may be pointed out along the coast of Syria, uninfected by any summer *mal-aria*.‡ But, generally speaking, all the shores of the Mediterranean, of the Archipelago, of the sea of Marmora, the

* The Rev. J. Palmer, Arabic professor in the University of Cambridge, has visited Acre since the death of Djezzar. Being at the place of his successor, Djezzar's secretary confessed to him, that his master had "*long made up his mind to put Sir Sidney to death, whenever the means were in his power.*" Considering the open unsuspecting frankness of Sir Sidney, in all his dealings with the Arabs, it is wonderful this was not effected.

† The only remuneration required by Djezzar, for the supplies he twice sent to our fleet, was a few pieces of artillery taken by our army from the French in Egypt, or a little ammunition. It is said, however, that no payment of any kind was ever made to him.

‡ According to Volney, even that of Acre is unwholesome in summer. He speaks of infectious vapours from lakes in the low grounds: (vol. ii. p. 227.) thereby contradicting the statement made by the author, who is not, however, disposed to alter the account given above; owing to the proofs whereby the opinion is maintained.

Black sea, and the sea of Azof, have their periodical vapours of pestilence and death. Many of them are never free from bad air; and numberless are the victims who, unconscious of the danger, have been exposed to its effects. Some attention should be paid to proper caution in visiting countries so circumstanced; especially as it was affirmed by our great moralist,* that "the grand object of travelling is to see the *shores of the Mediterranean.* On those shores," said he, "were the four great empires of the world; the Assyrian, the Persian, Greek, and Roman. All our religion, almost all our laws, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean." Yet, in exploring countries so situated, among the ruins of ancient cities, and in the very midst of objects to which a literary traveller would most eagerly direct his attention, the danger to be apprehended from bad air is particularly imminent. Stagnant water, resulting from ruined aqueducts, from neglected wells, and many other causes, proves fatal by its exhalation. This I have found to be so true, with regard to ancient ruins in the south of Europe, that I rarely recollect an instance where the inhabitants of the neighbouring district do not caution strangers against the consequences of resorting thither during the summer months; consequences far more dangerous than any other accident to which travellers may fancy themselves exposed in foreign countries. By the introduction of these remarks, I am sensible of repeating observations already introduced;† but the importance of the caution they convey cannot be too much enforced. Places infected by such dangerous vapour may be distinguished, at the setting or rising of the sun, by thick and heavy mists of a milky hue; these may at that time be observed, hovering, and seldom rising high above the soil.‡ The mildest diseases inflicted by this kind of air, are quartan and tertian fevers: sometimes instant death is occasioned by them. The inhabitants of the gulph of Salernum and the coast of Baia, as well as those resident in the Pontine Marshes,§ suffer

* See Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 61. Lond. 1791.

† See page 141. c. viii. of this volume.

‡ The air of any place is seldom salutary where flies are found in great abundance. Another criterion of the sources of mephitic exhalation is, the appearance of the *arundo phragmites.* This plant, in warm countries, may generally be regarded by travellers as "*a warning buoy.*"

§ A mal-aria prevails at Rome during summer; particularly in the *Transtibertine* suburbs of the city. This seems alluded to by Pliny, in a letter to Clemens, wherein he describes the residence of Regulus. "*Tenet se trans Tyberim in hortis, in quibus latissimum solum porticibus immensis, ripam statuis suis occupavit, ut est in summâ avaritiâ sumptuosus, in summâ infamiâ gloriosus. Vexat ergo civitatem in salubberrimo tempore, et quod vexat solatium putat.*" Plin. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 2. Bipont. 1789.

violent contraction of the joints, and appear in the most decrepid state after the immediate danger of the fever has subsided. Various parts of Asia Minor, of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, experience only the short period of their winter as a season of health. During summer, a visit to the islands in the south of the Archipelago, (especially to the island of Milo,) to the gulphs of Smyrna, Salonichi, and Athens, is as a passage to the grave; and over almost all the shores of the Black Sea, and the sea of Azof, it is impossible to escape the consequences of bad air, without the most rigorous abstinence. In those countries, swarms of venomous insects, by the torments they inflict, warn mankind to avoid the deadly atmosphere. No idea can be given, from mere verbal description, of the appearance they present. The noise made by them is louder than can be imagined; and when joined to the clamorous whooping of millions of toads, (such as the inhabitants of northern countries are happy never to have heard,) silence, the ordinary characteristic of solitude, is so completely annihilated, that the few unfortunate beings occasionally found in those fearful regions are strangers to its influence.

The external view of Acre, like that of any other town in the Levant, is the only prospect of it worth beholding. The sight of the interior exactly resembles what is seen in Constantinople, and in the generality of Turkish cities: narrow dirty lanes, with wretched shops, and as wretched inhabitants. Yet some of the early travellers speak of its pristine splendor, and of the magnificent buildings by which it was once adorned.* In the discordant accounts that have been published concerning its present state, some describe it as interesting in the spectacle afforded by remains of former grandeur; while others relate, that the Saracens, after the final expulsion of the Christians, left not one stone upon another. It is a very common error to suppose every thing barbarous on the part of the Mahometans, and to attribute to the Christians, in that period, more refinement than they really possessed. A due attention to history may show, that the Saracens, as they were called, were in fact more enlightened than their invaders; nor is there any evidence for believing they ever delighted in works of destruction. Whatsoever degree of severity they might exercise toward their invaders, the provocation they had received was unexampled. The treachery and shameful conduct of the Chris-

* Vid. Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ Christian. Adrichomii. *Colon.* 1628. p. 6.

tians, during their wars in the Holy Land, have seldom been surpassed. Every treaty was violated; and the most dishonourable practices were said to be justified by the interests of religion. Acre, during almost two centuries, was the principal theatre of the crusades, and it had been long memorable on account of perfidies committed there by men who styled themselves its heroes. The history of their enormities we derive from their own historians: nor is it possible to imagine what the tale would be, if an Arabic writer were presented to us with the Mahometan records of those times.* After a most solemn covenant of truce, guarantied, on the part of the Christians, by every consecrated pledge of honour and religion, they massacred, in one day, nineteen of the principal Saracen merchants; who, upon the faith of the treaty, resorted to Acre for commercial purposes.† And this, although it led to the downfall of the place,‡ was but a specimen of transactions that had passed upon many a former occasion. Fuller,§ describing the state of the garrison previous to its last siege, gives us the following animated picture of its condition: "In it," says he,‖ "were some of all countreys; so that he who had lost his nation, might find it here. Most of them had several courts to decide their causes in; and the plentie of judges caused the scarcite of justice, malefactours appealing to a triall in the courts of their own countrey. It was sufficient innocencie for any offender in the Venetian court, that he was a Venetian. Personal acts were entituled nationall, and made the cause of the countrey. Outrages were everywhere practised, nowhere

* A manuscript, which the author brought to England, of "Sheikabbeddin's history of the reigns of Noureddin and *Salahcddin*," commonly called *Saladine*, now deposited in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, might possibly afford information of this nature.

† Marin. Sanut. lib. iii. pars xii. c. 21.

‡ Sultan Serapha, indignant at this outrage, laid siege to Acre, with an army of 160,000 infantry, and 60,000 cavalry, and took the city, A. D. 1291. This event took place upon the fifth of April, during so great a tempest, that the fugitives from the garrison, unable to reach the ships in the bay, perished in the waves. The spirited description of the confusion and slaughter that ensued upon the capture of the city, together with the moral reflections of its author, preserved in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," (Hanov. 1611.) are well worthy of notice. "*Undique erat tremor, et pavor, et gemitus mortis. Soldanus quoque ad quatuor partes civitatis fecit ignes accendi, ut ferro et igne consumeret universa. Nunc luit peccata, sed non abluit civitas scelerata, gratiis divinis ingrata. Ad ipsam confluebant reges et principes terræ; ad ipsam mittebant succursum tributariae cunctae partes occidnae; et nunc contra eam pugnant omnia elementa. Terra enim ejus sanguinem devorat quae Christiano sanguine tota madescit; mare absorbet populum; aedificia consumit ignis; aër fumo, et caligine tenebratur.*" Marin. Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Cruc. lib. iii. pars xii. cap. 21.

§ *Historie of the Holy Warre*, *Camb.* 1651. Fuller thus quaintly describes the preparations made in Acre to sustain the siege. "*And now Ptolemais being to wrestle her last fall, stripped herself of all cumbersome clothes: women, children, aged persons, weak folks (all such hindering help, and mouthes without arms) were sent away, and twelve thousand remained, conceived competent to make good the place.*" Book iv. c. 33.

‖ *Historie of the Holy Warre*, b. iv. c. 32.

punished." If, upon the capture of the city, every building belonging to the Christians had been levelled with the earth, it is not more than might be expected in this enlightened age, from the retributive spirit of a victorious army, whose feelings have been similarly outraged. Fuller, indeed, asserts, that the conquerors, upon that occasion, "evened all to the ground, and (lest the Christians should ever after land here) demolished all buildings." But the same author, upon the testimony of Sandys, afterward insinuates his own doubt as to the matter of fact. "Some say," observes Fuller, speaking of the conduct of the sultan, "he plowed the ground whereon the citie stood, and sowed it with corn: but an eye-witnesse* affirmeth that there remain magnificent ruines." The present view of Acre vouches for the accuracy of Sandys. The remains of a very considerable edifice exhibit a conspicuous appearance among the buildings upon the left of the mosque, toward the north side of the city. In this structure, the style of architecture is of the kind we call Gothic. Perhaps it has on that account borne, among our countrymen,† the appellation of "*King Richard's Palace*;" although, in the period to which the tradition refers, the English were hardly capable of erecting palaces, or any other buildings of equal magnificence. Two lofty arches, and part of the cornice, are all that now remain, to attest the former greatness of the superstructure. The cornice, ornamented with enormous stone busts, exhibiting a series of hideous distorted countenances, whose features are in no instances alike, may either have served as allusions to the decapitation of St. John, or were intended for a representation of the heads of Saracens, suspended as trophies upon the walls. But there are other ruins in Acre, an account of which was published in the middle of the seventeenth century, by a French traveller;‡ whereby it will appear, that many edifices escaped the ravages of the Saracens, far surpassing all that Sandys has described, or Fuller believed to have existed. A reference to this work will be here necessary, as many of the remains there mentioned escaped the observation of our party, notwithstanding a very diligent inquiry after the antiquities of the place; and nothing can be more lamentably deficient than the accounts given of

* Sandys, p. 204. *London*, 1637.

† "There are," says Sandys, "the ruines of a palace, which yet doth acknowledge King Richard for the founder: *confirmed likewise by the passant lyon.*" This last observation may refer the origin of the building to the Genoese, who assisted Baldwin in the capture of Acre, A. D. 1104, and had "buildings and other immunities assigned them;" the lion being a symbol of Genoa.

‡ Voyage de la Terre Sainte, fait l'an 1653, par M. I. Doubdan. *Paris*, 1657.

Acre by the different travellers who have visited this part of Palæstine, or have alluded to it in their writings.* Of those published in our language, Maundrell's and Pococke's are the best.† The former of these respectable authors was, probably, no stranger to the work I have cited, if he did not borrow his own description of the antiquities of Acre from the account there given.‡ Both of these writers consider the building, commonly called King Richard's Palace, as the Church of St. Andrew. Perhaps it was that of St. John the Baptist, erected by the Knights of Jerusalem, whence the city changed its name of *Ptolemaïs* for that of *St. John d'Acre.*§ Lusignan, author of the History of the Revolt of Ali Bey,‖ speaks of parts of the ancient city, as built by the Knights of St. John.** The strange ornament of a human head with distorted features, as represented in the cornice of the building, seems rather to confirm this opinion; since it is after a similar manner that we see the head of St. John barbarously delineated in those rude paintings used as idols in the Greek church. Doubdan describes this building†† as exhibiting traces of a style of architecture which we may perhaps consider, in some degree, the original of our ornamented Gothic, before its translation from the Holy Land to Italy, to France, and to England. A similar circumstance has been already noticed in the account of the Isle of Cyprus; and there are others in different parts of Palæstine. The rest of the ruins in Acre are those of the Arse-

* See, for example, the works of Lithgow, Sandys, Egmont and Heyman, Paul Lucas, Shaw, Baron de Tott, Perry, &c. Among the accounts given of Acre by these writers, that of Paul Lucas is truly ludicrous. Arriving there, he proceeds to describe the city: and excites our expectation by this marginal note, "*Déscription de cette ville.*" When the reader seeks the promised information, he finds only these words, "*S. Jean d'Acre est aujourd'hui assez peuplé.*" See Voy. de Sieur P. Lucas, liv. iii. tom. 1 p. 370 *Amst.* 1744.

† Journ. from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 52. *Oxford* 1721.

‡ Doubdan performed his journey in 1652, and published the account of it at Paris, in quarto, A. D. 1657. Maundrell's journey took place at Easter, 1697; and his work appeared at Oxford, in 1703. It is from the similarity of the following passages that the author has ventured a remark concerning their common origin. They are both describing the ruins of Acre. "*Les ruines de la ville sont très grandes; les premiers desquelles sont celles de l'Eglise de Saint André, qui est sur une éminence proche de la mer.*" The same subject is thus introduced by Maundrell: "Within the walls there still appear several ruins . . . . . as first, those of the cathedral church, dedicated to St. Andrew, which stands not far from the sea side, more high and conspicuous than the other ruins."

§ The Greek name of this place, according to Strabo, (p. 1077. ed. *Oxon.*) was *Ace*. Its Hebrew appellation was *Accho*. (See Judges, i. 131.) St. Jerom says, that it had more anciently the name of *Coth*: (see also Adrichomii Theat. Terræ Sanctæ, p. 6) a singular circumstance, considering that the *Goths*, or *Getæ*, previous to their passage of the Hellespont, were from this country. Being augmented by Ptolemy the First Ace was from him called *Ptolemaïs*.

‖ The *second* edition was printed in London in 1784. I have not seen the *first*.

** Revolt of Ali Bey, p. 177.

†† *Enjolivez de mille moulures Moresques, et autres ornemens d'architecture.*

nal, of the College of the Knights, the Palace and Chapel of the Grand Master, and of ten or twelve other churches; but they are now so intermingled with other buildings, and in such an utter state of subversion, that it is very difficult to afford any satisfactory description.* Many superb remains were observed by us in the pacha's palace, in the khan, the mosque, the public bath, the fountains, and other works of the town; consisting of fragments of antique marble, the shafts and capitals of granite and marble pillars, masses of the *verd antique* breccia, of ancient serpentine, and of the syenite and trap of Egypt. In the garden of Djezzar's palace, leading to his summer apartment, we saw some pillars of yellow variegated marble, of extraordinary beauty; but these he informed us he had procured from the ruins of Cæsarea, upon the coast between Acre and Jaffa,† together with almost all the marble used in the decorations of his very sumptuous mosque. A beautiful fountain of white marble, close to the entrance of his palace, has also been constructed with materials from those ruins.

We were, as usual, diligent in our inquiries, among the silversmiths of Acre, for medals and antique gems; but could neither obtain nor hear of any. The most ancient name of the city, AKH, has been observed upon small bronze medals found in this country, but they are extremely rare; and as it was annexed to the government of Sidon, in the earliest periods of its history, perhaps no silver coinage of *Ace* ever existed. Even the bronze medals are not found in our English cabinets. The Sidonian medals, although better known, are not common. There is one, of matchless beauty and perfection, in the Imperial Collection at Paris. Those of *Ptolemaïs* have only been observed in bronze: they exhibit the bearded head of Jupiter crowned with laurels, and, for reverse, a figure of Ceres, with the legend

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣΙΕΡΑΣΚΑΙΑΣΥΛΟΥ

* The author of the *Voyage de la Terre Sainte* enters into some detail concerning every one of these ruins. According to him, three of the churches were originally dedicated to St. Saba, St. Thomas, and St. Nicholas: there was also another church, dedicated to St. John. (See Voy. de la T. S. p 597.) In the magnificent edition of the account of the Holy Land by *Christian. Adrichomius*, printed at *Cologne* in 1628, we have the following enumeration of public edifices in Acre, when the city was an episcopal see, under the archbishop of Tyre. "*Insigne hic fuit templum S. Crucis, et alterum S. Sabbae, atque hospitale dominorum Teutonicorum. Nec non munitissima castra et turres, inter quas illa, quam maledictam appellant, excellebat. Ædes tum publicae tum privatae, magnificae atque pulcherrimae.*" Adrichomii Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, p. 6. Colon. 1628.

† The ruins of Cæsarea are about fifteen or twenty miles to the south of the point of the promontory of Mount Carmel.

A very extraordinary accident happened the third day after our arrival, which had like to have put an end to all our pursuits in this and every other part of the world. We had been in the morning to visit Djezzar, and had passed the day in viewing the bezesten (a covered place for shops, very inferior to that of Constantinople or of Moscow,) the custom house, and some other objects of curiosity in the place. Signor Bertocino, interpreter to the pacha, and the imperial consul, Mr. Catafago, came to dine with us on board the Romulus. In the evening we accompanied them on shore, and took some coffee in the house of the consul, where we were introduced to the ladies of his family. We were amused by seeing his wife, a very beautiful woman, sitting cross-legged by us upon the divan of his apartment, and smoking tobacco with a pipe six feet in length. Her eyelashes, as well as those of all the other women, were tinged with a black powder made of the sulphuret of antimony, and having by no means a cleanly appearance, although considered as essential an addition to the decorations of a woman of rank in Syria, as her ear rings, or the golden cinctures of her ankles. Dark streaks were also penciled, from the corners of her eyes, along the temples. This curious practice instantly brought to our recollection certain passages of scripture, wherein mention is made of a custom among oriental women of "*putting the eyes in painting;*" and which our English translators of the bible,* unable to reconcile with their notions of a female toilet, have rendered "*painting the face.*" Whether the interesting conversation to which the observance of this custom gave rise, or any other cause prevented the consul from informing us of an order of the pacha, is now of no moment, but it was after the hour of eight when we left his hospitable mansion to return on board the Romulus; and Djezzar had decreed that no boat should pass the bar of the inner harbour after that hour. The crew of the long-boat were pulling stoutly for the ship, when, just as we were rowing beneath the tower of the battery that guards the inner harbour, a volley of large stones came like cannon shot upon us from above, dashed the oars from the hands of our sailors, and wounded three of them severely. It is very fortunate none of their brains were beat out, for some of the stones weighed several pounds. The cries of our wounded men gave us the first alarm, and presently another volley drove us

* 2 Kings. ix. 30. "And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel heard of it, and she *painted her face*, and tired her head." &c.

back with all possible speed toward the shore. Not one of us who sat in the stern of the boat received any injury. Captain Culverhouse, and Mr. Loudon, purser of the Romulus, ran for the consul: the rest of us rushed into the ground floor of the watch tower whence the attack proceeded: it was a kind of guard room. Being the foremost of the party, I observed a man in the very act of descending from the tower into this place, evidently in some agitation. Having seized him by the collar, a struggle ensued: the other Arabs attempted to rescue him, and a general confusion prevailed, in the midst of which the consul and Captain Culverhouse entered the place. It was some time before any order could be restored; our party were determined not to give up the culprit we had secured; but the consul knowing him, and undertaking to be responsible for his appearance when called for, we retired, and went on board the Romulus.

Next morning, word was brought to the ship, that unless the captain went on shore, the man would be put to death. We accompanied him to the consul's house, and met the pacha's interpreter; but found that the whole was a fabrication; no notice had been taken of the event, and Djezzar was yet ignorant of the circumstance. Upon this, Captain Culverhouse returned to his ship; and sent me to inform the pacha, that he should be compelled to have recourse to other measures, if the insult offered to his majesty's flag was not properly noticed; and that he would go no more on shore until this was done. Determined, therefore, that Djezzar should have due information of the outrage, I took with me the stones which were found in the longboat, tied in a sack; one of the wounded sailors, and a midshipman, being ordered to accompany me. Signor Bertocino met us upon the shore, assuring me that it was the hour when Djezzar always slept; that it would be certain death to any one of his slaves who should wake him: and having earnestly entreated me not to venture to the palace, he declined acting as interpreter. I resolved therefore to make myself understood without his aid; and ascended the staircase of the seraglio, toward the door of the apartment wherein Djezzar had always received us. This I found shut. The guards, mute, or whispering, began their signs to us, as we advanced, not to make any noise. The young midshipman, however, as well as myself, began to knock at the door, and immediately every one of the guards fled. It was some time before any notice was taken of our summons; but

at length the door was opened by a slave, appointed, as we were afterward informed, to keep flies from the pacha's face during his sleep, and who always remained with him, in the outer apartment of his charem, for this purpose, during the repose he took in the day. This man, after putting his finger to his lips, pushed us from the passage, saying, "*Heida! heida, djour! hist! hist!*" that is to say, "*Begone, begone, infidel! hush! hush!*" We called loudly for *Djezzar;* and presently heard the murmuring of the old pacha's voice in the inner apartment, somewhat milder than the growling of a bear roused from his repose, calling for his slave. As soon as he had been told the cause of the disturbance, he ordered us to be admitted. I presented myself foremost, with my sack of stones; and understanding enough of Arabic to comprehend him when he asked what was the matter, untied the cloth, and rolled them before him upon the floor; showing him, at the same time, our seaman's broken shins and wounded shoulder. Bertocino was now loudly called for by the pacha, and, of course, compelled to make his appearance; Djezzar making signs to me and to the young officer to remained seated by him until his interpreter arrived. As soon as Bertocino had placed himself, as usual, upon his knees, by the pacha's side, and informed him of the cause of our visit, an order was given to one of the attendants, to bring the captain of the guard instantly into Djezzar's presence. This man came: it appeared that his absence from his post the preceding evening had given occasion to the attack made upon the longboat; some of the fanatic Arabs thinking it a fine opportunity to strike a blow at a party of infidels. Nothing could exceed the expression of fury visible in Djezzar's countenance at this intelligence. It might have been said of him as of Nebuchadnezzar, "*The form of his visage was changed.*" Drawing his dagger, he beckoned the officer—as Bertocino trembling said to us, "*Now you will be satisfied!*" "What," said I, "is he going to do?" "*To put to death that poor man,*" added he, and scarcely were the words uttered, than I, more terrified than any of the party, caught hold of Djezzar's arm; the midshipman adding his entreaties to mine; and every one of us earnestly supplicating pardon for the poor victim. All we could obtain, was permission from the pacha to have the punishment suspended until Captain Culverhouse was informed of the circumstance, who, coming on shore, saved the man's life; but nothing could prevail upon Djezzar to grant him a free pardon.

He was degraded from his rank as an officer, and we heard of him no more.

The next morning, an Albanian general was ordered into the mountains, with a party of cavalry, to act against the Druses. Djezzar, who sent for us to inform us of this circumstance, further told us, that he entertained some apprehensions on account of our journey to Jerusalem; but, said he, "I have already sent messengers into the country, that every precaution may be used among the chiefs in the villages." He spoke also of the news he had received from Egypt, whereby he understood that the Vizier had retreated from before Caïro, on account of the plague. "This conduct," said he, "might be justifiable in a Christian general, but it is disgraceful in a Turk."* He then informed us that upon Mount Carmel he had found several thousand large balls,† and never could discover a cannon to fit them; but that a peasant had found a fieldpiece, which Buonaparte had concealed previously to his leaving the country, capable of receiving every one of those balls. During this conversation, which lasted about an hour, interlarded, on the part of Djezzar, with a more than ordinary allowance of aphorisms, truisms, and childish stories, he was occupied, as usual, in cutting paper into various shapes; such as those of coffee pots, pipes, cannon, birds, and flowers. At last, his engineer coming to consult him concerning the improvements he imagined himself making in the fortifications of Acre, we took that opportunity to retire. Some notion may be formed of his talents in fortification, by simply relating the manner in which those works were carried on. He not only repaired the memorable breach caused by the French, and so ably defended by Sir Sidney Smith, but directed his engineers to attend solely to the place where the breach was effected, regardless of all that might be wanted elsewhere. "Some persons," said he, putting his finger to his forehead, "have a head for these matters, and some have not. Let us see whether or

* Alluding to the predestinarian doctrines of the Mahometans, who consider all endeavours to escape coming events as impious and heretical.

† We supposed that, by these balls, Djezzar alluded to mineral concretions, of a spheroidal form, found in that mountain. As the Turks make use of stones instead of cannon shot, it is probable that Djezzar, who was in great want of ammunition, had determined upon using the *stalagmites* of Carmel for that purpose. Maundrell, however, speaks of having seen, in the fields near Acre, "large balls of stone, of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter, which were part of the ammunition used in battering the city; guns being then unknown." See Journ. from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 51. Oxf. 1721. Egmont and Heyman saw, within the walls of the castle, "*several large stone bullets, thrown into it by means of some military engine now unknown.*" Travels through part of Europe, &c. vol. i. p. 289. Lond. 1759.

not Buonaparte will make a breach there again. A breach is a breach, and a wall is a wall!"

The bath of Acre is the finest and best built of any that we saw in the Turkish empire. We all bathed here, during our stay. Every kind of antique marble, together with large pillars of Egyptian granite, might be observed among the materials of its construction. A great quantity of cotton is exported from this place. The country abounds in cattle, corn, olives, and linseed. In almost every town of Syria there is a fabric for the manufacture of soap; but every thing depends upon the will of the pacha: the produce of the land was exported, or not, as it pleased Djezzar, who cared very little for consequences. His avarice, it is true, prompted him to increase the income of his custom houses, but his ignorance, as it was observed of him by Baron de Tott,* prevented his discovering, that "speculations of revenue, when they strike at industry, cannot, for that reason, ever be calculated on any principles of commerce."

CHAP. XIII.

THE HOLY LAND—ACRE TO NAZARETH.

*Commencement of the Author's Journey in the Holy Land—Camp of Djezzar Pacha's Cavalry—Cavalcade for the Expedition—Syrian Tents—River Belus—Plants—*SHEEHAMER*—Reception by the Agha—Grave of an Egyptian form—Plain of Zabulon—*SAPPHURA, *or* SEPPHORIS*—Medals—Druses—State of Christianity in the Holy Land—Church of St. Joachim and St. Anne—Gothic Remains—Discovery of Ancient Pictures—Their probable Age—Country between Sephoury and Nazareth—Dress of the Arabs—Alarm of the Plague—*NAZARETH*—Condition of the Inhabitants—Fountain of the Virgin—Custom illustrating a saying of our Saviour—Franciscan Convent—Pretended Miracle—Superstitions of the Country—Empress Helena—Other Objects of Reverence in Nazareth—*Mensa Christi*—Environs of the Town—Ordinary Penance of Travellers in the Holy Land.*

UPON the third of July, we began our journey to Jerusalem; intending first to visit all those places in Galilee rendered re-

* Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 326. ed. Lond. 1785.

narkable by the life and actions of Jesus Christ. We left Acre,* by the southern gate of the city, at four o'clock P. M.† It would be curious to ascertain when this place obtained a name so near to its ancient appellation, after bearing that of Ptolemais, not only down to the time of Strabo,‡ but to that of Pliny, who also calls it *Colonia Claudii*.§ It is moreover named Ptolemais in the history of the actions of the holy apostles, wherein mention is made of the visit to it by St. Paul and his companions, during their voyage from Tyre to Cæsarea.‖ The editor of the Oxford edition of Strabo affirms that it regained its ancient name under the Mahometans.** Ammianus Marcellinus,†† as cited by Maundrell,‡‡ best explains the cause; by saying, that "the Greek and Roman names of places never took amongst the natives of this country." It is therefore most probable that it always retained its original oriental appellation among the natives of Syria; and that the word "*Ptolemais*," used by Greek and Roman writers, and found upon medals of the city, struck after it was a Roman colony, was never adopted by the indigenous inhabitants of the country.

In the light sandy soil, containing a mixture of black vegetable earth, which lies near the town, we observed plantations of water melons, pumpkins, and a little corn; also abundance of cattle. We continued along the sea shore until we arrived at the camp of Djezzar's cavalry. The pacha had fixed upon this place, as a point of rendezvous for mustering our party. We found our whole force to consist of twenty-three armed persons on horseback, with two camels laden; a cavalcade which the turbulent state of the country at this time rendered absolutely necessary for our security. The individuals composing it were, Captain Culverhouse, of the Romulus frigate; Mr. Loudon, purser of the same ship; Mr. Catafago, the im-

* Brocardus affirms, that Acre was never included among the places properly belonging to the Holy Land. (Vid. Loc. Terr. Sanct. Desc.) "*Nunquam fuit terrae sanctae commerata, nec a filiis Israël unquam possessa: tametsi tribui Aser in sortem cecidit.*" It may therefore be considered with regard to Phœnicia, which he describes as a part of the Holy Land, what Gibraltar now is with reference to Spain. He makes it the centre of his observations concerning *Terra Sancta*; "taking his departure always from that city." It was moreover the rallying place of the Christians, in every period of the Crusades.

† About the same hour, 63 years before, Pococke set out upon the same journey.

‡ Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. p. 1077. ed. Oxon.

§ Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 19. p. 264. ed. L. Bat. 1635.

‖ Acts, xxi. 7, 8.—"And when we had finished our course from *Tyre* we came to *Ptolemais* . . . . . And the next day, we that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto *Caesarea*."

** "Sub Mahommedanis nomen vetus revixit." Vid. Annot. in Strab. Geogr. ed. Oxon. p. 1077.

†† *Lib.* xiv. *Hist.* non longè ab initio.

‡‡ Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 64. Oxf. 1721.

perial consul; Signor Bertocino, interpreter to the pacha; Captain of Djezzar's body guard; ten Arab soldiers of his valry; the cockswain of the captain's barge; two servan two Arab grooms belonging to Djezzar's stables; Antonio M naraki, our own faithful interpreter; Mr. Cripps; and author of these travels. This number was soon augmented pilgrims from the different places we passed through, desirou an escort to Jerusalem; so that at last we formed a redoub ble caravan. In viewing the camps of the country, we w struck by the resemblance between the ordinary tents of E ropean armies, and those used by Arabs in this part of Asia. Perhaps there is no art of man more ancient than that of co structing these temporary habitations; but although simplic may be supposed their universal characteristic, they are by means uniformly fashioned among different nations. A vari of climate necessarily modifies the mode of their construcli The conic dwelling of the Laplander is not shaped after a m del borrowed from the wandering hordes of Tartary; nor the lodging place of a Calmuck resemble the wide-spre airy pavilions of Syria. To what then can be owing the sim tude which exists in this respect, between a tribe of Arabs a the inhabitants of Europe; unless the latter derived the luxu and the elegance of their tents, as they did so many other their refinements, from the inhabitants of this country, in t time of the crusades? Where customs are beheld as they e isted during the first ages of the world, there is little reason believe the manner of building this kind of dwelling has und gone any material alteration. The tent of an Arab chief, all probability, exhibits, at this day, an accurate represent of the Hebrew *Shapheer*,* or *regal pavilion* of the Lan Canaan: its Asiatic form, and the nature of its materials, re it peculiarly adapted to the temperature of a Syrian clim but viewing it in northern countries, where it appears rath an article of elegance and of luxury, than of comfort or of ty, we can perhaps only explain the history of its introdu by reference to events, which, for more than two centu enabled the inhabitants of such distant countries to mainta intercourse with each other.

In the beginning of our journey, several of the escort am us by an exhibition of the favourite exercise called *dje*

* See Harmer's Observations on Pass. of Scrip. vol i. p. 129. ed. Lond. 1808

† See c. vii. of this volume. It is generally written *Djerid*. I have writ it is pronounced. According to the Chevalier d'Arvieux (Voy. dans la Pal p. 62. Par. 1717) it takes its name from the weapon used, which is a *Dj*

also by an equestrian sport, resembling a game called "prisoner's base" in England. In the plain near Acre we passed a small conical hill, whereon we observed a ruin and several caverns: this answers to the situation assigned by Josephus for the sepulchre of Memnon.* We crossed the sandy bed of the river Belus, near its mouth, where the stream is shallow enough to allow of its being forded on horseback; here, it is said, Hercules found the plant colocasia, which effected the cure of his wounds. According to Pliny, the discovery of the art of making glass was made by some mariners who were boiling a kettle upon the sand of this river;† it continued for ages to supply not only the manufactories of Sidon,‡ but all other places, with materials for that purpose.§ Vessels from Italy continued to remove it, for the glass houses of Venice and Genoa, so late as the middle of the seventeenth century.‖ It seemed to us to be muddy, and mixed with various impurities: we afterward regretted that we did not collect a portion, in order to examine whether it naturally contains an alkali. There is an air of something strained in the addition made to the story, concerning the Phœnician mariners, of the blocks of nitre used as props for their caldron. Pliny may have added this himself, by way of accounting for the accident that followed. Farther toward the south, in the east corner of the bay of Acre, flows "*that ancient river, the river Kishon*,"** a more considerable stream than this of Belus. Nothing else was observed in this afternoon's journey, excepting a well, where the Arabs insisted upon halting, to prepare their coffee. Shepherds appeared in the plain, with numerous droves of cattle; consisting of oxen, sheep and goats. As evening drew on, we reached the foot of a hill, where the village of Shefhamer†† is situated. It is visible in the prospect from Acre, and stands upon the western declivity of a ridge of eminences, rising one above another, in a continuous series, from Libanus

Arabic word signifies *the branch of a palm tree stripped of its leaves.* Sometimes canes or reeds, or common sticks, are employed for the same purpose. A representation of this sport is given in Niebuhr's description of Arabia, tom. i. tab. xv. Copenh. 1773.

* Joseph. De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 9.

† Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

‡ Strabo says, it was carried to Sidon, to be made ready for fusion. Strab. Geogr. lib. xvi. p. 1077. ed. Oxon.

§ "Idque tantum multa per secula gignendo fuit vitro." Ibid. L. Bat. 1635.

‖ Doubdan relates, that even in his time vessels from Italy came to be freighted with that sand. "*Quelques fois, quoy que fort rarement, quelques vaisseaux d'Italie en ont chargé pour cet effect*" Voy. de la Terre Sainte, p. 599.

** See the sublime song of Deborah, (Judges, v. 20, 21.) "They fought from heaven; the stars in their course fought against Sisera. The river Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon."

†† Written *Shafa Amre* by d'Anville, in his *Carte de la Phœnicie*, published at Paris, in 1780. In Egmont and Heyman's Travels (vol. ii. p. 15.) the same village is called *Chafamora*; and in the journal of one of the party who was with the author, he finds

to Carmel. The land, uncultivated as it almost every where appeared in Djezzar's dominions, was redundantly fertile, and much covered with a plant exhibiting large blossoms of aggregated white flowers, resembling those of the wild parsley: I believe it to have been the *cachrys libanotis*. Of all the plants we noticed during our journey, this is the only one we neglected to add to our *herbarium*, from the absurd notion that what appeared so common might be had any where, and at any time. It disappeared when our distance from the sea was much increased. The variety and beauty of the different species of *carduus*, or thistle, in this country, are well worth notice; a never failing indication of rich soil in any land, but here manifesting the truth of Jacob's prophecy, who foretold the "fatness of the bread of Asher," and the "royal dainties" of his territory.* We observed one in particular, whose purple head covered all the inland parts of Palestine with its gorgeous hue. After we had quitted the valley, and ascended the hill, we arrived about eight P. M. at the agha's mansion, the chief of the village. Being conducted up a rude flight of steps, to the top of the house, we found, upon the flat roof, the agha of Shefhamer seated upon a carpet; mats being spread before him, for our reception. Djezzar had despatched couriers to the aghas and sheiks in all places where we were instructed to halt, that provisions might be ready, as for himself, when we arrived. Without this precaution, a large party would be in danger of starving. The peasants of the country are wofully oppressed; and what little they have, would be carefully concealed, unless extorted from them by the iron rod of such a tyrant as Djezzar. Judging by the appearance our supper presented, a stranger might have fancied himself in a land of abundance. They brought boiled chickens, eggs, boiled rice, and bread; this last article, being made into thin cakes, is either dried in the sun, or baked upon hot stones.† They prepare it

it written *Cheffhambre*. Thus is there no end to the discordance caused by writing the names of places merely as they seem to be pronounced; particularly among travellers of different countries, when each individual adapts an orthography suited to his own language.

* Genesis, xlix. 20.

† The account given by the *Chevalier d'Arvieux* (in the narrative of his very interesting travels, as they were published by *De La Roque*) concerning one mode of making bread among the Arabs, seems to illustrate a passage in the Psalms, "*Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns.*" (Ps. lviii. 8.) According to d'Arvieux, the Arabs heat stone pitchers by kindling fires in them, and then dab the outside with dough, which is thus baked. "*They kindle,*" says he, "*a fire in a large stone pitcher: and when it is hot, they mix the meal in water, as we do to make paste, and dab it with the hollow of their hands upon the outside of the pitcher, and this soft pappy dough spreads and is baked in an instant: the heat of the pitcher having dried up all its moisture. the bread comes off in small thin slices, like one of our wafers.*" Voyage fait par ordre du Roy. Louis XIV. c. xiv. p. 283. *Par.* 1717. See also the English edition, *Lond* 1724. c. xiv. p. 201.

fresh for every meal. Wine, as a forbidden beverage, was not offered to us. We supped upon the roof, as we sat; and were somewhat surprized in being told we were to sleep there also. This the agha said would be necessary, in order to avoid the fleas; but they swarmed in sufficient number to keep the whole party sleepless, and quite in torment, during the few hours we allotted to a vain expectation of repose. The lapse of a century has not effected the smallest change in the manners of the inhabitants of this country, as appears by the accounts earlier travellers have given of the accommodations they obtained. Bishop Pococke's description of his lodging at Tiberias exactly corresponds with that of our reception here.* A wicker shed, or hovel, upon one side of the roof, was found capable of containing six of us; the rest extended themselves, in the open air, upon the stuccoed roof, and perhaps, on that account, were somewhat further removed from the centre of the swarm of vermin; our situation being, literally, a focus, or point of concourse.

At three o'clock we roused all the party, and were on horseback a little before four. We could discern the town of Acre, and the Romulus frigate at anchor, very distinctly from this place. In a cemetery hard by, we noticed a grave, so constructed as to resemble an Egyptian mummy: it was plastered over, and afterward a face and feet had been painted upon the heap, like those pictured upon the cases wherein mummies are deposited. After leaving Shefhamer, the mountainous territory begins, and the road winds among valleys covered with beautiful trees. Passing these hills, we entered that part of Galilee which belonged to the tribe of Zabulon; whence, according to the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak, issued to the battle against Sisera, "*they that handled the pen of the writer.*" The scenery is, to the full, as delightful as in the rich vales upon the south of the Crimea; it remineded us of the finest parts of Kent and Surrey. The soil, although stony, is exceedingly rich, but now entirely neglected. That a man so avaricious as Djezzar could not discern the bad policy of his mode of government, was somewhat extraordinary. His territories were uncultivated, because he annihilated all the hopes of industry; but had it pleased him to encourage the labours of the husbandman, he might have been in possession of more wealth

* "We supped on the top of the house, for coolness, according to their custom, and *lodged there likewise, in a sort of closet, about eight feet square, of wicker work, plastered round toward the bottom, but without any doors* . . . . . The place abounds with vermin." Pococke's Trav. vol. ii. p. 69. Lond. 1745.

and power than any pacha in the grand signior's dominions. The delightful plain of Zabulon appeared every where covered with spontaneous vegetation, flourishing in the wildest exuberance. The same proof of its fertility is given by other travellers*. As we proceeded across this plain, a castle, once the acropolis of the city of Sapphura,† appeared upon a hill, distant from Shefhamer about seven miles. Its name is still preserved, in the appellation of a miserable village, called Sephoury. An ancient aqueduct, which conveyed water to the city, now serves to supply several small mills. We were told, that the French had been quartered in all these villages; that their conduct had rendered the name of a Frenchman, once odious, very popular among the Arabs; that they paid punctually for every thing they required; and left behind them notions, concerning the despotic tyranny of the Turks, which the government of that country will not find it easy to eradicate. We ascended the hill to the village; and found the sun's rays, even at this early hour of the morning, almost insupportable. If we had not adopted the precaution of carrying umbrellas, it would have been impossible to continue the journey. The *cactus ficus-indicus*, or prickly pear, which grows to a prodigious size in the Holy Land, as in Egypt, where it is used as a fence for the hedges of enclosures, sprouted luxuriantly among the rocks, displaying its gaudy yellow blossoms, amidst thorns defying all human approach.‡ We afterward saw this plant, with a stem, or trunk, as large as the mainmast of a frigate. It produces a delicious cooling fruit, which becomes ripe toward the end of July, and is then sold in all the markets of the country.

* Particularly by Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol ii. part i. Lond. 1745.

†In the enumeration of the cities of Judah, (Joshua, xv. 55.) this place is mentioned with *Carmel*, under the name of Ziph. And David is said to have hid himself with the *Ziphites*, in strong holds in the Hill of Hachilah. (1 Sam. xxiii. 19.) Harduin, (Num. Antiq. illust. p. 450. Paris, 1684.) upon the subject of its appellation, says, "More porro Hebræo *Sefforin* dicimus, quanquam in scribendo Græci æque atque Latini, Σέπφωριν et *Sipphorin* scribant." Cellarius writes it *Sepphoris*, from Josephus, (lib. iii. De Bell. cap. 3.) Σέπφωρις μεγίστη οὖσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλις. Brocardus, (Theat. Terr. Sanct.) as from the Greek, *Sephoron*, and *Sephorum*; also *Sephor*, under which name it occurs in the writings of some authors. It is, according to Cellarius, the *Zippor* or *Zippori*, of the Rabbins. In the *Codex Palatinus* of Ptolemy, (lib. v. cap. 16.) the name however occurs so nearly according to the manner in which it is now pronounced in the country (Σάπφουρα), that this ancient reading may be preferred to any other. A curious etymology of *Zipporis* is noticed by Cellarius, (lib. iii. c. 13. *Lips.* 1706.) "Judæis est צִפּוֹרִי, *Zipporis*, ut in Talmud. Megill. fol. 6. col. 1. aiunt, quia monti insidet, כְּצִפּוֹר *sicut avis*."

‡ It is applied to the same use in the West Indies. Baron de Tott notices its importance, as a fence, in the Holy Land. "The Indian fig tree, of which the hedges are formed, serves as an insurmountable barrier for the security of the fields." (Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 312. Lond. 1785.) It might, in certain latitudes, answer temporary purposes, as an outwork of fortification. Artillery has no effect upon it; fire will not act upon it; pioneers cannot approach it; and neither cavalry nor infantry can traverse it.

SAPPHURA, or SEPPHORIS, now *Sephoury*, was once the chief city and bulwark of Galilee.* The remains of its fortifications exhibited to us an existing work of Herod, who, after its destruction by Varus, not only rebuilt and fortified it, but made it the chief city of his tetrarchy.† Here was held one of the five Sanhedrims of Judæa.‡ Its inhabitants often revolted against the Romans.§ It was so advantageously situated for defence, that it was deemed impregnable. In later ages, it bore the name of *Diocæsarea*.|| Josephus relates, that the inhabitants of *Sepphoris* amicably entreated Vespasian, when he arrived in Ptolemais.** Harduin commemorates medals of the city, coined afterward, under the Romans, in the reigns of Domitian and of Trajan.†† We were not fortunate in our search for medals, either here, or in any other part of the Holy Land; and, speaking generally of the country, these antiquities are so exceedingly rare, that the peasants seemed unacquainted with the objects of our inquiry. This was not the case among the Arabs in Egypt, nor in any part of Greece. It is true, the French had preceded us, and they might have carried off the few which had of late years been discovered; but they had weightier matters to consider, and the inhabitants among whom we made our inquiry did not mention having supplied them with any reliques of this kind. When we arrived in the village, we were invited to visit *the house of St. Anne*. The proposal surprised us, coming from persons in the Arab dress; but we afterward found that the inhabitants of Galilee, and of the Holy Land in general, are as often Christians as

* Σέπφωριν, μεγίστην μὲν οὖσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας πόλιν, ἐρυμνότατῳ δὲ ἐπεκτισμένην χωρίῳ, καὶ φρουρὰν ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους ἐσομένην. "*Sepphoris, quæ Galilææ maxima, et in tutissimo loco condita, totiusque gentis futura præsidio.*" Joseph. lib. iii. Bell. Jud. cap. i. p. 832.

† Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 3.

‡ Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 10.

§ Of which instances are mentioned by various authors. Οἱ ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Ἰουδαῖοι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα ἀντήρων. (Socrat. Hist. ii. c. 33.) "Judæi qui Diocæsaream Palæstinæ incolebant contra Romanos arma sumserunt." See also Sozomen. Histor. lib iv. c. 7.

|| Cellarius, tom ii. p. 499. Lips. 1706. and the authors by him cited. Hieronymus de Locis Ebr. in ARABA: "Est et alia villa, Arabâ nomine, in finibus Diocæsareæ, quæ olim Saphorine dicebatur." Hegesippus, lib. i. cap. 30. "Prævenlens adventus sui nuntio Sepphorim prisco vocitatam nomine, quam Diocæsaream postea nuncupaverunt."

** Καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ὑπαιτῶσιν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν οἱ τῆς Γαλιλαίας Σέπφωριν νεμόμενοι, τῶν τῇδε εἰρηνικὰ φρονοῦντες. "In hâcporro civitate occurrerunt ei Sepphoritæ, qui Galilææ oppidum incolunt, animis pacis studiosis." Joseph. lib. iii. Bell. Jud. cap. 1.

†† CΕΠΦΟΡΗΝΩΝ. "Domitiani ac Trajani nummi, e Cimelio Regio, quorum postremum laudat Patinus, p. 183, cum palmæ, effigie, qui Phœnices in primis, ac Judææ typus." Harduini Numm. Antiq. illust. p. 449. Paris, 1684. See also Patin. p. 146. and Vaillant, Imp. August. et Cæs. Numism. pp. 23, 31. Par. 1698.

they are Mahometans; indeed, they sometimes consider themselves equally followers of Mahomet and of Christ. The Druses, concerning whom, notwithstanding the detailed account published by Niebuhr* and by Volney,† we have never received due historical information, worship Jonas, the Prophets, and Mahomet. They have also Pagan rites; and some among them certainly offer their highest adoration to a calf.‡ This account of their religion we received from a sensible and well-informed member of their own community. The worship of the calf is accounted for, in their Egyptian origin;§ the remains of superstition, equally ancient, being still retained in that country. Although the vicinity of Mount Libanus may be considered as the residence of the main horde of this people, stragglers, and detached parties of them, may be found in every part of the Holy Land. The inhabitants of Sephoury are generally Maronites,|| yet even here we found some Druses. Those of Nazareth are Greeks, Maronites, and Catholics. Cana of Galilee is tenanted by Greeks only; so is the town of Tiberias. In Jerusalem there are sects of every denomination, and, perhaps, of almost every religion upon earth. As to those who call themselves Christians, in opposition to the Moslems, we found them divided into sects, with whose distinctions we were often unacquainted. It is said there are no Lutherans; and if we add, that, under the name of Christianity, every degrading superstition and profane rite, equally remote from the enlightened tenets of the gospel, and the dignity of human nature, are professed and tolerated, we shall afford a true picture of the state of society in this country. The cause may be easily assigned. The pure gospel of Christ, every where the herald of civilization and of science, is almost as little known in the Holy Land as in

* Voyage en Arabie, tom. ii. p. 348. Amsterd. 1780.

† Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 33. Lond. 1787.

‡ The worship of the *calf* has been doubted, and by some denied; but the existence of this curious relique of the ancient mythology of Egypt, as well as of the worship of *Venus*, among the inhabitants of Mount Libanus, is now placed beyond dispute. Colonel Capper, journeying, over land, from India to Cyprus, in order to join our fleet in the Mediterranean, informed the author that he had witnessed the existence of the last-mentioned superstition.

§ See a note in the last chapter, p. 224.

|| A very curious account of the Maronite Christians, collected from their own historians, is given by De la Roque, (Voyage en Syrie et du Mont Liban, Par. 1722.) wherein it is stated, that this sect were named from their founder, *St. Maron*, a Syrian hermit, who lived about the beginning of the fifth century, and whose life is written by *Theodoret*. His austere mode of living spread his reputation all over the east. St. Chrysostom wrote a letter to him from the place of his exile, ("Ad Maronem Monachum et Presbyterum Epist. S. Joan. Chrysost. 36.") which letter fixes very nearly the time when St. Maron lived, which was about the year of Christ 400. Pococke says (Descript. of the East, vol. ii. p. 94.) that the Maronites are esteemed more honest than any other sect of Christians in the east.

Caliphornia or New Holland. A series of legendary traditions, mingled with remains of Judaism, and the wretched phantasies of illiterate ascetics, may now and then exhibit a glimmering of heavenly light; but if we seek for the blessed effects of Christianity in the land of Canaan, we must look for that period, when "the desert shall blossom as the rose, and the wilderness become a fruitful field." For this reason we had early resolved to make the sacred Scriptures our only guide throughout this interesting territory; and the delight afforded by the internal evidences of truth, in every instance where their fidelity of description was proved by a comparison with existing documents, surpassed even all we had anticipated.* Such extraordinary instances of coincidence, even with the customs of the country as they are now exhibited, and so many wonderful examples of illustration afforded by contrasting the simple narrative with the appearances presented, made us only regret the shortness of our time, and the limited sphere of our abilities for the comparison. When the original compiler† of "Observations on various passages of scripture" undertook to place them in a new light, and to explain their meaning by relations incidently mentioned in books of Voyages and Travels into the East, he was struck by communications the authors of those books were themselves not aware of having made; and it is possible, his commentators may discern similar instances in the brief record of our journey. But if the travellers who have visited this country (and many of them were men of more than ordinary talents) had been allowed full leisure for the inquiry, or had merely stated what they might have derived solely from a view of the country, abstracted from the consideration and detail of the lamentable mummery whereby the monks in all the convents have gratified the credulity of every traveller for so many centuries, and which in their subsequent relations they seem to have copied from each other, we should have had the means of elucidating the sacred writings, perhaps in every instance, where the meaning has been "not determinable by the methods commonly used by learned men."‡

* Scio equidem multa loca falso ostendi ab hominibus lucri avidis per universam Palæstinam; ac si hæc et illa miranda opera ibi patrata fuissent, sed hoc tamen negari non potest, aliqua sane certo sciri." Relandi Palæstina, cap. iv. in Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. Ugolini, vol. vi. Venet. 1746.

† The Rev. Thomas Harmer. See the different editions of his work, 1764, 1777, 1787: and especially the *fourth*, published in 1808, by Dr. Adam Clarke.

‡ See the title to the work above mentioned.

The House of St. Anne, at Sephoury, presented us with the commencement of that superstitious trumpery, which, for a long time, has constituted the chief object of devotion and of pilgrimage in the Holy Land, and of which we had afterward instances without number.* A tradition prevails that St. Joachim and the mother of the Virgin Mary resided in this place: accordingly, some pious agent of Constantine the First erected over the spot where the monks fancied their house had stood, or, what is more likely, over what they vouched for being the house itself, a most magnificent church. The remains of this sanctuary were what we had been invited to see; and these now bear the name of the house I have mentioned. The visit was, however, attended by circumstances which may possibly interest the reader more than the cause of it will induce him to imagine.

We were conducted to the ruins of a stately gothic edifice, which seems to have been one of the finest structures in the Holy Land. Here we entered, beneath lofty massive arches of stone. The roof of the building was of the same materials. The arches are placed at the intersection of a Greek cross, and originally supported a dome or a tower: their appearance is highly picturesque, and they exhibit the grandeur of a noble style of architecture. Broken columns of granite and marble lie scattered among the walls, and these prove how richly it was decorated. We measured the capital of a pillar of the order commonly called Tuscan, which we found lying against a pillar of granite. The top of this formed a square of three feet. One aisle of this building is yet entire; at the eastern extremity whereof a small temporary altar had been recently constructed by the piety of pilgrims: it consisted of loose materials, and was of very modern date. Some fragments of the original decorations of the church had been gathered from the ruins, and laid upon this altar; and, although it was open to every approach, even Mahometans had abstained from violating the sacred deposit. We were less scrupulous; for among these, to our very great surprise, we noticed an ancient painting, executed after the manner of the pictures worshipped in Russia,† upon a square piece of wood, about half an inch in thickness. The picture, split through the middle, consisted of two pieces: these, placed one upon the

* A house supposed to have belonged to the same persons is also shown in Jerusalem.

† See the first part of these travels, ch. II.

other, lay, covered with dust and cobwebs, upon the altar. From its appearance, it was evident that it had been found near the spot, the dirt not having been removed; and that the same piety, which had been shown in collecting together the other scraps, had also induced some person to place it upon the altar, as a relique. How long it had remained there could not be ascertained; but in all probability it had lately been deposited, because the cattle, coming into this place, might have disturbed it; and the Moslems, from their detestation of every pictured representation of the human form, would have destroyed it, the instant it was perceived by them. We therefore inquired for the person to whom this place principally belonged. An Arab came, who told us the picture had been found in moving a heap of rubbish belonging to the church; and that there were others like it, which were discovered in clearing some stones and mortar out of an old vaulted lumber-room belonging to the building, where certain of the villagers had since been accustomed to keep their plaster bee-hives* and working utensils. To this place he conducted us. It was near the altar. The Arab opened it for us; and there, in the midst of bee-hives, implements of husbandry, and other lumber, we found two pictures upon wood, of the same kind, almost entire, but in the condition which might be expected from the manner of their discovery. Of these curious reliques, highly interesting, from the circumstances of their origin, and their great antiquity, as specimens of the art of painting, a more particular description will now be given.

The first, namely, that which was found in two pieces upon the altar† represents the interior of an apartment, with a man

* Hasselquist was at this place upon the fifth of May, 1751. The monks who were with him alighted to honour the ruins of the church. "The inhabitants," says he, "breed a great number of bees. They make their hives of clay, four feet long, and half a foot in diameter, as in Egypt." This sort of bee-hive is also used in Cyprus. See p. 209.

† Having presented this picture to the Rev. T. Kerrich, principal librarian of the University of Cambridge, exactly as it was found upon the altar of the church of Sephoury, that gentleman, well known for the attention he has paid to the history of ancient painting, has, at the author's request, kindly communicated the following result of his observations upon the subject.

"This ancient picture is on cloth, pasted upon wood, and appears to be painted in water colours, upon a priming of chalk, and then varnished, in the manner taught by Theophilus,(1) an author who is supposed to have lived as early as the tenth century.(2)

"It is a fragment, and nearly one fourth part of it seems to be lost. Three persons, who by the *nimbus* or glory about the head of each, must be all saints, are at a table, on which are radishes, or some other roots, bread, &c. Two of the figures are sitting, and one of them holds a gold vessel, of a particular form, with an ear; the

(1) See Raspe's Essay on Oil-Painting, p. 68, and 87. 4to. *Lond.* 1781.
(2) Page 46, of the same book.

and woman seated at their supper table. The marks of age are strongly delineated in the features of these two personages. A young female is represented as coming into the house, and approaching the table in haste, to communicate intelligence. Her left hand, elevated, points toward heaven. A circular symbol of sanctity surrounds the heads of all of them; and the picture, according to the most ancient style of painting, is executed upon a golden back ground. The subject seems evidently the salutation of Elizabeth by the Virgin, in the house of Zacharias.* Upon the table appears a flagon, some radishes, and other articles of food. Elizabeth is represented holding a cup half filled with red wine, and the Virgin's right hand rests upon a loaf of bread.† A chandelier, with lighted candles, hangs from the ceiling; and, what is more remarkable, the *Fleur de Lis*, as an ornament, appears among the decorations of the apartment. The form of the chalice in the hand of Elizabeth, added to the circumstance of the chandelier, give to this picture an air of less antiquity than seems to characterize the second, which we found in the vaulted chamber, near the altar; although these afford no document whereby its age may be determined. Candelabra, nearly of the same form, were in use at a very early period, as we learn from the remains of such antiquities in bronze; and the lily,‡ as a symbol

other a gold cup, with red liquor in it: the third appears to be speaking, and points up to heaven.

"The glories, and some other parts of the picture, are gilt, as the whole of the back ground certainly was originally.

"It is undoubtedly a great curiosity, and very ancient, although it may be extremely difficult to fix its date with any degree of accuracy. From the style I cannot conclude any thing, as I never saw any other picture like it; but there is nothing in the architecture represented in it to induce us to suppose it can be later than the end of the eleventh century; and it may be a great deal older.

* Luke i. 39, 40.

† Probably intended as an allusion to the elements of the holy sacrament.

‡ The vulgar appellation of *Flower de Luce* is given in England to a species of iris, but the flower originally designated by the French term *Fleur de Lis*, was, as its name implies, a lily. It is represented in all ancient paintings of the Virgin, and sometimes in the hand of the archangel, in pictures of the annunciation: thereby denoting the advent of the Messiah. Its original consecration was of very high antiquity. In the Song of Solomon (ch. ii. 1, 2.) it is mentioned with the rose, as an emblem of the church: "I am the *rose* of Sharon, and the *lily* of the valley." This alone is sufficient to explain its appearance upon religious paintings. Its introduction as a type in heraldry may be referred to the crusades. It appears in the crown worn by Edward the Confessor, according to a coin engraved both in Speed and in Camden. But there is another circumstance which renders its situation upon pictures of the Virgin peculiarly appropriate: the word Nazareth, in Hebrew, signifies *a flower:* and St. Jerom, who mentions this circumstance, (tom. I. epist. xvii. ad Marcellam: See also Fuller's Palestine, book II. c. 6. p. 143. Lond. 1650) considers it to be the cause of the allusion made to *a flower* in the prophecies concerning Christ. Marinus Sanutus hints at this prophetical allusion in the writings of Isaiah. These are his words: "Hæc est illa amabilis civitas Nazareth, quæ *florida* interpretatur: in quâ *flos* campi oritur, dum in Virgine Verbum caro efficitur.....Ornatus tamen illo nobili *flore*, super quem constat spiritum domini quievisse. 'Ascendet,' inquit Isayas, '*flos de radice*

of Christianity, has been found upon religious pictures as long as any specimens of the art of painting have been known, which bear reference to the history of the church. The wood of the sycamore was used for the backs of all these pictures; and to this their preservation may be attributed; as the sycamore is never attacked by worms, and is known to endure, unaltered, for a very considerable time. Indeed, the Arabs maintain that it is not, in any degree, liable to decay.

The second exhibits a more ancient style of painting: it is a picture of the Virgin, bearing, in swaddling clothes, the infant Jesus. The style of it exactly resembles those curious specimens of the art which are found in the churches of Russia;* excepting, that it has an Arabic, instead of a Greek, inscription. This picture, as well as the former, is painted according to the mode prescribed by Theophilus, in his chapter "*De Tabulus Altarium*;"† which alone affords satisfactory proof of its great antiquity. The colours were applied to a priming of chalk upon cloth previously stretched over a wooden tablet, and covered with a superficies of *gluten* or size. The Arabic inscription, placed in the upper part of the picture, consists only of these words:

Mary the Virgin.

The third picture is, perhaps, of more modern origin than either of the others, because it is painted upon paper made of cotton, or silk rags, which has been also attached to a tablet of sycamore wood. This is evidently a representation of the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus, although the words "The Holy," in Arabic, are all that can be read for its illustration; what followed having been effaced. Three lilies are painted above

Jesse, et requiescet super eum spiritus domini.'" (Marin. Sanut. Secret. Fidel. Cruc. lib. iii. pars 7. c. 2.) Hence the cause wherefore, in ancient paintings used for illuminating missals, the *rose* and the *lily*, separately or combined, accompany pictures of the Virgin. In old engravings, particularly those by Albert Durer, the Virgin is rarely represented unaccompanied by the lily. Hence, again, the origin of those singular paintings wherein subjects connected with the history of Christ are represented within a wreath of flowers, added, not for ornamental purposes alone, but as having a religious interpretation; and hence, in all probability, the curious ancient legend of the miraculous *flowering* of Joseph's staff in the temple, whereby the will of God, concerning his marriage with the Virgin, was said to be miraculously manifested. See the book of "*The Golden Legende*," as printed by Caxton. In the account given by Quaresmius concerning Nazareth (lib. vii. c 5 Elucid. Ter Sanct.) Christ is denominated "*Flos campi, et lilium convallium, cujus odor est sicut odor agri pleni.*" Vid. tom. II. p. 817 *Antwerp.* 1639.

* See the first volume of these Travels, chap. II.

† See the ancient manuscript published by Raspe, and referred to by Mr. Kerrich in his note upon the former picture.

the head of the infant Messiah: and where the paint has wholly disappeared, in consequence of the injuries it has sustained, an Arabic manuscript is disclosed, whereon the picture was painted. This manuscript is nothing more than a leaf torn from an old copy book: the same line occurs repeatedly from the top of the page to the bottom; and contains this aphorism:

The Unbeliever hath walked in the Way of Sin.

Whatsoever may have been the antiquity of these early specimens of the art of painting, it is probable that they existed long prior to its introduction into Italy; since they seem evidently of an earlier date than the destruction of the church, beneath whose ruins they were buried, and among which they were recently discovered. No value was set upon them: they were not esteemed by the Arabs in whose possession they were found, although some Christian pilgrim had placed the two fragments belonging to one of them upon the rude altar which his predecessors had constructed from the former materials of the building. Not the smallest objection was made to their removal: so, having bestowed a trifle upon the Mahometan tenant of the bee-hive repository, we took them into safer custody.*

Among the various authors who have mentioned Sephoury, no intelligence is given of the church in its entire state: this is the more remarkable, as it was certainly one of the stateliest edifices in the Holy Land. Quaresmius, who published in the seventeenth century a copious and elaborate description of the Holy Land,† has afforded the only existing document concern-

* The author is further indebted to his learned friend, the Rev. J. Palmer, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Arabic professor in the university, for the following observations upon these pictures. Professor Palmer travelled in the Holy Land soon after they were discovered.

"The antiquity of the tablets cannot be determined precisely; yet it may be of importance to remark the absence of any Arabic titles corresponding with MP. ΘY. and ΘEOTOKOC, so commonly, not to say invariably, inscribed upon the effigies of the Virgin, some of them more than five hundred years old, which are seen in the Greek churches.

"I assume, as beyond doubt, that these tablets belonged to some church, or domestic sanctuary, of Milkite Greeks; both from the close correspondence, in figure and expression, between the effigies in their churches, and those on the tablets; and from the fact, familiar to all who have visited eastern countries, that such tablets are rarely, if ever, found among Catholic Christians."

† This work is very little known. It was printed at Antwerp in 1639, in two large folio volumes, containing some excellent engravings, under the title of "*Historia Theologica et Moralis Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio.*" Quaresmius was a Franciscan friar of Lodi in Italy, and once apostolic commissary and *praeses* of the Holy Land. He had therefore every opportunity, from his situation, as well as his own actual observations, to illustrate the ecclesiastical antiquities of that country.

ing the form of this building; but his account is avowedly derived from a survey of its ruins. Speaking of the city, he expresses himself to the following effect:* "It now exhibits a scene of ruin and desolation, consisting only of peasants' habitations, and sufficiently manifests in its remains, the splendour of the ancient city. Considered as the native place of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin, it is renowned, and worthy of being visited. Upon the spot where the house of Joachim stood a conspicuous sanctuary, built with square stones, was afterward erected. It had two rows of pillars, by which the vault of the triple nave was supported. At the upper end were three chapels; now appropriated to the dwellings of the (*Arabs*) Moors." From the allusion here made to the nave and side aisles, it is evident Quaresmius believed its form to have been different from that of a Greek cross: yet the four arches of the center and the dome they originally supported rather denote this style of architecture. The date of its construction is incidently afforded by a passage in Epiphanius,† in the account given by him of one *Josephus*, a native of Tiberias, who was authorized by Constantine to erect this and other edifices of a similar nature, in the Holy Land. Epiphanius relates, that he built the churches of Tiberias, Diocæsarea, and Capernaum; and Diocæsarea was one of the names given to Sepphoris.‡— This happened toward the end of the life of Constantine; therefore the church of Sepphoris was erected before the middle of the fourth century. "There was," says he,§ "among them one

* "Nunc diruta et desolata jacet, rusticanas dumtaxat continens domos, et multas objiciens oculis ruinas; quibus intelligitur quam eximia olim extiterit urbs. Celebris est, et digna ut visitetur, quód credatur patria Joachim et Annæ, sanctorum Dei genitricis parentum. Et in loco ubi Joachim domus erat fuit posteà illustris ædificata ecclesia ex quadratis lapidibus: quos habebat ordines columnarum, quibus triplicis navis testudo fulciebatur: in capite tres habebat capellas, in præsentiâ in *Maurorum* domunculas accommodatas." *Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanct. lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. *tom.* II, p. 852.

† The testimony of Epiphanius concerning this country is the more valuable, as he was himself a native of Palæstine, and flourished so early as the fourth century. He was born at the village of Besanduc, in 320; lived with Hilarion and Hesychius; was made bishop of Salamis (now Famagosta) in Cyprus, in 366; and died in 403, at the age of eighty, in returning from Constantinople where he had been to visit Chrysostom.

‡ As it appears in the writings of Socrates Ecclesiasticus and Sozomen. *Vid. Socrat. Hist.* xi. 33. *Sozomen. Histor. lib.* iv. c 7.

§ Ἦν δέ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἰώσηπος, οὐχ ὁ συγγραφὺς, καὶ ἱστοριογράφος, καὶ παλαιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀπὸ Τιβεριάδος, ὁ ἐν χρόνοις τοῦ μακαρίτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Βασιλεύσαντος, τοῦ γέροντος, ὃς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξιώματος Κομίτων ἔτυχε καὶ ἐξουσίαν εἴληφεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ, Τιβεριάδι ἐκκλησιαν Χριστῷ ἱδρύσαι, καὶ ἐν Διοκαισαρείᾳ καὶ ἐν Καπερναούμ, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις. "Fuit ex illorum numero Josephus quidam, non historiæ ille scriptor antiquus, sed Tiberiadensis alter, qui beatæ memoriæ Constantini Senioris Imperatoris ætate vixit: à quo etiam comitivam accepit, cum eâ potestate ut cum in urbe ipsâ Tiberiadis, tum Diocesareæ, Capharnaumi, ac vicinis allis in oppidis ecclesias in Christi honorem extrueret." *Epiphanii Opera, Par.* 1622, *tom.* I. *lib.* i. *Adv. Haer. p.* 128.

Josephus, not the ancient writer and historian of that name, but a native of Tiberias, contemporary with the late emperor, Constantine the elder, who obtained from that sovereign the rank of *Count*, and was empowered to build a church to Christ in Tiberias, and in Diocæsarea, and in Capernaum, and in other cities."

The æra of its destruction may be referred to that of the city, in the middle of the fourth century, as mentioned by Reland,* upon the authority of Theophanes.† Phocas describes the city as totally ruined, without exhibiting a trace of its original splendour.‡ Brocard, Breidenbach, Adrichomius, and even William of Tyre (who so often introduces an allusion to Sephoury, in mentioning its celebrated fountain,§ are silent as to the existence of this magnificent structure; although all of them notice the tradition concerning St. Joachim and St. Anne. Marinus Sanutus, in his brief account of the city, notices the great beauty of its fortress,|| but is also silent concerning the temple. It is only as we approach nearer to our own times, that these stately remains obtain any notice in the writings of travellers visiting the Holy Land. Doubdan is perhaps the first person by whom they have been mentioned. He passed through Sephoury

* The reader, after a fruitless examination of the pages of *Adrichomius*, and his predecessors, *Breidenbach* and *Brocard*, for an account of this city, may find, in the *Palaestine* of *Reland*, every information, concerning its history, that the most profound erudition, joined to matchless discrimination, diffidence, and judgment, could select and concentrate. It is the peculiar characteristic of Reland's inestimable account of Palæstine, a work derived from the purest original sources, to exhibit, in a perspicuous and prominent manner, the rarest and most valuable intelligence. Yet even Reland is silent as to the existence of this building; which is the more remarkable, as it seems obscurely alluded to by these words of Adrichomius, in speaking of Sepphoris: "*Videtur quondam cathedralem habuisse ecclesiam: nam Tyrius, in Catalogo Pontificum Suffraganeorum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ, inter Episcopatus Seleuciæ Diocæsaream secunde nomina, loco.*" Vide Adrichom. in Zabulon. Num. 88, p. 142. Theat. Terr. Sanct. Colon. 1628.

† "Anno æræ Christianæ 339 destructa est urbs Sepphoris, ob seditionem civium. Ita rem narrat Theophanes, p. 33. Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει οἱ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Ἰουδαῖοι ἀντῆραν· καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν ἀνεῖλον· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ παγγενεὶ (παγγενὴ Cedrenus) ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀνηρέθησαν καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν Διοκαισάρεια ἠφανίσθη. "*Hoc anno* (xxv. *Constantii*) *Judaei in Palaestinâ res novas moliti sunt, excitatâ seditione: plurimisque tum Graecorum tum Samaritanorum interemptis, ipsi tandem omnes ab exercitu Romano internecione deleti sunt, et urbs eorum Diocaesarea dirula.*" Relandi Palæstina, lib. iii. de Urb. et Vic. in Nom. Sepphor.

‡ Πρώτως οὖν κατὰ τὴν Πτολεμαΐδα ἐστὶν ἡ Σεμφωρὶ πόλις τῆς Γαλιλαίας πάντη ἄοικος σκεδὸν μηδὲ λείψανον τῆς πρώην αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐμφαίνουσα. "*Prima post Ptolemaïdem urbs Galilaeae Semphori sita est, prorsus inculta, atque inhabitabilis, nullumque fere pristinae beatitatis prae se fert vestigium.* Phocas de loc. Palaestinae, x. p. 10. Leon. Allatii ΣΥΜΜΙΚΤΑ. ed. Bart. Nihus. Colon. 1642.

§ "Nostri autem qui apud FONTEM SEPHORITANUM, de quo *saepissimam in his tractatibus nostris fecimus mentionem*," &c. Willermi Tyrensis Histor. lib. xxi. c. 26.

|| "De Nazareth ad duas leucas est Sephorum, unde beata *Anna* traxit originem oppidum istud habet desuper castrum valdè pulchrum: indè *Joachim* ortus dicitur." *Marini Sanuti Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii. pars 14. cap. 7.

in the middle of the seventeenth century, but was prevented halting, in consequence of the evil disposition of the inhabitants toward the Christians.* As no author more patiently, or more faithfully, concentrated the evidences of former writers, if any document had existed upon the subject, it would at least have had a reference in Doubdan's valuable work: he contents himself, however, with barely mentioning the desolated condition of the town, and the ruins of its church.† Egmont and Heyman found the vaulted part of the building, facing the east, entire;‡ and it has sustained no alteration since their time. Maundrell,§ Hasselquist,‖ and Pococke,** allude slightly to its remains. In this survey, it is not easy to account for the disregard shown to a monument of antiquity, highly interesting, from its title to consideration in the history of ancient architecture; or to the city of which it was the pride, once renowned as the metropolis of Galilee.

Here, protected by the stone roof of the building from the scorching rays of the sun, all our party were assembled, and breakfasted upon unleavened bread, in thin cakes, served hot, with fowls, eggs, and milk, both sweet and sour. Surrounded by so many objects, causing the events of ages to crowd upon the memory, we would gladly have reposed a longer time. We dreaded a second trial of the intense heat to which we had been exposed; but Nazareth was only five miles distant, and we had resolved to halt there for the remainder of the day and night. Full of curiosity to see a place so memorable, we therefore abandoned our interesting asylum in Sephoury, and once more encountered a Galilæan sun. Our journey led us over a hilly and stony tract of land, having no resemblance to the deep and rich soil we had before passed. The rocks consist-

* Voy. de la Terre Sainete, p. 548. Par. 1657.

† "A present la ville est toute comblée de ruines, et sur la cime de la montagne, qui n'est pas haute, on voit encore un reste de bastiment d'une église qui avoit esté edifiée à la place de la maison de Sainete Joachim et Sainte Anne."

‡ Travels through Europe, Asia, &c. vol. II. p. 15. *Lond.* 1759.

§ He calls the place *Sepharia*. "On the west side of the town stands good part of a large church, built on the same place where they say stood the house of Joachim and Anna; it is fifty paces long, and in breadth proportionable." *Maundrell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p.* 117. Oxf. 1721.

‖ "*Safuri*, a village inhabited by Greeks. In this place, the monks who were with me alighted to honour the ruins of an old destroyed church, which is said to have been built in memory of the mother of St. Anne and St. Mary, who are reported to have dwelt here." *Hasselquist's Trav. to the East*, p. 153. Lond. 1766.

** "There is a castle on the top of the hill, with a fine tower of hewn stone; and near half a mile below it is the village of *Sephoury*, called by the Christians St. *Anna* because they have a tradition that Joachim and Anna, the parents of the blessed Virgin, lived here, and that their house stood on the spot where there are ruins of a church, with some fragments of pillars of grey granite about it." *Pococke's Descr. on Palaestine, p.* 62. *Lond*, 1745

ed of a hard compact limestone. Hasselquist relates, that it is a continuation of a species of territory peculiar to the same meridian through several countries.* He found here the same plants which he had seen in Judea; and these, he says, were not common elsewhere. Among the more rare, he mentions the *Kali fruticosum*. Hereabouts we found that curious plant, the *Hedysarum Alhagi*,† together with the *Psoralea Palæstina* of Linnæus, and a new species of *Pink*.‡ This last, from the interesting circumstance of its locality, we have named DIANTHUS NAZARÆUS. About a mile to the southeast of Sephoury, is the celebrated fountain so often mentioned in the history of the Crusades.§ The dress of the Arabs, in this part of the Holy Land, and indeed throughout all Syria, is simple and uniform: it consists of a blue shirt, descending below the knees, the legs and feet being exposed, or the latter sometimes covered with the ancient *cothurnus*, or buskin.‖ A cloak is worn, of very coarse and heavy camel's hair cloth, almost uni-

* Travels to the East, p. 154. *Lond.* 1766.

† See Forskal's Flora, p. 136.

‡ In this journey between Acre and Nazareth we discovered three new species, beside other rare plants, mentioned in the appendix. The new species are,

I. A non descript species of *wild bugloss*, (*lycopsis* Linn.) with lanceolate blunt leaves from two to three inches in length, and the flowers sessile, pointing to one side in curved close racemes at the ends of the branches; the bracts linear, longer than the blossoms, and, as well as every other part of the plant, excepting the blossoms and roots, hispid, with strong pungent bristles. We have named it LYCOPSIS CONFERTIFLORA. *Lycopsis foliis longo-lanceolatis calloso-hispidis, integris; ramis diffusis decumbentibusve asperrimis; floribus racemosis, imbricatis, sessilibus; corollis calyce longioribus; bracteis elongatis lanceolato-linearibus; seminibus nigris glabris, nitidis, basi denticulatis.*

II. The new species of *pink* mentioned above, (*dianthus* Linn.) with slender stems a foot or more in height, and very narrow three-nerved leaves, about an inch and a half long; the flowers solitary, embraced at the base by six ovate sharp-pointed bracts, the petals unequally six-toothed at the end. This we have named DIANTHUS NAZARÆUS. *Dianthus caulibus parum ramosis simplicibusve floribus solitariis; squamis calycinis tubo dimidio brevioribus, ovatis, acutis, sæpius adpressis; petalis sex dentatis; foliis elongatis subulato-linearibus, trinerviis, margine scabris.*

III. A curious non descript species of *stone-crop* (*sedum* Linn.) with lanceolate fleshy leaves, the flowering stems nearly erect, from above fourteen to eighteen inches or more in height, and often leafless; the flowers yellow, in a sort of umbel, composed of close unequal racemes; the petals six, lanceolate and acute, with the same number of capsules, and twelve stamens. We have named it SEDUM ALTUM. *Sedum foliis lanceolatis acutis integerrimis basi solutis; caulibus floriferis erectis, sæpius denudatis; racemis subfastigiatis; pedicellis secundis brevibus; floribus hexapetalis hexagynis; petalis lanceolatis; calycibus acutis.*

N.B. The squamæ at the base of the germ are wanting in this species, which with the *S. ochroleucum* of Dr. Smith, and the *S. altissimum* of M. Poiret, ought, in an artificial system, to form a separate genus from *sedum* in the class dodecandria; but their habit and inflorescence keeping them very distinct from *sempervivum*.

§ Almost all the writers, who have given an account of the Holy Wars, mention this fountain: it served as a place of rendezvous for the armies belonging to the kings of Jerusalem, particularly during the reign of Almerick and Baldwin the Fourth. Vid. Gesta Dei per Francos, in Histor. W. Tyr. lib. xx. c. 27. lib. xxii. c. 15, 19. Hanov. 1611. William of Tyre speaks of it as between Sephoury and Nazareth: "*Convocatis Regni Principibus, juxta fontem illum celeberrimum, qui inter Nazareth et Sephorim est.*"

‖ Nearer to Jerusalem, the ancient sandal is worn, exactly as it appears on Grecian statues.

versally decorated with broad black and white stripes, passing vertically down the back: this is of one square piece, with holes for the arms: it has a seam down the back. Made without this seam, it is considered of greater value. Here, then, we perhaps beheld the form and materials of our Saviour's garment, for which the soldiers cast lots; being "*without seam, woven from the top throughout.*" It was the most ancient dress of the inhabitants of this country. Upon their heads they now wear a small turban, (or dirty rag, like a coarse handkerchief, bound across the temples,) one corner of which generally hangs down; and this, by way of distinction, is sometimes fringed with strings, in knots. The Arab women are not so often concealed from view as in other parts of Turkey: we had often seen them in Acre. They render their persons as hideous and disgusting as any barbarians of the South Seas: their bodies are covered with a long blue shift; but their breasts are exposed; and these, resembling nothing human, extend to an extraordinary length. Upon their heads they wear two handkerchiefs; one as a hood, and the other bound over it, as a fillet, across the temples. Just above the right nostril they place a small button, sometimes studded with pearl, a piece of glass, or any other glittering substance: this is fastened by a plug thrust through the cartilage of the nose. Sometimes they have the cartilaginous separation between the nostrils bored for a ring, as large as those ordinarily used in Europe for hanging curtains; and this, pendent on the upper lip, covers the mouth; so that, in order to eat, it is necessary to raise it. Their faces, hands, and arms, are tattooed, and covered with hideous scars; their eyelashes and eyes being always painted, or rather dirted, with some dingy black or blue powder. Their lips are dyed of a deep and dusky blue, as if they had been eating blackberries. Their teeth are jet black; their nails and fingers brick red; their wrists, as well as their anklés, are laden with large metal cinctures, studded with sharp pyramidal knobs and bits of glass. Very ponderous rings are also placed in their ears; so that altogether it might be imagined some evil dæmon had employed the whole of his ingenuity to maim and to disfigure the loveliest work of the creation. In viewing these women, we may form some notion of the object beheld by the Chevalier D'Arvieux,* when *Hyche*, wife of Hassan the Majorcan slave,

* See the very interesting travels of the *Chevalier d'Arvieux*, as written by M. de la Roque, and published at Paris in 1717. D'Arvieux was made French consul in Syria in 1682. His account of the Arabs exhibits a faithful picture of their manners, and

for the first time condescended to unveil herself before him only there was this difference, to heighten the effect of such a disclosure, that *Hyche*, with all the characteristic decorations of an Arabian female, was moreover a negress.

About half way between Sephoury and Nazareth, as we ascended a hill, two very singular figures met us on horseback, exciting no inconsiderable mirth among the English members of our caravan, in spite of all their endeavours to suppress it. These were, the worthy superiors of the Franciscan Monastery in Nazareth: two meagre little men, in long black cassocks, having hats upon their heads of the size of an ordinary umbrella. It is impossible to give an idea of the ludicrous appearance they made, sitting beneath these enormous hats, with their knees quite up to their chins, as they descended the hill toward us. They had been informed of our approach by a party of Arabs, who had proceeded, by a different road, with our camels of burthen, and were, therefore, kindly coming to meet us. They soon converted our mirth into gravity, by informing us, that the plague raged, with considerable fury, both in their convent, and in the town; but as the principal danger was said to be in the convent, our curiosity superceded all apprehension, and we resolved to pass the night in one of the houses of the place. These monks informed us, that, provided we were cautious in avoiding contact with suspected persons, we might safely venture; we therefore began, by keeping *them* at such a distance as might prevent any communication of the disorder from their persons. The younger of the two, perceiving this, observed, that when we had been longer in the country, we should lay aside our fears, and perhaps fall into the opposite extreme, by becoming too indifferent as to the chance of contagion. They said they visited the sick from the moment of their being attacked: received them into their convent; and administered to their necessities; always carefully abstaining from the touch of their diseased patients.* The force of imagination is said to have great influence, either in avoiding or in contracting this disorder; those who give way to any great degree of alarm being the most liable to its attack; while predestinarian Moslems, armed with a powerful faith that nothing can accelerate or retard the fixed decrees of Providence, pass un-

bears the strongest internal evidence of truth. The particular circumstance to which allusion is here made is related in the 26th page of the edition cited.

* We afterward found a very different line of conduct observed by the Monks of the Holy Sepulchre, who refused, and doubtless with very good reason, to admit any of our party after a visit to Bethlehem, where the plague was vehement.

hurt through the midst of contagion.* Certainly, the danger is not so great as it is generally believed to be. The rumour prevalent in the neighbourhood of Asiatic towns, where the plague exists, of the number carried off by the disorder, is always false; and this gaining strength, as it proceeds to any distance, causes the accounts which are published in the gazettes of Europe, of whole cities being thereby depopulated. The towns of the Holy Land are, it is true, often emptied of their inhabitants, who retire in tents to the environs when the plague is rife; but they quickly return again to their habitations, when the alarm subsides. A traveller in these countries, will do well to be mindful of this; because, were he to halt or turn back upon the event of every rumour of this nature, he would soon find his journey altogether impracticable. We had reason to regret that we were thus prevented from visiting Baffa in the isle of Cyprus. In a subsequent part of our travels, we were often liable to exaggerated reports concerning the plague. They are something like the stories of banditti, in many European mountains inhabited by a race of shepherds as harmless as the flocks they tend. The case is certainly somewhat different in Asia, especially in the Holy Land, where banditti are no insubstantial phantoms, that vanish whenever they are approached. The traveller in this country must pass "the tents of Kedar, and the hills of the robbers." So it is concerning the plague; he will sometimes find the reality, although it be inadequate to the rumour. We visited several places where the inhabitants were said to die by hundreds in a day; but not an individual of our party, which was often numerous, experienced in any degree the consequences of contagion. The French, from their extreme carelessness, were often attacked by it, and as often cured. The members of the medical staff, belonging to their army in Egypt, seemed to consider it as a malignant, and therefore dangerous fever; but with proper precaution, by no means fatal.

* The author knew a Mahometan of high rank,, who when his wife was attacked by the plague, attended her, with impunity, until she died. He would not suffer any of his slaves to approach her person; but gave her food and medicines with his own hands; and, in the hour of death, impressed a parting kiss upon her lips, as he wept over her. In a similar state of indifference as to the consequence of his temerity, the celebrated Dr. White, physician to our army and navy, when in Egypt, resided in the plague hospital at Grand Cairo, and escaped, until he actually inoculated himself with the purulent virus of the disorder.

The rest of this short journey, like the preceding part of it, was over sterile limestone, principally ascending, until we entered a narrow defile between the hills. This, suddenly opening toward our right, presented us with a view of the small town or village of Nazareth,* situated upon the side of a barren rocky elevation, facing the east; and commanding a long valley. Throughout the dominion of Djezzar Pacha, there was no place that suffered more from his tyrannical government than Nazareth. Its inhabitants, unable to sustain the burthens imposed upon them, were continually emigrating to other territories. The few who remained were soon to be stripped of their possessions; and when no longer able to pay the tribute exacted from them, no alternative remained, but that of going to Acre, to work in his fortifications, or to flee their country. The town was in the most wretched state of indigence and misery, the soil around might bid defiance to agriculture; and to the prospect of starvation were added the horrors of the plague. Thus it seemed destined to maintain its ancient reputation; for the Nathanael of his day might have inquired of a native of Bethsaïda,† whether 'any good thing could come out of Nazareth?' A party of Djezzar's troops, encamped in tents about the place, were waiting to seize even the semblance of a harvest which could be collected from all the neighbouring district. In the valley appeared one of those fountains, which, from time immemorial, have been the halting place of caravans, and sometimes the scene of contention and bloodshed. The women of Nazareth were passing to and from the town, with pitchers upon their heads. We stopped to view the groupe of camels, with their drivers, who were there reposing: and, calling to mind the manners of the most remote ages, we renewed the solicitation of Abraham's servant unto Rebecca, by the well of Nahor.‡ In the writings of early pilgrims and travellers, this spring is denominated "the fountain of the Virgin Mary;" and certainly, if there be a spot throughout the Holy Land, that was undoubtedly honoured by her presence, we may consider this to have been the place; because the situation of a copious spring is not likely to change;

* "Ναζαρὶτ, scribit Epiphanius, olim oppidum erat, nunc vicus, κώμη. Lib. i. adversus Hæreses, p. 122. notatque p. 136. ante tempora Josephi (usque ad imperium Constantini Senioris) nullis præter Judæos illic habitare licuisse." *Relandi Palestina, in verb. Nazareth.*

"Phocas appellat eam κωμόπολιν, sic ut κώμης, et πολεως *vici* et *urbis*, certo respectu nomen inereatur." Ibid. See also William of Tyre, lib. xxiii. c. 26.

† John, c. i. ‡ Gen. c. xxiv. 17.

and because the custom of repairing thither to draw water, has been continued, among the female inhabitants of Nazareth, from the earliest period of its history. Marinus Sanutus, who accurately describes its situation, nevertheless confounds it with the fountain of Sephoury. He relates the ancient traditions concerning it, but mingles with his narrative the legendary stories characteristic of the age in which he lived.*

After leaving this fountain, we ascended to the town, and were conducted to the house of the principal Christian inhabitant of Nazareth. The tremendous name of Djezzar had succeeded in providing for us, in the midst of poverty, more sumptuous fare than is often found in wealthier cities: the convent had largely contributed; but we had reason to fear, that many poor families had been pinched to supply our board. All we could do, therefore, as it was brought with cheerfulness, was to receive it thankfully; and we took especial care that those from whom we obtained it should not go unrewarded.

Scarcely had we reached the apartment prepared for our reception, when, looking from the window into the court yard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill, in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour, before alluded to, in the account given of the ancient hand-mills of the island of Cyprus.† They were preparing flour to make our bread, as it is always customary in the country when strangers arrive. The two women, seated upon the ground, opposite to each other, held between them two round flat stones, such as are seen in Lapland, and such as in Scotland are called *querns*. This was also mentioned in describing the mode of grinding corn in the villages of Cyprus; but the circumstance is so interesting, (our Saviour's allusion actually referring to an existing custom in the place of his earliest residence,) that a little repetition may perhaps be pardoned. In the centre of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn; and, by the side of this, an upright wooden handle, for moving the stone. As the operation began, one of the women, with her right hand, pushed this handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion, thus communicating

* He often copies *Jacobus de Vitriaco*, word for word. Marinus Sanutum began the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* in 1306. Jac. de Vitriaco was bishop of Ptolemaïs, and died in May, 1240. "De fonte *Sephoritano* dilectæ matri (*Jesus*) portaret aquam; *fons autem in fine civitatis est*: ibi dicitur puer Jesus semel, vase fictili fracto, aquam portasse in gremio matri suæ." Marin. Sanut. Secret. Fidel Cruc. lib. iii. pars vii. cap. 2.

† See chap. xi. p. 208. of this volume.

a rotatory and very rapid motion to the upper stone; their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine.

The convent of Nazareth, situated in the lower part of the village, contains about fourteen friars, of the Franciscan order. Its church (erected, as they relate, over the cave wherein the Virgin Mary is supposed to have resided) is a handsome edifice; but it is degraded, as a sanctuary, by absurdities too contemptible for notice, if the description of them did not offer an instructive lesson showing the abject state to which the human mind may be reduced by superstition. So powerful is still its influence in this country, that, at the time of our visit, the Franciscan friars belonging to the convent had been compelled to surround their altars with an additional fencing, in order to prevent persons infected with the plague from seeking a miraculous cure, by rubbing their bodies with the hangings of the sanctuary, and thus communicating infection to the whole town; because, all who entered saluted these hangings with their lips. Many of those unhappy patients believed themselves secure, from the moment they were brought within the walls of this building, although in the last stage of the disorder. As we passed toward the church, one of the friars, rapidly conducting us, pointed to invalids who had recently exhibited marks of the infection; these were then sitting upon the bare earth, in cells, around the court yard of the convent, waiting a miraculous recovery. The sight of these persons so near to us rather checked our curiosity; but it was too late to render ourselves more secure by retreating. We had been told, that, if we chose to venture into the church, the doors of the convent would be opened; and therefore had determined to risk a little danger, rather than be disappointed; particularly as it was said the sick were kept apart, in a place expressly allotted to them. We now began to be sensible we had acted without sufficient caution; and it is well we had no reason afterward to repent of our imprudence.

Having entered the church, the friars put lighted wax tapers into our hands, and, charging us on no account to touch any thing, led the way, muttering their prayers. We descended, by a flight of steps, into the cave before mentioned; entering it by means of a small door, behind an altar laden with pictures, wax candles, and all sorts of superstitious trumpery. They pointed out to us what they called the kitchen and fire-

place of the Virgin Mary. As all these sanctified places in the Holy Land, have some supposed miracle to exhibit, the monks of Nazareth have taken care not to be without their share in supernatural rarities; accordingly, the first things they show to strangers descending into this cave, are two stone pillars in front of it; one whereof, separated from its base, is said to sustain its capital and part of its shaft miraculously in the air. The fact is, that the capital and a piece of the shaft of a pillar of gray granite has been fastened on to the roof of the cave; and so clumsily is the rest of the *hocus pocus* contrived, that what is shown for the lower fragment of the same pillar resting upon the earth, is not of the same substance, but of Cipolino marble. About this pillar a different story has been related to almost every traveller since the trick was first devised. Maundrell,* and Egmont and Heyman,† were told, that it was broken by a pacha in search of hidden treasure, who was struck with blindness for his impiety. We were assured that it separated in this manner when the angel announced to the Virgin the tidings of her conception.‡ The monks had placed a rail, to prevent persons infected with the plague from coming to rub against these pillars: this had been, for a great number of years, their constant practice, whenever afflicted with any sickness. The reputation of the broken pillar, for healing every kind of disease, prevails all over Galilee.§

It is from extravagances of this kind, constituting a complete system of low mercenary speculation and priestcraft throughout this country, that devout, but weak men, unable to discriminate between monkish mummery and simple truth, have considered the whole series of topographical evidence as one tissue of imposture, and have left the Holy Land worse Christians than they were when they arrived. Credulity and scepticism are neighbouring extremes: whosoever abandons either of these, generally admits the other. It is hardly possible to view the mind of man in a more forlorn and degraded state, than when completely subdued by superstition; yet this view of it is presented over a very considerable portion of the earth; over all Asia, Africa, almost all America, and more than two-thirds of Europe: indeed, it is difficult to say where society exists without betraying some or other of its modifications; nor can there be suggested a more striking proof of the

* Journ. from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 113 Oxf. 1721.
† Travels through Europe, Asia, &c. vol. ii. p. 17. Lond. 1759.
‡ Luke, i. 28.
§ Travels through Europe, Asia, &c. vol. ii. p. 17, Lond. 1759.

natural propensity in human nature toward this infirmity, than that the gospel itself, the only effectual enemy superstition ever had, should have been chosen for its basis. In the Holy Land, as in Russia, and perhaps in Spain and Portugal, the gospel is only known by representations more foreign from its tenets than the worship of the sun and the moon. If a country, which was once so disgraced by the feuds of a religious war, should ever become the theatre of honourable and holy contest, it will be when reason and revelation exterminate ignorance and superstition. Those who peruse the following pages, will perhaps find it difficult to credit the degree of profanation which true religion has here sustained. While Europeans are sending messengers, the heralds of civilization, to propagate the gospel in the remotest regions, the very land whence that gospel originated is suffered to remain as a nursery of superstition for surrounding nations, where voluntary pilgrims, from all parts of the earth, (men warmly devoted to the cause of religion, and more capable of disseminating the lessons they receive than the most zealous missionaries,) are daily instructed in the grossest errors. Surely the task of converting such persons, already more than half disposed toward a due comprehension of the truths of Christianity, were a less arduous undertaking, than that of withdrawing from their prejudices, and heathenish propensities, the savages of America and of India. As it now is, the pilgrims return back to their respective countries, either devested of the religious opinions they once entertained, or more than ever shackled by the trammels of superstition. In their journey through the Holy Land, they are conducted from one convent to another (each striving to outdo the former in the list of indulgences and of reliques it has at its disposal,) bearing testimony to the wretched ignorance, and sometimes to the disorderly lives of a swarm of monks, by whom all this trumpery is manufactured. Among the early contributors to the system of abuses thus established, no one appears more pre-eminently distinguished than the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the First; to whose charitable donations these repositories of superstition were principally indebted. No one laboured more effectually to obliterate every trace of whatsoever might have been regarded with reasonable reverence, than did this old lady, with the best possible intentions, whensoever it was in her power. Had the sea of Tiberias been capable of annihilation by her means, it would have been desiccated, paved,

covered with churches and altars, or converted into monasteries and markets of indulgences, until no feature of the original remained; and this by way of rendering it more particularly holy. To such a disposition may be attributed the sort of work exhibited in the church and convent of Nazareth, originally constructed under her auspices. Pococke has proved, that the tradition concerning the dwelling place of the parents of Jesus Christ existed at a very early period; because the church, built over it, is mentioned by writers of the seventh century;* and in being conducted to a cave rudely fashioned in the natural rock, there is nothing repugnant to the notions one is induced to entertain concerning the ancient customs of the country, and the history of the persons to whom allusion is made.† But when the surreptitious aid of architectural pillars, with all the garniture of a Roman catholic church, above, below, and on every side of it, have disguised its original simplicity; and we finally call to mind the insane reverie concerning the transmigration of the said habitation, in a less substantial form of brick and mortar, across the Mediterranean, to Loretto in Italy, maintained upon authority very similar to that which identifies the authenticity of this relique; a disbelief of the whole mummery seems best suited to the feelings of Protestants; who are, after all, better occupied in meditating the purpose for which Jesus died, than in assisting, by their presence, to countenance a sale of indulgences in the place where Joseph is said to have resided.

The church and convent of Nazareth, in their present state, exhibit superstructure of very recent date: having been repaired, or entirely rebuilt in no very distant period; when the monks were probably indebted to some ingenious mason, for the miraculous position of the pillar in the subterraneous chapel, whose two fragments, consisting of different substances now so naturally give the lie to each other. The more ancient structure was erected by the mother of Constantine; and its remains may be observed in the form of subverted columns, which, with the fragments of their capitals and bases, lie near the modern building. The present church is handsome and full of pictures, most of which are of modern date,

* "The great church, built over the house of Joseph, is mentioned by the writers of the seventh and twelfth centuries." Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. part i. p. 63. Lond. 1745.

† "Pietro de la Valle, in the 13th letter of his travels, is of opinion, that the subterraneous chapel of Nazareth was part of the vault of the church of the Holy Virgin; and afterward turned, by the Christians, into a chapel, in order to preserve a remembrance of the place." Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. ii. p. 20.

and all of them below mediocrity. Egmont and Heyman mention an ancient portrait of our Saviour, brought hither from Spain by one of the Fathers, having a Latin inscription, purporting that it is "the true image of Jesus Christ, sent to king Abgarus."*

The other objects of veneration in Nazareth, at every one of which indulgences are sold to travellers, are, I. The work shop of Joseph, which is near the convent, and was formerly included within its walls; this is now a small chapel, perfectly modern, and lately whitewashed. II. The synagogue, where Christ is said to have read the scriptures to the Jews,† at present a church. III. A precipice without the town, where they say the Mesiah leaped down, to escape the rage of the Jews, after the offence his speech in the synagogue had occasioned.‡ Here they show the impression of his hand, made as he sprang from the rock. From the description given by St. Luke, the monks affirm, that, anciently, Nazareth stood eastward of its present situation, upon a more elevated spot. The words of the evangelist are, however, remarkably explicit, and prove the situation of the ancient city to have been precisely that which is now occupied by the modern town. Induced, by the word of the gospel, to examine the place more attentively than we should have otherwise done, we went, as it is written, "*out of the city, unto the brow*

* "VERA IMAGO SALVATORIS NOSTRI DOMINI JESU CHRISTI, AD REGEM ABGARUM MISSA." (Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. ii. p. 19.) I do not recollect seeing this picture, although I have seen copies of it. There is an expression of countenance, and a set of features, common to almost all the representations of our Saviour, with which every one is acquainted, although we know not whence they were derived: nor would the subject have been mentioned, but to state, further, that the famous picture by Carlo Dolci bears no resemblance to these features; nor to the ordinary appearance presented by the natives of Syria. Carlo Dolci seems to have borrowed his notions for that picture from the spurious letter of Publius Lentulus to the Roman senate, which is so interesting, that, while we believe it to be false, we perhaps wish that it was true:

"There appeared in these our days, a man of great virtue, named JESUS CHRIST, who is yet living among us; and of the *Gentiles*, is accepted for a prophet of truth, but his own disciples call him the *Son of God*. He raiseth the dead, and cureth all manner of diseases. A man of stature, somewhat tall and comely, with a very reverend countenance, such as the beholders may both love and fear; his hair, the colour of a filbert, full ripe, to his ears, whence downward it is more orient of colour, somewhat curling or waving about his shoulders; in the midst of his head is a seam, or partition of his hair, after the manner of the Nazarites; his forehead plain and delicate; his face without spot or wrinkle, beautified with a comely red: his nose and mouth exactly formed; his beard thick, the colour of his hair, not of any great length, but forked; his look innocent: his eyes gray, clear and quick; in reproving, awful; in admonishing, courteous; in speaking, very modest and wise; in proportion of body, well shaped. None have ever seen him laugh, but many have seen him weep. A *man*, for his beauty, surpassing the children of men."

† Luke, iv. 16.

‡ "And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong. But he passing through the midst of them, went his way." Luke, iv. 28, 29, 30.

of the hill whereon the city is built," and came to a precipice corresponding with the words of the evangelist. It is above the Maronite church, and probably the precise spot alluded to by the text of St. Luke's gospel.

But because the monks and friars, who are most interested in such discoveries, have not found within the gospels a sufficient number of references to Nazareth, whereupon they might erect shops for the sale of their indulgences, they have actually taken the liberty to add to the writings of the evangelists, by making them vouch for a number of absurdities, concerning which not a syllable occurs within their records. It were an endless task to enumerate all these. One celebrated relique may however be mentioned; because there is not the slightest notice of any such thing in the New Testament; and because his holiness, the Pope, has not scrupled to vouch for its authenticity, as well as to grant very plenary indulgence to those pilgrims who visit the place where it is exhibited. This is nothing more than a large stone, on which they affirm that Christ did eat with his disciples, both before and after his resurrection. They have built a chapel over it; and upon the walls of this building, several copies of a printed certificate, asserting its title to reverence, are affixed. We transcribed one of these curious documents, and here subjoin it in a note.* There is not an object in all Nazareth so much the resort of pilgrims as this stone—Greeks, Catholics, Arabs, and even Turks; the two former classes, on account of the seven years' indulgence granted to those who visit it; the two latter, because they believe that some virtue must reside within a stone before which all comers are so eager to prostrate themselves.

As we passed through the streets, loud screams, as of a person frantic with rage and grief, drew our attention toward a miserable hovel, whence we perceived a woman issuing hastily, with a cradle, containing an infant. Having placed the child upon the area before her dwelling, she as quickly ran back again; we then perceived her beating something violently, all the while filling the air with the most piercing shrieks. Run-

* While the author was engaged in making the following transcript of the Papa certificate, the Greeks and Catholics, who were of the party, busied themselves i breaking off pieces of the stone as reliques.

"Tradictio continua est, et nunquam interrupta, apud omnes nationes Orientales hanc petram, dictam MENSA CHRISTI, illam ipsam esse supra quam Dominus noste Jesus Christus cum suis comedit discipulis, ante et post suam resurrectionem mortuis.

"Et sancta Romana Ecclesia INDULGENTIAM concessit septem annorum et totidem quadragenarum, omnibus Christi fidelibus hunc sanctum locum visitantibus, recitando saltem ibi unum Pater, et Ave, dummodo sit in statu gratiæ."

ning to see what was the cause of her cries, we observed an enormous serpent, which she had found near her infant, and had completely despatched before our arrival. Never were maternal feelings more strikingly pourtrayed than in the countenance of this woman. Not satisfied with having killed the animal, she continued her blows until she had reduced it to atoms, unheeding any thing that was said to her, and only abstracting her attention from its mangled body to cast, occasionally, a wild and momentary glance toward her child.

In the evening we visited the environs, and, walking to the brow of a hill above the town, were gratified by an interesting prospect of the long valley of Nazareth, and some hills between which a road leads to the neighbouring plain of Esdraelon, and to Jerusalem. Some of the Arabs came to converse with us. We were surprised to hear them speaking Italian: they said they had been early instructed in this language, by the friars of the convent. Their conversation was full of complaints against the rapacious tyranny of their governors. One of them said, "Beggars in England are happier and better than we poor Arabs." "*Why better?*" said one of our party. "*Happier,*" replied the Arab who had made the observation, "*in a good government: better, because they will not endure a bad one.*"

The plants near the town were almost all withered. We found only four of which we were able to select tolerable specimens. These were, the new species of *dianthus*, mentioned in the account of our journey from Sephoury, the *Syrian pink*, or *dianthus monadelphus*;* the *ammi copticum*;† and the *antheum graveolens*:‡ these we carefully placed in our herbary, as memorials of the interesting spot whereon they were collected. We observed the manner of getting in the harvest; it is carried on the backs of camels; and the corn being afterward placed in heaps, is trodden out by bullocks walking in a circle; something like the mode of treading corn in the Crimea, where horses are used for this purpose.

The second night after our arrival, as soon as it grew dark, we all stretched ourselves upon the floor of our apartment, not without serious alarm of catching the plague, but tempted by the hope of obtaining a little repose. This we had found impracticable the night before, in consequence of the vermin. The hope was, however, vain; not one of our party could

* Ventenat. † Linn. ‡ Linn. et Dill.

close his eyes. Every instant it was necessary to rise, and endeavour to shake off the noxious animals with which our bodies were covered. In addition to this penance, we were serenaded, until four o'clock in the morning, the hour we had fixed for our departure, by the constant ringing of a chapel bell, as a charm against the plague; by the barking of dogs; braying of asses; howling of jackals: and by the squalling of children.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HOLY LAND.—NAZARETH TO TIBERIAS.

The Author leaves Nazareth, to visit Galilee—Rani—Cana—Chapel of the Village—Reliques—Turan—Caverns—Intense Heat—Basaltic Phænomena—their Origin explained—Plants—Geological Features of Galilee—View from the Kern-el-Hatti—*Libanus—Village of Hatti—Druses—Antelopes—Sea of Galilee, or Lake Gennesareth—Tiberias—Baths of Emmans—Capernaum—Soil and Produce—Castle—House of Peter—*Adrianæum—*Description of Tiberias—Antiquities—Minerals of the Lake—Non descript Shells—River Jordan—Hippos—Dimensions of the Sea of Galilee—Singular Fishes—Ancient Naval Engagement—Slaughter of the Jews—Supposed Miracle caused by the French—Population of Tiberias.*

After a sleepless night, rising more fatigued than when we retired to rest, and deeming a toilsome journey preferable to the suffering state we had all endured, we left Nazareth at five o'clock on Sunday morning, July the sixth. Instead of proceeding to Jerusalem, (our intention being to complete the tour of Galilee, and to visit the lake of Gennesareth,) we returned by the way we came, until we had quitted the valley, and ascended the hills to the north of the town. We then descended, in the same northerly direction, or rather northeast, into some fine valleys, more cultivated than any land we had yet seen in this country, surrounded by hills of limestone, destitute of trees. After thus riding for an hour, we passed the village of

Rani, leaving it upon our left, and came in view of the small village of *Cana*,* situated on a gentle eminence, in the midst of one of these valleys. It is difficult to ascertain its exact distance from Nazareth.† Our horses were never out of a foot's pace, and we arrived there at half past seven. About a quarter of a mile before we entered the village, is a spring of delicious limpid water, close to the road, whence all the water is taken for the supply of the village. Pilgrims of course halt at this spring, as the source of the water which our Saviour, by his first miracle, converted into wine.‡ At such places it is certain to meet either shepherds reposing with their flocks, or caravans halting to drink. A few olive trees being near the spot, travellers alight, spread their carpets beneath these trees, and, having filled their pipes, generally smoke and take some coffee; always preferring repose in these places, to the accommodations which are offered in the villages. Such has been the custom of the country from time immemorial.§

We entered CANA, and halted at a small Greek chapel, in the court of which we all rested, while our breakfast was spread upon the ground. This grateful meal consisted of about a bushel of cucumbers, some white mulberries, a very insipid fruit, gathered from the trees reared to feed silk-worms; hot cakes of unleavened bread, fried in honey and butter; and, as usual, plenty of fowls. We had no reason to complain of our fare, and all of us ate heartily. We were afterward conduct-

* "Κανᾶ, *Cotne* in versione Syriacâ." (Reland, Palæstina Illustrata.) The striking evidence concerning the disputed situation of this place, as it is contained in the words of the request made by the ruler of Capernaum to our Saviour, when he besought him to heal his son, only proves how accurately the writings of the Evangelists correspond with the geography and present appearance of the country. He supplicates Jesus, who was then at *Cana*, "that he would *come down*, and heal his son." (John, iv. 47.) "Ut *descendat*, et venit Capernaum; unde judicari potest," observes the learned Reland, "*Capernaum* in inferiori regione sitam fuisse quam *Canam*. Erat autem *Capernaum* ad mare." How singularly this is confirmed by the extraordinary features of this part of Syria, will appear in the description given of our journey from *Cana* toward the *Sea of Galilee*. In the 51st verse of the same chapter of St. John, it is stated, "*As he was now going down, his servants met him.*" His whole route from *Cana*, according to the position of the place now so called, was, in fact, *a continual descent toward Capernaum*.

† Cana of Galilee has been confounded with *Sepher Cana*, or *Cana Major*, in the territory of the tribe of Asher: hence the discordant accounts given by Adrichomius, Aranda, and others, concerning its distance from Nazareth. *Cana Major* is mentioned, as the inheritance of the tribe of Asher, in the 28th verse of the 19th chapter of the book of Joshua, together with *Hebron* and *Rehob*, and *Hammon*. Cana of Galilee (John, ii. 1.) is often called *Cana Minor*. St. Jerom describes it as near to Nazareth: "Haud procul inde (id est à Nazareth) cernetur Cana, in quâ aquæ in vinum versæ sunt." Hieron, tom. i. epist. 17. ad Marcellam.

‡ John, c. ii.

§ A tradition relates, that at this spring St. Athanasius converted Philip. We were thus informed, by the Christian pilgrims who had joined our cavalcade; but it was the first intelligence we had ever received, either of the meeting, or of the person so converted.

ed into the chapel, in order to see the reliques and sacred vestments there preserved. When the poor priest exhibited these, he wept over them with so much sincerity, and lamented the indignities to which the holy places were exposed in terms so affecting, that all our pilgrims wept also. Such were the tears which formerly excited the sympathy, and roused the valour of the Crusaders. The sailors of our party caught the kindling zeal; and little more was necessary to incite in them a hostile disposition toward every Saracen they might afterward encounter. The ruins of a church are shown in this place, which is said to have been erected over the spot where the marriage feast of Cana was held.* It is worthy of note, that, walking among these ruins, we saw large massy stone water pots, answering the description given of the ancient vessels of the country;† not preserved, nor exhibited, as reliques, but lying about, disregarded by the present inhabitants, as antiquities with whose original use they were unacquainted. From their appearance, and the number of them, it was quite evident that a practice of keeping water in large stone pots, each holding from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons, was once common in the country.

About three miles beyond Cana, we passed the village of *Turan:* near this place they pretend to show the field where the disciples of Jesus Christ plucked the ears of corn upon the Sabbath day.‡ The Italian Catholics have named it the field "*degli Setti Spini,*" and gather the bearded wheat, which is annually growing there, as a part of the collection of reliques wherewith they return burthened to their own country. The heat of this day was greater than any to which we had yet been exposed in the Levant; nor did we afterward experience anything so powerful. Captain Culverhouse had the misfortune to break his umbrella; a frivolous event in milder latitudes, but here of so much importance, that all hopes of continuing our journey depended upon its being repaired. Fortunately, beneath some rocks, over which we were then passing, there were caverns,§ excavated by primeval shepherds, as a shelter, from scorching beams, capable of baking bread, and actually

* "Nicephorus gives an account of it, and says it was built by St. Helen." Mariti's Trav. vol. ii. p. 171. Lond. 1791.

† "And there were set there six water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece." John, ii 6.

‡ Luke, vi. 1. Matt. xii. 1. Mark, ii. 23.

§ Small reservoirs for containing water, of great antiquity; some in the form of bottoms, appeared in these caverns.

of dressing meat:* into these caves we crept, not only for the purpose of restoring the umbrella, but also to profit by the opportunity thus offered of unpacking our thermometers, and ascertaining the temperature of the atmosphere. It was now twelve o'clock. The mercury, in a gloomy recess under ground, perfectly shaded, while the scale was placed so as not to touch the rock, remained at one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit. As to making any observation in the sun's rays, it was impossible; no one of the party had courage to wait with the thermometer a single minute in such a situation.

Along this route, particularly between Cana and Turan, we observed *basaltic* phænomena. The extremities of columns, prismatically formed, penetrated the surface of the soil, so as to render our journey rough and unpleasant. These marks of regular, or of irregular crystallization, generally denote the vicinity of a bed of water lying beneath their level. The traveller, passing over a series of successive plains, resembling in their gradation, the order of a staircase, observes, as he descends to the inferior stratum whereon the water rests, that where rocks are disclosed by the sinking of the soil, the appearance of crystallization has taken place; and then the prismatic configuration is vulgarly denominated *basaltic*. When this series of depressed surfaces occurs very frequently, and the prismatic form is very evident, the Swedes, from the resemblance such rocks have to an artificial flight of steps, call them *trap*; a word signifying in their language, *a staircase*. In this state science remains at present, concerning an appearance in nature which exhibits nothing more than the common process of crystallization, upon a larger scale than has hitherto excited attention.†—Nothing is more frequent in the vicinity of very ancient lakes, in the bed of considerable rivers, or by the borders of the ocean.

* We afterward ate bread which had been thus baked, in a camp of Djezzar's troops, in the Plain of Esdraelon; and the first lieutenant of the Romulus frigate ate bacon so dressed in Aboukir.

† See the observations which occur in the first part of the first volume of these travels. It was in consequence of a journey upon the Rhine, in the year 1793, that the author first applied the theory of crystallization toward explaining the formation of what are vulgarly called *basaltic pillars*; an appearance common to a variety of different mineral substances, imbedded in which are found *ammonites*, vegetable impressions, fossil wood, crystals of feldspar, masses of chalcedony, zeolite, and sparry carbonate of lime. The author has seen the prismatic configuration, to which the term *basaltic* is usually applied, in common compact limestone. Werner, according to Mr Jameson, (Syst. of Min. vol. i. p 372.) confines basalt to "*the floetz Trap formation*," and (p. 369. Ibid.) to the *concretionary* structure; alluding to a particular substance, under that appellation. Count Bournon (see note 3. part i.) considers the *basaltic* form as the result of *a retreat*. This is coming very near to the theory maintained by the author; in furtherance of which, he will only urge as a more general remark, that "all crystals are *concretionary* and all *columnar minerals* crystals, more or less regular, the consequence of *a retreat*."

Such an appearance, therefore, in the approach to the Lake of Tiberias, is only a parallel to similar phænomena exhibited by rocks near the lakes of Locarno and Bolsenna in Italy; by those of the Wenner lake in Sweden; by the bed of the Rhine, near Cologne in Germany;* by the valley of Ronca, in the territory of Verona,† the giant's causeway of the *pont du Bridon*, in the state of Venice.‡ and numerous other examples in the same country; not to enumerate instances which occur over all the islands between the north coast of Ireland and Iceland, as well as in Spain, Portugal, Arabia, and India.§ When these crystals have attained a regularity of structure, the form is often hexagonal, like that of cannon spar, or the Asiatic and American emerald.‖ It is worthy of remark, that Patrin, during his visit to the mountain *Odon Tchelon*, in the deserts of oriental Tartary, discovered, in breaking the former kind of emerald when fresh taken from the stratum wherein it lies,** not only the same alternate convex and concave fractures which characterize the horizontal fissures of certain *basaltic* pillars,†† but

* The town gates of Cologne are constructed of stones having the form commonly called *basaltic*; and similar substances may be observed in the walls.

† See the account published by the Abate Fortis, "Della Valle di Ronca nel territorio Veronese," printed at Venice in 1778.

‡ See "Memoria de' Monto Colonnari di S. E. il Signor Cavaliere Giovanni Strange," printed at Milan, in 1778, for a beautiful representation of this causeway; engraved by *Fessard*, from a drawing by *De Veyrenc*. Also the representations given in the LXIst volume of the philosophical transactions of the royal society of London, tab. 19. p. 583. &c.

§ See the numerous other instances mentioned by Jameson, (Syst. of Min. vol. i. p. 372. Edin. 1804.) in stating the geographical situation of *basalt*; a vague term, as he properly expresses it, which ought to be banished from mineralogy: it is in fact applied to any substance which exhibits the phænomena of crystallization upon a large scale, whenever the prisms are large enough to be considered as columns.

‖ Commonly called *Siberian Beryl* and *Peruvian Emerald*. Hauy, Patrin, and others, have shown the impropriety of separating these varieties of the emerald. Some consider the colouring principle as sufficient to distinguish them, which is the oxide of iron in the Asiatic emerald, and that of chromium in the American. But it should be observed, that the emerald of Peru does not always contain chromium; neither is it yet known that it does not contain iron. The author has specimens of the Peruvian emerald, white and limpid as the purest rock crystal. What then becomes of a distinction founded upon colour? Patrin preserves the names of *emerald chrysolite*, and *aigue marine* as applicable to the Siberian mineral; but he says, "Ces gemmes ont la même forme cristalline, la même pésanteur specifique, la même dureté que l'emeraude du Perou; elles contiennent la même quantité de glucine; elles ont encore la double refraction de l'emeraude. Elles n'en different dont que par la couleur; et l'on a vu par l'exemple du rubis d'Orient combien la couleur; est nulle aux yeux du naturaliste." Hist. Nat. des Min. tom. ii. p. 23. Paris, An. 9.

** "Je fis une remarque à cette occasion; c'est que ces gemmes, qui deviennent si dures, étoient singulièrement friables au sortir de leurs gites: plusieurs gros prismes se briserent entre mes mains." (Hist. Nat. des Min. tom. ii. p. 32.) It is the same with the common flint, which, when first taken from a bed of chalk, sometimes breaks in the hand, and is penetrated with visible moisture. This is also the case with regard to the Hungarian opals; the workmen often expose them to the sun, before they venture to remove them.

†† "Il offre un accident remarquable, et que j'ai observe le premier dans ces gemmes c'est que ces extremités, au lieu d'être planes, ont une saillie arrondie comme le *basalts* articules. Cet accident se rencontre également dans les emerauds et les aigues-marines de la même montagne J'en ai des exemplaires de toutes les nuances qui offrent ces articulations, soit en relief, soit en creux." Hist. Nat. des Min. tom. ii. p. 29.

also the concentric layers which denote concretionary formation.* It is hardly possible to have more striking proof of coincidence, as to the origin of such a structure in the two substances.†

After we had passed Turan, a small plantation of olives afforded us a temporary shelter: and without this, the heat was greater than we could have endured. Having rested an hour, taking coffee and smoking as usual with the Arabs of our party, we continued our journey. The earth was covered with such a variety of thistles, that a complete collection of them would be a valuable acquisition in botany. A plant, which we mistook for the Jerusalem artichoke, was seen everywhere, with a purple head, rising to the height of five or six feet. The scorching rays of the sun put it out of our power to collect specimens of all these: not one of the party had sufficient resolution to descend from his horse, and abandon his umbrella, even for an instant. We distinctly perceived that several of those plants had not hitherto been described by any traveller; and in the examination of the scanty but interesting selection which, with excessive fatigue and difficulty, we made along this route, not less than six new species have been discovered.‡ Of these, the

* "J'en ai plusieur échantillons, ou l'on voit, quand on les regarde contre le jour par une de leurs extremitiés, des hexagones *concentriques*, qu'on distingue quelquefois jusque vers le centre du prisme: ces hexagones sont formes par les lames qui ne sont appliquées successivement à chacune de ces faces." Hist. Nat. des Min. tom. ii. p. 31.

† The mineralogical reader may add to this a remarkable fact, recently communicated to the author by the Rev. James Lambert, of Trinity College, Cambridge. The radiating pillars upon the coast of St. Andrews', in Scotland, bearing the name o *the spindle rock*, is nothing more than a spheroidal mass, which has occupied an orbicular cavity, after the manner wherein zeolite is exhibited in porous aggregates; and it is crystallized in prisms diverging from a common centre, like the minuter radiating fibres of zeolite, carbonated lime, &c. &c. in amygdaloidal rocks. The author has witnessed a similar appearance, upon as large a scale, in the isle of Canna, in the Hebrides. The magnitude of certain phænomena of crystallization sometimes leads the mind to doubt the nature of the process whence they have resulted. Saussure's polished mountain, near St. Bernard in the Alps, is an instance of this kind. We are at no loss to explain the cause of lustre on one of the lateral planes of a small crystal, but cannot so readily conceive that the side of a mountain may have been thus modified.

‡ The reader will find only the new species described here.

I. A new species of *Heliotrope*, which we have called HELIOTROPIUM HIRSUTUM. This was found near Cana. Heliotropium foliis lato-ovatis, plicatis, integerrimis, pilis depressis hirsutis; spicis subsolitariis, pilis patulis hirsutissimis. Planta humilis ramosa; rami patentes, hirsuti. Folia petiolata vix pollicaria: petioli semi-pollicares. Spicæ unilaterales pedunculatæ, 2 ad 3. pollices longæ. Flores pedicellati serie simplici dispositi. Calyces hirsutissimi. Corollæ tubus calyce dimidio longior, pulescens.

II. A non descript species of *Larkspur*, which we have called DELPHINIUM INSANIUM, found near the same place. Delphinium nectariis diphyllis foliolis emarginatis obtusis, corollis pentapetalis, capsulis solitariis, foliis multipartitis. Rami flexuosi, divaricati, supra velloso-incani. Folia pubescentia multipartita, laciniis lineari-lanceolatis. Flores subracemosi, pauci. Pedunculi bracteati, crassi, villosi: bracteæ subulatæ. Petala nectario longiora unguiculata, obtusa. Calcar corollâ longius, curvatum. Capsula ovato-elliptica pubescens, stylo persistente coronata.

III. Near Cana we also found a non descript cottony species of *origanum*, which we

new *globe thistle*, which we have named ECHINOPS GRANDIFLORA, made a most superb appearance: it grew to such a size, that some of its blossoms were near three inches in diameter, forming a sphere equal in bulk to the largest fruit of the pomegranate. Its leaves and stem, while living, exhibited a dark but vivid sky-blue colour. The description in the note is taken from its appearance in a dried state. The *Persian manna plant*, or *hedysarum alhagi*, which we had collected between Acre and Nazareth, also flourished here abundantly. This thorny vegetable is said to be the favourite food of the camel:* it is found wild, in Syria, Palæstine, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Georgia, and the islands of Tenos, Syra, and Cyprus. Tournefort, who considered it as a plant *sui generis*, has given a description of it, in his account of the Island of Syra.† Rauwolf, who discovered it in 1537, in the vicinity of Aleppo, and in Persia, often mentions it in his travels.‡ As we

have called ORIGANUM FESTITUM. Origanum foliis subcordato-ovatis, petiolatis, integerrimis, utrinque tomentosis mollissimis spicis subrotundo-ovatis, pedunculatis, compactis tomentosis subternis caule suffruticoso. Planta ramosa, tomentoso incana. Folia nervosa quinque lineas longa, sæpius reflexa. Spicæ breves valdè tomentosæ, bagi constipatæ subternæ. Calyx bilabiatus obovatus, fauce lanuginosus. Corolla gracilis, glanduloso-punctata. Stylo exserta. Stigmata reflexa.

IV. A shrubby non-descript species of *Globe Thistle*, which we have called ECHINOPS GRANDIFLORA. Echinops caule suffrutescente scabro, foliis bipinnatis supra scabris, subtus tomentosis, laciniis perangustis; capitulis globosis pedunculatis amplis. Caulis sulcatus fuscus, subflexuosus. Folia subtus albida, mollissima, supra sordide virentia hispida; laciniæ lineari subulatæ. Capitulatae. Capitula pollices quos cum dimidio seu tres diametro, coerulei. Florum pedicelli papposi. Squammae calycinae exteriores imbricatae lanceolato subulatae, infra medium integerrimae; supra contractae dentato-ciliatae acutissimae: squama intima brevior tubulata, quinquefida apicibus laciniatis. Corollae limbus tubo brevior quinquepartitus laciniis sublinearibus. Stigmata reflexa. Semina hirsuta, coronata; corona striata, ciliata submembranacea.

V. A non-descript species of *Aira*, with the outer valve of the coralla three-awned, and the flowers in a close panicle, as in the *Aira pubescens*. We have called it AIRA TRIARISTATA. Aira paniculâ spiciformi, oblongâ; corollæ valvâ exteriore calyce nervoso dimidio breviore, triaristata; vaginis foliorum ventricosis, amplissimis. This is a dwarf species, with the leafy culms often shorter than the oblong heads of the flowers. Both the leaves and their sheaths are deeply striated, and downy. The flowers are set very close together in the panicles, which vary, from about an inch and a half to two and a half inches in length. The glumes of the calyx are of a linear-lanceolate shape, deeply furrowed, and downy. The inner valve of the corolla is slenderer and shorter than the outer vale, slightly notched at the end, and without awns; the two lateral awns of the outer valve are about the length of the calyx; the central one, a third part longer.

VI. A non descript shrubby species of *cistus*, with rough alternate leaves, about two thirds of their length distant from each other on the branches. We have called it CISTUS OLIGOPHYLLUS. Cistus stipulatus, fruticosus, foliis alternis ovato-lanceolatis, enerviis, integerrimis, scabris, pilosis, margine revolutis; pedunculis unifloris: calycis foliolis inæqualibus, hirsutis. Fruticulus ramosus, rami flexuosi, graciles, supra villosi. Folia petiolata, patentia, lineas quatuor longa. Petioli brevissimi, pilosi. Calycis foliola inæqualia duo angusta, tria quadruplò latiora, nervosa. Corolla flava.

* Forskal's Flora, p. 136.

† Voyage du Levant, tom. II. p. 4. *Lyons*, 1717.

‡ See pp. 84. 152. 206. *Lond.* 1693. Also, the end of Mr. Ray's Collection of Travels, "*Stirpium Orientalium rariorum Catalogus.*" ALHAGI MAUROPUM.

vadanced, our journey led through an open campaign country, until, upon our right, the guides showed us the Mount where it is believed that Christ preached to his disciples that memorable sermon,* concentrating the sum and substance of every Christian virtue. We left our route to visit this elevated spot; and having attained the highest point of it, a view was presented, which, for its grandeur, independently of the interest excited by the different objects contained in it, has no parallel in the Holy Land.†

From this situation we perceived that the plain, over which we had been so long riding, was itself very elevated. Far beneath appeared other plains, one lower than the other, in that regular gradation concerning which observations were recently made, and extending to the surface of the Sea of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee.‡ This immense lake, almost equal, in the grandeur of its appearance, to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the northeast toward the southwest, and then bearing east of us.§ Its eastern shores present a sublime scene of mountains, extending toward the north and south, and seeming to close it in at either extremity; both toward *Chorazin*, where the Jordan enters; and the AULON, or *campus magnus*, through which it flows to the Dead Sea. The cultivated plains reaching to its borders, which we

* Matthew, ch. v. vi vii.

† This hill is called *Kern-el-Hutin* in Pococke's Travels, signifying "*the Horns of Hutin.*" there being a mount at the east and west end of it; and so called from the village below, which he writes *Hutin*. We wrote it, as it was pronounced, *Hattt*. Pococke has enumerated the objects he beheld from this spot, in a note to p. 57. part I. of the second volume of his *Description of the East*. "To the southwest I saw *Jebel Sejar*, extending to Sephor; *Elmiham* was mentioned to the south of it: I saw the tops of *Carmel*, then *Jebel Turan*, near the plain of *Zabulon*, which extends to *Jabel Hutin*. Beginning at the northwest and going to the northeast, I saw *Jebel Igermick*, about which they named to me these places, *Sekeenen*, *Elbany*, *Sejour*, *Nah*, *Ramch*, *Mogor*, *Oradg Trenon*, *Kobrestad*; and further east, on other hills, *Metrom Tokin* on a hill, and *Nowesy*; directly north of *Hutin* is *Saphet*; and to the east of the hill on which that city stands, *Kan Tehar* and *Kan Eminie* were mentioned; and to the north of the *Sea of Tiberias* I saw *Jabel esheik*."

‡ "Mare appellatur: *Gililæa*, quia in Galilæâ provinciâ; mare *Tiberiadis*, à civitate Tiberiadis; mare *Cenereth*, ab oppido *Cenereth*, cui successit Tiberias; stagnum *Genezareth*, vel lacus *Genezar*, à propinquâ regione Genezar." Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanct. l. vii. c. 3. p. 862. tom. II. Antv. 1369.)—"Called always a sea," says Fuller, "by three of the evangelists, but generally a lake by St. Luke. Indeed, amongst lakes it may be accounted for a sea, such the greatness; amongst seas, reputed for a lake, such the sweetness and freshness of the water therein." *Fuller's Pisgahsight of Palestine*, B. II. c. 6. p. 140. *Lond.* 1650.

§ Its various names are cited in the preceding note. St. Luke calls it the *Lake of Gennesareth*; and this agrees with Pliny's appellation, who, speaking of the River Jordan, (Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 15. L. Bat. 1635.) uses these words: "*In lacum se fundit, quem plures Genesarem vocant* XVI. *mill. pass. longitudinis*, VI. *mill. pass. latitudinis, amœnis circumseptum oppidis.*" He also notices the hot springs of Emmaus, near Tiberias. Josephus (lib. iii. de Bell. Jud. c. 18.) gives it the same name as Pliny; which it derived from the appellation of the neighbouring district. (Ibid.) As to its dimensions, Josephus, (ibid.) than whom, says Reland, "*nemo melius ea scire potuit.*" describes its length as equal to an hundred (Hegesippus, as 140) stadia; and its breadth as forty. Its distance from the Lake Asphalites is seventy-five miles.

beheld at an amazing depth below our view, resembled, by the various hues their different produce exhibited, the motley pattern of a vast carpet.* To the north appeared snowy summits, towering, beyond a series of intervening mountains with unspeakable greatness. We considered them as the summits of Libanus; but the Arabs belonging to our caravan called the principal eminence *Jebel el Sieh*, saying it was near Damascus; probably, therefore, a part of the chain of Libanus.—This summit was so lofty, that the snow entirely covered the upper part of it; not lying in patches, as I have seen it, during summer, upon the tops of very elevated mountains, (for instance, upon that of *Ben Nevis* in Scotland,) but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep; a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire.† The elevated plains upon the mountainous territory beyond the northern extremity of the lake are still called by a name, in Arabic, which signifies "*the wilderness.*" To this wilderness it was that John, the precursor of the Messiah, and also Jesus himself, retired in their earliest years. To the southwest, at the distance only of twelve miles, we beheld Mount Thabor, having a conical form, and standing quite insular, upon the northern side of the wide plains of Esdraelon. The mountain whence this superb view was presented, consists entirely of limestone; the prevailing constituent of all the mountains in Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia and Palæstine.‡

By a steep, devious, and difficult track, following our horses on foot, we descended from this place to the village of *Hattin*,§ situated at one extremity of the cultivated plain we had surveyed from the heights. Here, having collected the strag-

* The exceeding fertility of this part of the Holy Land is noticed by all travellers, and all authors who have mentioned this country. Josephus speaks of the extraordinary aptitude, both of the climate and soil, toward the production of all kinds of fruit and vegetables; so that plants, requiring elsewhere a difference of temperature, thrive here, says he, as if the seasons were in a competition which should contribute most. Figs and grapes continue in season during ten months out of the twelve, and other fruit throughout the whole year. (Vid. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. 18.)

† The thermometer of Fahrenheit at this time, in the most shady situation we could find, indicated 102 1-2 degrees.

‡ The enterprising BURKHARDT, of whom, it is to be hoped, the literary world will hear more hereafter, is now travelling, under the auspices of the African Society, in Syria, previous to his journey into the interior of Africa. He has lately visited the summit of Libanus, and informs the author (by a letter dated Aleppo, May 3, 1811) that it consists wholly of limestone. He observed a fossil shell upon the top of that mountain; but it principally consists of "*primitive limestone.*"

§ Called *Hutin* by Pococke. *Descript. of the East*, vol. II. part I. p. 67.

glers of our party into a large plantation of lime and lemon trees, we were regaled by the Arabs with all their country afforded. Having spread mats for us beneath the shade which the trees afforded, they came and seated themselves among us, gazing, with very natural surprise, at their strange guests. Some of these Arabs were Druses. In the countries which border the seat of their government, they are much esteemed for their great probity, and a mildness of disposition, which, in Syria, is proverbially attributed to the members of their community. It is said, they will neither eat nor drink, except of the food which they have obtained by their own labour, or, as the Arabs literally expressed it, "by the sweat of their brow." From the conversation we had with them, they seemed to be entirely ignorant of their origin. When strangers question them upon this subject, they relate numberless contradictory fables; and some of these have found their way into books of travels: but their history, as it was said before, remains to be developed. It seems probable, that, long before *El-Durzi** established among his followers those opinions which at present characterize the majority of the Druses, the people, as a distinct race, inhabited the country where they now live. The worship of Venus (in whose magnificent temple at Byblus in Phœnicia the rites of Adonis were celebrated) still existing in that country;† and the extraordinary fact of the preservation of an ancient Egyptian superstition, in the honours paid to a calf, in Mount Libanus,‡ by those Druses who assume the name of OKKALS;§ are documents which refer to a more ancient period in history than the schism of the Arabs after the death of Mahomet.‖ To that mildness of character, which is so characteristic of the Druses, may be attributed both the mixture caused among them by individuals of different nations, who have sought refuge in their territory, and the readiness

* See Egmont and Heyman's Travels, vol. i. p. 293. Lond. 1759.

† See note, p. 246. of this volume.

‡ "And fashioned it with a graving tool, after he had made it *a molten calf*: and they said, These be thy gods, O Israel." Exod. xxxii. 4 (1)

§ "From this we may conclude, with reason, that the Druzes have no religion: yet one class of them must be excepted, whose religious customs are very peculiar. Those who compose it, are, to the rest of the nation, what the initiated were to the profane; they assume the name of *okkals*, which means spiritualists, and bestow on the vulgar the epithet of *djahel*, or ignorant; they have various degrees of initiation; the highest orders of which require celibacy." Volney's Trav. vol. ii. p. 59.

‖ See the account given by Volney, vol. ii. sect. 3. p. 33.

(1) A curious representation of one of these figures, rudely formed, and covered with inscriptions, was communicated to Dr. Henley, by the late *Cardinal* Borgia, from the original in his museum.

with which they strive to amalgamate the discordant materials of every religious creed. Those with whom we conversed confessed that the Pantheon of the Druses admitted alike, as objects of adoration, whatsoever had been venerated by Heathens, Jews, Christians, or Mahometans; that they worshipped all the Prophets, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, as well as Jesus and Mahomet; that, every Thursday evening, the *okkals*, who cultivate mysteries, elevate, within their places of worship, a molten idol, made of gold, silver, or brass, which has the form of a calf. Before this, persons of both sexes make their prostrations; and then a promiscuous intercourse ensues, every male retiring with the woman he likes best. This the *djahel** relate of the *okkals*, whom they describe as cautious in making known the ceremonies of their secret worship. The custom which unites the Druses in bonds of the strictest amity with those who happen to have eaten *bread and salt* with them, is of Arabian origin; but indifference about matters of religion, which is so obvious among the Druses, never was known to characterize an Arab. The fact is, that this does not apply to them all. It is evident the *okkals* are not indifferent as to their mode of worship, whatsoever this may really be. That which is related of them, we do not receive upon their own authority. The imputation which charges them with the worship of a calf, has some internal evidence of truth; because such an idol, so reverenced, was brought by the Israelites into the Holy Land: nor does it seem probable, supposing this accusation to have been founded upon the invention of a tribe of ignorant mountaineers, that the story would have been so classically adapted to the ancient history of the country. Considering the little information derived from the writings of those travellers who have resided among them, and who have paid most attention to the subject, it is not likely that the nature of their occult rites will ever be promulgated.† That they betray an inclination to Mahometanism is not true, because they show every mark of hatred and contempt for the Moslems, and behave with great benevolence and friendship to the Christians, whose religion they respect.‡ In their language they are Arabic; in every thing else, a distinct race of men.§

* See a former note.

† "It is impossible to draw a single word from their priests, who observe the most inviolable secrecy in every thing that concerns their worship: I conclude, therefore, that their dogmas are impenetrable mysteries." Mariti's Travels, vol. ii. p. 26. Lond. 1791.

‡ Mariti's Travels, vol. ii. p. 25.

§ Paul Lucas, speaking of the Marnoites, says, their language is Arabic in conver-

There is nothing more remarkable than their physiognomy, which is not that of an Arab. From this circumstance alone, we were, at any time, able to select one of the Druses from the midst of a party of Arabs. A certain nobleness and dignity of feature, a marked elevation of countenance, and superior deportment, always distinguished them; accompanied by openness, sincerity, and very engaging manners.* With this brief account of a people, concerning whom we would gladly have contributed any satisfactory information, we must now turn our attention to other subjects; confessing, that on leaving the Druses, we were as ignorant of their real history as when we entered the country of their residence.†

As we rode from this village toward the sea of Tiberias, the guides pointed to a sloping spot from the heights upon our right, whence we had descended, as the place where the miracle was accomplished by which our saviour fed the multitude: it is therefore called *the multiplication of bread;* as the mount above, where the sermon was preached to his disciples, is called *the mountain of beatitudes*, from the expressions used in the beginning of that discourse.‡ This part of the Holy Land is very full of wild animals. Antelopes are in great number. We had the pleasure of seeing these beautiful quadrupeds in their natural state, feeding among the thistles and tall herbage of these plains, and bounding before us occasionally, as we disturbed them. The Arabs frequently take them in the chase. The lake now continued in view upon our left. The wind rendered its surface rough, and called to mind the situation of our saviour's disciples, when, in one of the small vessels which traverse these waters, they were tossed in a storm, and saw Jesus, in the

sation, but in writing they use the Syriac and Chaldaic characters. It does not therefore follow, from their Arabic language alone, that the maronites of Syria, any more than the Druses, are necessarily Arabs. "*Ils parlent Arabe; mais leur caractères sont Syriaques ou Chaldaïques.*" Voyage de Sieur Paul Lucas, tom. i. p. 304. Amst. 1744.

* I have seen nothing to remind me of the appearance presented by the Druses* excepting an engraving in Lord Valentia's Travels, from a drawing by Mr. Salt, representing Abyssinians resting on a march. (See vol. iii p. 109. Lond. 1809.) The two figures, seated upon the right hand of that groupe, in white cloaks, whose faces are exhibited in profile, bear a striking resemblance to the Druses we saw in Syria.

† "The country of *Castravent*, a part of Mount Lebanon which looks toward the Mediterranean sea, is inhabited, in preference to any other spot, by the Druses, who gave their name to this southern district. They occupy also the rest of Mount Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, the narrow plains which lie between Castravent and the sea and all that extent of shore from *Gibail*, otherwise called Byblus, as far as the river *Ev'*, near the ancient Sidon, at present called Sayd. The ancient Heliopolis, now known by the name of Balbec, is peopled by this nation, as well as the neighbouring country. In short, families of the Druses may be found scattered here and there, throughout every part of Syria and Palaestine." Mariti's Travels, vol. ii. p. 23.

‡ *Blessed* are the poor in spirit . . . . *Blessed* are they that mourn," &c. &c.

fourth watch of the night, walking to them upon the waves. Often as this subject has been painted, combining a number of circumstances adapted for the representation of sublimity, no artist has been aware of the uncommon grandeur of the scenery, memorable on account of the transaction. The lake of Gennesareth is surrounded by objects well calculated to heighten the solemn impression made by such a picture; and, independent of the local feelings likely to be excited in its contemplation, affords one of the mosts striking prospects in the Holy Land. It is by comparison alone that any due conception of the appearance it presents can be conveyed to the minds of those who have not seen it; and, speaking of it comparatively, it may be described as longer and finer than any of our Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, although, perhaps, it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond in Scotland. It does not possess the vastness of the lake of Geneva, although it much resembles it in particular points of view.—The lake of Locarno in Italy comes nearest to it in point of picturesque beauty, although it is destitue of any thing similar to the islands by which that majestic piece of water is adorned. It is inferior in magnitude, and, perhaps, in the height of its surrounding mountains, to the lake Asphaltites; but its broad and extended surface, covering the bottom of a profound valley, environed by lofty and precipitous eminences, added to the impression of a certain reverential awe under which every Christian pilgrim approaches it, give it a character of dignity unparalleled by any similar scenery.

Having reached the end of the plain whose surface exhibited such motley colours to us, when it was viewed from the Mountain of Beatitudes, a long and steep declivity of two miles yet remained to the town of Tiberias, situated upon the borders of the lake. We had here a noble view of this place, with its castle and fortifications. Groupes of Arabs, gathering in their harvest upon the backs of camels, were seen in the neighbourhood of the town. Beyond it appeared, upon the same side of the lake, some buildings erected over the warm mineral baths of *Emmaus*, which are much frequented by the people of the country; and, still further, the southeastern extremity of the lake. Turning our view toward its northern shores, we beheld, through a bold declivity, the situation of *Capernaum*, upon the boundaries of the two tribes of Zabulon and Naphtali. It was visited in the sixth century by Antoninus

* Matthew xiv. 24, 25, 26.

the martyr, an extract from whose itinerary is preserved by Reland, which speaks of a church erected upon the spot where St. Peter's dwelling once stood.* Along the borders of this lake may still be seen the remains of those ancient tombs, hewn by the earliest inhabitants of Galilee, in the rocks which face the water. Similar works were before noticed among the ruins of Telmessus. They were deserted in the time of our Saviour, and had become the resort of wretched men, afflicted by diseases, and made outcasts of society; for, in the account of the cure performed by our Saviour upon a maniac in the country of the Gadarenes, these tombs are particularly alluded to; and their existence to this day (although they have been neither noticed by priests nor pilgrims, and have escaped the ravages of the Empress Helena, who would undoubtedly have shaped them into churches) offers strong internal evidence of the accuracy of the evangelist who has recorded the transaction: "There met him *out of the tombs* a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling *among the tombs*."† In all the descent toward Tiberias, the soil is black, and seems to have resulted from the decomposition of rocks, which have a volcanic appearance. The stony fragments scattered over the surface were amygdaloidal and porous; their cavities being occasionally occupied by mesotype, or by plumose carbonate of lime: the former became perfectly gelatinized after immersion in muriatic acid. We observed plantations of tobacco then in bloom; of Indian corn; of millet, which was still green; of melons, pumpkins, and cucumbers. The harvest of wheat and barley ended in June; but the oats were still standing. From Hatti to Tiberias is nine miles: two of these consists of the descent from the elevated plain toward the lake.

As we entered the gate of the town, the Turkish guards were playing at chess. We roused them with our *salaams*, and were conducted to the residence of the governor. Having made as rapid a disposition as possible of our baggage, for the purpose of passing the night in a large room of the castle, which reminded us of ancient apartments in the old castellate buildings remaining in England, we hastened toward the lake; every individual of our party being eager to bathe his feverish limbs in its cool and consecrated waters.

Proceeding toward the shore, we were shown a very ancient

* "Deinde venimus in civitatem Capharnaum in domum Petri, quae modo est basilica." Itin. Antonin. Martyr. Vid. Relandi Palaestina, in Nom. Capernaum.
† Mark, ch. v 2. 3.

church, of an oblong square form, to which we descended by steps, as into the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople and other early Christian sanctuaries, where the entrance resembles that of a cellar; day light being rarely admitted. There is reason to believe this the first place of Christian worship erected in Tiberias, and that it was constructed as long ago as the fourth century. The roof is of stone, and it is vaulted. We could discover no inscription, nor any other clue to the history of its origin. The priest, whom we found officiating, was so ignorant that he knew not by whom, for whom, nor when, it was erected; saying only, that it was called *the house of Peter*. Under this name it is mentioned by former travellers.* Nicephorus Callistus,† as cited by Reland,‡ records the dedication of a magnificent edifice to St. Peter, by Helena, mother of Constantine the First, in the city of Tiberias. Reland distinguishes this building from that now bearing the name of the Apostle,§ but he believes the latter derived its name from the former.‖ It is not however so insignificant a structure as he seems to suppose. Its arched stone roof yet existing entire, renders it worthy of more particular observation. If it be not the building erected by Helena, on the spot where our Saviour is said to have appeared to St. Peter after his resurrection,** it is probably that which Epiphanius†† relates to have been built by a native of Tiberias, one Josephus,‡‡ who, under the auspices of Constantine, erected the churches of Sepphoris§§ and Capernaum.‖‖ The materials of which it consists, seem to correspond with the description given of the stones used for that edifice.

* "At the northeast corner of the town, there is an oblong square church, arched over, and dedicated to St Peter; it is mentioned by ancient authors, and said by some to be the spot where the house of St. Peter was." Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. ii. part. i. p. 68.

† Histor. Eccles. II, 12.

‡ Palæstina Illustrata, tom. ii. p. 1042. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

§ "In hâc urbe nimirum aedem magnificam, et ab illâ quæ hodie Petri dicitur plane diversam, Helena, Constantini mater, Petro olim dedicavit." Ibid.

‖ "Hinc, puto, nomen aedis Petri huic aediculae adhesit." *Palaestina Illustrata*, tom. ii. p. 1040.

** John xxi. I. "Ecclesia ab Helenâ matre in isto loco fabricata, in suo decore pulchra permanet." *Bonifacius de Perenni Cultu Terr. Sanct* lib. ii.

†† Epiphanii Opera, tom. ii. lib. i. Adv. Haer. p. 128. *Paris*, 1622.

‡‡ In referring to this *Josephus*, Reland uses so little precision, that he might be confounded with *Josephus* the Jewish historian. "Tiberiade," says he, "ante tempora *Josephi* non licuit Christiano." (Relandi Palaestina Illustrata, tom. ii. p. 1038.) A preceding paragraph, however, states that he acted under the auspices of Constantine the First; and Epiphanius, whose writings are referred to by Reland, cautiously avoids confounding him with *Flavius Josephus*.

§§ See the former chapter.

‖‖ Built over the spot where St. Peter's dwelling was believed to have stood in Capernaum. See an extract from the itinerary of Antoninus the Martyr, written in the sixth century, and given in a former note. Also *Reland. Palæst. Illust.* tom. ii. p. 1043. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

Josephus, according to Epiphanius,* when about to build the church, found part of an ancient temple, called the *Adrianéum*,† consisting of stones six feet square,‡ which the inhabitants of Tiberias wished to convert into a public bath. This he immediately appropriated to the erection of the new sanctuary; and in the present building similar remains may be observed. Whatsoever be the date of it, we may regret that, in the numerous publications which have appeared concerning the Holy Land, no accurate delineation of these interesting specimens of vaulted architecture has yet been afforded by artists duly qualified for the representation.

The town of Tiberias is situated close to the edge of the lake. It is fortified by walls, but has no artillery; and, like all Turkish citadels, it makes a great figure from without, exhibiting at the same time the utmost wretchedness within. Its castle stands upon a rising ground, in the north part of it. No antiquities now remain, except the building I have described, and the celebrated hot baths of *Emmaus*,§ about a mile to the south of the town. "*Thermus Tiberiadis quis ignorat?*"‖ They were visited by Egmont and Heyman; but the water has never been accurately analized: Hasselquist states, that he remained long enough for this purpose,** but he has given no account of its chemical constituents. Pococke indeed brought a bottle of it away, having observed a red sediment upon the stones about the place. He affirms,†† that it contained "gross fixed vitriol, some alum, and a mineral salt." A traveller of the name of Monconys, cited by Reland,‡‡ relates, that the water is extremely hot, having a taste of sulphur mixed with nitre. Egmont and Heyman describe its quality as resembling that of the springs at Aix la Chapelle.§§ They bathed here, and found the water "so hot, as not easily to be

* Epiphanii Opera, tom. ii. lib. i. Adv. Haer. pp. 136, 137. Paris, 1622.

† Ἀδριανεῖον. Temples without images were called ADRIANEA, from *Adrian*, by whom they were introduced.

‡ That is to say, of four cubits square; reckoning each cubit at eighteen inches.

§ *Emmaus*, or *Ammaus*, signifies BATHS. (Vid. Joseph. lib. iv. de Bell. Jud c. i.) The Hebrew appellation is חמת CHAMMATH (Reland. Palaest. Illust. tom. i. lib. i. p. 302.) The baths of Tiberias are thus mentioned by Pliny; "Abocciden Tiberiade, aquis calidis, salubri." (Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 15.) Josephus also mentions them, and their situation with regard to the city; Θέρμα δὲ ἄνωθεν ἔνεστιν ἐν κώμῃ, Ἀμμαοῦς ὄνομα αὐτῇ. *Thermae non longè* (ab urbe Tiberiadis) *absunt, in vico, Ammaus dicto.*" (Josephus, Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 3.) The Arabian word for baths, *chammam* or *hammam*, is not very different from the Hebrew; and by this name the baths of Tiberias are now called.

‖ Relandi Palaestina Illustr. tom. ii. lib. iii. p. 1039. Traj. Bat. 1714.

** Travels to the East, p. 157. Lond. 1766.

†† Description of the East, vol. ii. part i. p. 69. Lond. 1745.

‡‡ Palaest. Illust. tom. ii. lib. iii. p. 1040. Traj. Bat. 1714.

§§ Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, &c. vol. ii. p. 33 Lond. 1759.

endured," and "so salt, as to communicate a brackish taste to that of the lake near it," Volney says*, that, "for want of cleaning, it is filled with a black mud, which is a genuine Æthiops Martial;" that "persons attacked by rheumatic complaints, find great relief, and are frequently cured by baths of this mud."

These observations have been introduced, because we were unable ourselves to visit the place; and were compelled to rest satisfied with a distant view of the building which covers a spring renowned, during many ages, for its medical properties. In the space between Tiberias and Emmaus, Egmont and Heyman noticed remains of walls, and other ruins, which are described as foundations of the old city.† This is said, by Pococke,‡ to have extended about half a mile farther to the south than the present inclosure of its walls.

Adrichomius,§ considering Tiberias as the *Cinneroth* of the Hebrews, says, that this city was captured by Benhadad king of Syria;‖ and, in after ages, restored by Herod, who surrounded it with walls, and adorned it with magnificent buildings. But *Cinneroth*, or, as it is otherwise written, *Kinnereth*, was a city of Naphtali, and not of Zabulon.** The old Hebrew city, whatever was its name, probably owed its birth to the renown of its medicinal baths. Some of the most ancient temples in the world, together with the cities to which they belonged,

* Travels in Egypt and Syria, vol. ii. p. 230. Lond. 1787.

† Egmont and Heyman, vol. II. p. 33.

‡ *Description of the East*, vol. II. part I. p. 68. Pococke says, that when they were digging for stones to build the castle, upon the north side of the town, they found a great number of sepulchres, wherein it was stated the Jews had been buried eight hundred years before. He saw a stone coffin (p 69.) adorned with reliefs, exhibiting a bull's head within a crown of flowers, and "*a festoon supported by a spread eagle.*" The city has never been inhabited by any people unto whom this religion can be ascribed, except its Jewish owners The fact therefore affords curious proof of the antiquity of a very popular symbol in heraldry.

§ Adrichomii Theat. Terr. Sanct. in *Zabulon*. Vid. p. 143. *Colon.* 1628.

‖ 1 Kings, xv. 20. At the precise moment when this note is introduced, the irruption of the Wahabee Arabs into the neighbourhood of Damascus has made the eastern district of Syria a scene of transactions resembling the state of the country nine hundred and fifty-one years before the Christian æra. Ibn Saoud, the Wahabee chief, remained only two days and a half in the Hauran; overrun, in that time, a space of at least 140 miles; plundered and ransacked about thirty villages; and returned, flying into the heart of his desert dominions. These particulars are communicated to the author in a letter (dated Aleppo, May 3, 1811) from his friend Burckhardt, now travelling under the auspices of the African Society. They afford a striking parallel with the "Acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did," who, in his war with Baasha, sent Ben-hadad of Damascus "against the cities of Israel, and smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-beth-maachah, and all Cinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali."

** Reland, Palæst. Illust. tom. II. lib. iii. p. 1036. D'Anville, however, reconciles this position of Kinnereth, which he writes *Cinnereth*, by extending the boundaries of Naphtali to the southern extremity of the Lake Gennesareth

had a similar origin.* Tiberias, according to some authors,† was built by Tiberius the Roman emperor, who called it after his own name. But Josephus relates, that Herod the Tetrarch erected it in honour of Tiberius, with whom he was in great favour‡. For this purpose, it is said, he selected the most suitable place in all Galilee, upon the border of the Lake of Gennesareth. The ample document afforded by Josephus is sufficient to prove that Herod's city was precisely on the spot occupied by the town as it now stands; for in the account given by him of its situation, he describes the hot baths of Emmaus as being out the city, and not far from it.§ Very considerable privileges were given to those who chose to settle there: the ground whereon the city was built being full of sepulchres, and thereby considered as polluted by dead bodies.‖ Hence we may infer the existence of a former city upon the same territory. Tiberias makes a conspicuous figure in the Jewish annals:** it was the scene of some of the most memorable events recorded by Josephus. In refuting the writings of Justus, an historian often quoted by Stephanus Byzantinus, he speaks of Sepphoris and Tiberias as the two most illustrious cities of Galilee.†† During a visit paid to it by Agrippa, the successor of Herod, the kings of Comagene, of Emessa, of the Lesser Armenia, of Pontus, and of Chalcis, here met to do him honour, and were magnificently entertained.‡‡ After the downfall of Jerusalem, it continued, until the fifth century,§§ the residence of Jewish patriarchs, rabbins, and learned men. A university was founded here. The office of patriarch was hereditary; and appeared with some lustre under the Emperor Adrian, in the person of Simon the Third.‖‖ In the begining of the fifth century,*** the patriarchate was suppressed, after having subsisted three hundred and

* Witness the temple of Jupiter in Mount Ida, mentioned by Homer and by Æschylus: the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurus; &c. &c.

† "Ὃς κτίσας πόλιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα Τιβεριάδα. "*Jerusalem in Judæâ condidit, et de nomine suo appellavit Tiberiada.*" Joel in Chronographia. p. 162. Eadem hæc leguntur apud Michaelem Glycam in Annal. part 3. p. 233. Vid. *Reland. Palæst. Illust. tom.* II. *p.* 1037.

‡ Antiquit. lib. xviii. c. 3. et De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8.

§ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

** "Vide Misnam Schabbath, III. 4. et XXII. 5. &c." *Reland. Palaest. Illust.* tom. II. lib. iii. p. 1039. Josephus Antiq. lib. xviii. c. 3. lib. xix. c. 7. In vit. &c. &c.

†† Josephus in Vitâ Suâ.

‡‡ Antiq. lib. xix. c. 7.

§§ Reland says, *usque ad saeculum quartum*" Egmont and Heyman mention the *fifth*; and Pococke. the *eleventh* century. I have preferred the aera assigned by Egmont and Heyman, (vol. II. p. 31.) because they mention the precise year, and give their authority.

‖‖ Egmont and Heyman, vol. II. p. 31.

*** A. D. 429. Ibid.

y years.* In the sixth, Justinian, according to Procopius, uilt the walls.† In the seventh century.‡ the city was en by the Saracens, under Caliph Omar; yet, in the hth, we find it mentioned in an itinerary cited by Reland, still containing many churches and Jewish synagogues § rious medals are extant of the city, bearing different in- iptions.|| These are interesting, not only from the dates ich they commemorate, but also in the allusion made by ne of them to the baths of Tiberias, the principal cause of city's celebrity. They are principally of the time of ajan or of Adrian. Upon some, the Syrian goddess As- te is represented standing upon the prow of a vessel, with e head of Osiris in her right hand, and a spear in her left.** thers represent Jupiter sitting in his temple.†† There are so other medals of the city, with the figure of Hygeia, lding a serpent, and sitting on a mountain; from whose se issue two fountains, intended for the hot springs of Em- aus.‡‡

Among the pebbles of the shore were pieces of a porous rock, sembling the substance called toadstone in England: its cavi- es were filled with zeolite. Native gold was found here rmerly. We noticed an appearance of this kind, but, on ac- unt of its trivial nature, neglected to pay proper attention to , notwithstanding the hints given by more than one writer pon this subject.§§ Neither boat, nor vessel of any kind, ap- eared upon the lake. The water was as clear as the purest

* See Basnage's Hist. of the Jews.
† Procop. lib. v. c. 9. de Ædific. Justinian.
‡ A. D. 640. *See Basnage; Egmont and Heyman*, &c. The Emperor Heraclius sited this place A. D. 620, as appears from the writings of Anastasius, (Histor. p. 1.) "Tiberiadem adiisset, accusavere Christiani Benjamin quendam nomine, quasi la sibi facientem (erat enim admodum opulentus) qui suscepit Imperatorem et ex- citum ejus. Ast Imperator damnavit eum; quamobrem inquiens, 'Molestus es ristianis?' qui ait, 'Ut inimicis fidei meae.' Tunc Imperator admonitum hunc, et credendum suasum baptizavit in aedibus Eustachii Neapolitani, qui et ipse cum ristianus esset Imperatorum excepit." Rel. Palaest. tom. II. p. 1040.
|| Itin. Willibaldi. Rel. Palaest. ibid.
Vid. Harduin Num Antiq. p. 498. Paris, 1684. Patin. p. 185. Vaillant Numis. rat. August et Caesar. p. 374. Paris, 1698, &c. The legend given by Harduin ΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ. ΕΠΙ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ. ΕΤ. ΑΠ. Those commemorated by Vail- ave ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΕΩΝ, with different dates. The epocha of the city ences with the year of Rome 770; therefore the ΑΠ, or 81, noticed by Har- answers to the year of Rome 850, being the first year of Trajan's reign. It usual to compliment the emperors by striking medals during the first year of reign. Reland notices a remarkable medal of Tiberias (tom. II. p. 1042. Pa- Illust.) which had on one side the legend ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑC within a laurel wreath upon the other the words ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥΛ. ΛΔ. with a palm h.
Vaillant, p. 374. Num. Imperat. Paris, 1698.
Vaillant, p. 374. Num. Imperat. *Paris*. 1698.
Vid. Reland Palaest. Illust. tom. II. p. 1042.
Hegesippus de Excid. Urb. Hiero. lib. iii c. 26, &c.

crystal; sweet, cool, and most refreshing to the taste. Swimming to a considerable distance from the shore, we found it so limpid, that we could discern the bottom, covered with shining pebbles. Among these stones was a beautiful but very diminutive kind of shell, being a non-descript species of *buccinum**, which we have called BUCCINUM GALILÆUM. We amused ourselves by diving for specimens; and the very circumstance of discerning such small objects beneath the surface, may prove the high transparency of the water The river Jordan maintains its course through the middle of the lake; and, it is said, without mingling its waters. A similar story is related of the Rhine and Moselle at Coblentz, and in other parts of the world, where difference of colour appears in water by the junction of rivers.† A strong current is caused by the Jordan in the middle of the lake; and, when this is opposed by contrary winds, which blow here with the force of a hurricane from the southeast, sweeping from the mountains into the lake, it may be conceived that a boisterous sea is instantly raised; this the small vessels of the country are ill qualified to resist. As different statements have been made of the breadth of this lake and experienced mariners are often tolerably accurate in measuring distance upon water by the eye, we asked Captain Culverhouse what he supposed to be the interval between Tiberias and the opposite shore, where there is a village scarcely perceptible, upon the site of ancient *Hippos*. He considered it equal to six miles. Mr. Loudon, purser of the Romulus, and also the cockswain, were of the same opinion; of course, such a mode of computing distances must be liable to error. We could obtain no information from the inhabitants concerning the dimensions of their lake: the vague method of reckoning according to the time one of their boats can sail round or across it, was the only measure they could furnish, According to Sandys,‡ its length is twelve miles and a half, and its breadth six. This is evidently derived from Josephus.§ C

* The figure which most resembles this new species of *buccinum* is in Chemnitz (*Vol.* IV. *p.* 43. *tab.* 124 *ff.* 1167, 1169.) He calls it *Nassa fasciata*: and describes "*fasciis alternis obscuré brunneis, rufescentibus et candidis circumcincla.*" He refers also to Seba (*Thesaurus, vol.* III. *tab.* 53. *f.* 43.) who describes it "*cinereo-flava, tibi costata crenata, et profundé lyrata.*" The latter part of Seba's description is particularly characteristic of this new species, which is evidently a *buccinum*. Chemnitz says that his shell is found in great abundance at *Tranquebar*. Neither of the figures referred to affords a correct representation of the Galilæan *buccinum*; nor is there Linnaeus any description which answers to it. We have therefore named it BUCCINUM GALILÆUM.

† See p. 42, of this Volume.

‡ "In length an hundred furlongs, and fortie in breadth." *Sandy's Travels, Book* p. 141. *Lond*, 1637.

§ See a former note.

its length we could not form any accurate opinion, because its southern extremity, winding behind distant mountains, was concealed from our view; but we inclined rather to the statement of Hegesippus, as applied by Reland* to the text of Josephus; this makes it one hundred and forty stadia, or seventeen miles and a half.† Josephus speaks of the sweetness of its water,‡ of its pebbly bottom, and, above all, of the salubrity of the surrounding atmosphere.§ He says the water is so cold, that its temperature is not affected by its being exposed to the sun during the hottest season of the year. A most curious circumstance concerning this lake is mentioned by Hasselquist: "I thought it remarkable," observes this celebrated naturalist,‖ "that the same kind of fish should here be met with as in the Nile; *Charmuth*, *Silurus*, *Bœnni*, *Mulsil*, and *Sparus Galilæus*." This explains the observations of certain travellers, who speak of the lake as possessing fishes peculiar to itself; not being perhaps acquainted with the produce of the Nile. Josephus considers the Lake Gennesareth as having fishes of a peculiar nature;** and yet it is very worthy of notice, that, in speaking of the fountain of *Capernaum*, his remarks tend to confirm the observation made by Hasselquist. "Some consider it," says he,†† "as a vein of the Nile, because it brings forth fishes resembling the *Coracinus* of the Alexandrian lake."

This lake was the scene of a most bloody naval engagement between the Romans under Vespasian, and the Jews who had revolted during the administration of Agrippa. The account of the action, as given by Josephus, proves that the vessels of the country, as at this day, were nothing more than mere boats: even those of the Romans, expressly built for that occasion, and described as larger than the ships used by the Jews, consisted of small craft, rapidly constructed, and for the building of which, it is said, they had abundance both of artificers and materials.‡‡ Titus and Trajan were present in that engage-

* Palaest. Illust. lib. 1. c 39. tom. I. p. 259. Traj. ad. Rhen. 1714.

† "Namque lacus ipsius, velut quodam mare sinus amplissimus, in longitudinem centum quadraginta extenditur stadia, latitudine quadraginta diffunditur." *Hegesippus de Excid Urb. Hiero. lib.* iii. c. 26. *vol.* VII. *p.* 492. *Bib. Pat.* Par. 1654.

‡ The waters of this lake are thus extolled by Quaresmius: "Non cœnosæ, paludosæ, vel amaræ, sed claræ, dulces, potabiles, et fecundæ." *Quaresmii Elucid. Terr. Sanc. lib.* vii. c. 3. *p.* 862. *tom.* II. Antverp. 1639.

§ Joseph. lib. iii. de Bell Jud. c. 18.

‖ Hasselquist's Voy. and Trav. in the Levant, p. 157. *Lond.* 1766.

** Lib. iii. cap 18 de Bell. Jud.

†† Ταύτην φλέβα τῆς Νείλου τινὲς ἔδοξαν, ἐπεὶ γεννᾷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων λίμνην Κορακίνῳ παραπλήσιον. *Joseph. lib.* iii. *de Bell. Jud. tom.* II. *p* 258. *ed. S. Havers. Amst. &c.* 1720. The same kind of fish is mentioned in Athenæus. (*p.* 227. C. *Lugd.*) See also "*Gesner de Aquatilibus.*"

‡‡ Ibid. cap. 17.

ment; and Vespasian was himself on board the Roman fleet. The rebel army consisted of an immense multitude of seditious people, from all the towns of the country, and especially from those bordering upon the lake, who, as fugitives after the capture of Tarichæa* by Titus, had sough trefuge upon the water. The victory gained by the Romans was followed by such a terrible slaughter of the Jews, that nothing was to be seen, either upon the lake or along its shores, except blood, and the mangled corpses of the insurgents: their dead bodies infected the air to such a degree, that the victors, as well as the vanquished, were sufferers upon the occasion: the number of the slain, after the two actions, (that of *Tarichæa* and the naval engagement which followed,) amounted to six thousand five hundred persons. Neither was the slaughter less memorable of the prisoners, who were marched to Tiberias as soon as the victory had been obtained. Vespasian caused them all to be shut up in the amphitheatre; where twelve hundred of them were put to death, being unable or unfit to bear arms. This amphitheatre, according to the account given by Josephus, was large enough to contain† thirty-seven thousand six hundred persons, (beside a vast number of others who were given as slaves by Vespasian to Agrippa, as well as of the inhabitants of Trachonitis,‡ Gaulon,§ Hippos,‖ and Gadara:** the sum total whereof he has not mentioned,) all of whom were mountaineers of Anti-Libanus and Hermon, or restless tribes of freebooters from eastern Syria; unable, as Josephus describes them, to sustain a life of peace, and exhibiting, eighteen hun-

* *Tarichæa* was situated beyond the baths of Emmaus, at the southern extremity of the Lake of Gennesareth, three miles and three quarters distant from Tiberias; or thirty stadia, according to Josephus. Between these two cities Vespasian's army was often encamped, and generally at the baths of Emmaus. Pliny, speaking of *Tarichæa*, says, that, by some, the lake was called after the name of this city. "A meridie Tarichea, quo nomine aliqui et lacum appellant." (*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* v. *cap.* 15. L. Bat. 1635. *tom.* I. *p.* 262.) In the same manner, the *Lake of Geneva* is by some called *Lake of Lausanne*; and especially by Gibbon, who was offended at being censured for it. The author once heard him express an intention of proving this last to be the only correct appellation.

† Future travellers will perhaps discover the remains of a building of this magnitude.

‡ *Trachonitis* was the country near Damascus, to the east of Hermon and Anti-Libanus.

§ *Gaulon* gave its name to the district called Gaulonitis, beyond Jordan, on the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesareth. D'Anville has not placed it in his map of Palaestine. It was one of the six cities of refuge.

‖ A city opposite to Tiberias, upon the Lake Gennesareth, at the southwestern extremity of a ridge of mountains bearing the same name, and being a branch of the chain of Hermon.

** A city beyond Jordan, distant seven miles and a half from the Lake Gennesareth. Like *Hippos*, it gave its name to a small province. The hot baths of Gadara are mentioned by Epiphanius. Gadara, according to Polybius, was one of the strongest cities of the country.

dred years ago, the same state of society which now characterizes the inhabitants of that country.

After reluctantly retiring from this crystal flood, we returned to the castle. Here, within the spacious and airy apartment prepared for our reception, we mutually expressed our hopes of passing at least one night free from the attacks of vermin; but, to our dismay, the sheik, being informed of our conversation, burst into laughter, and said, that, according to a saying current in Galilee, "THE KING OF THE FLEAS HOLDS HIS COURT IN TIBERIAS." Some of the party, provided with hammocks, slung them from the walls, so as to lie suspended above the floor; yet even these did not escape persecution: and, for the rest of us, who lay on the bare planks, we continued, as usual, tormented and restless during the night, listening to the noise made by the jackals. Being well aware what we had to expect, we resolved to devote as many hours as possible, before daybreak, to conversation with the people of the country, to our supper, and to the business of writing our journals. They brought us a plentiful repast, consisting of three sorts of fried fishes from the lake: one of these, a species of mullet, was, according to their tradition, the favourite food of Jesus Christ. The French, during the time their army remained under Buonaparte in the Holy Land, constructed two very large ovens in this castle. Two years had elapsed, at the time of our arrival, since they had set fire to their granary; and it was considered a miracle by the inhabitants of Tiberias, that the combustion was not yet extinguished. We visited the place, and perceived that, whenever the ashes of the burned corn were stirred by thrusting a stick among them, sparks were even then glowing throughout the heap; and a piece of wood, being left there, became charred. The heat in those vaulted chambers, where the corn had been destroyed, was still very great.

The next morning we arose as soon as light appeared, in order to bathe once more, and take a last survey of the town. Although, from several circumstances, we were convinced that the ancient city stood upon the site of the modern, it is very probable that it occupied a greater extent of territory*, particularly toward the south, where there are remains of build-

* Quaresmius mentions a gate of black and white marble on its western side: describing the city as of a square form, saying of it, "*Non multum antiqua est, et veteri Tiberiade multo minor: hanc enim longè majorem istâ fuisse circumjacentes magnæ ruinæ, et maximè procedendo ad duo milliaria meridiem versus, non obscure demonstrant.*" Elucid. Terr. Sanct. lib. vii. cap. 4. tom. II. p. 864. *Ant.* 1639.

ings. Some authors mention a temple, called* ΔΩΔΕΚΑΘΡΟΝΟΝ, erected upon the spot where it was believed our Saviour miraculously fed the multitude: and other edifices, whereof no trace is now remaining. The most singular circumstance concerning Tiberias is mentioned by Boniface:† he describes the city as not being habitable, on account of the multitude of serpents‡ This has not been stated by any other author; neither did any observation made by us upon the spot, concerning the natural history of the country, serve to explain the origin of this representation; the more remarkable, as it is affirmed by one who resided in the Holy Land,§ and whose writings are frequently quoted by authors toward the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Tiberias at present is much inhabited; principally by Jews, who are said to be descendants of families resident there, in the time of our Saviour; they are perhaps a remnant of refugees who fled hither after the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans. The Christian inhabitants of this town are, however, also numerous: of this we were convinced, by the multitude we saw coming from the morning service of the church.

* Nicephorus, lib. viii. cap. 30, &c.
† Bonifacius de Perenni Cultu Terræ Sanctæ lib. ii.
‡ "*Tiberias civitas omninò inhabitabilis est, propter serpentum multitudinem.*" Ib.
§ He was superior of a monastery at Mount Sion in Jerusalem, and afterward advanced to an episcopal see in Italy. *Vid. Quaresm. Elucc. tom.* I. *lib.* 5. *c.* 13.

CHAP. XV.

THE HOLY LAND—TIBERIAS TO NAPOLOSE.

*Departure from Tiberias—Effect of the Climate—Production of the Desert—Lubi—State of the Country—Mount Thabor—Change of Route—Narrow Escape of the Author—Camp of Djezzar's Cavalry—Wars of the Arabs—Their Manner and Disposition—Address of an Arab to his Mare—*SIMMOOM, *or Wind of the Desert—Bread baked in the Sun's Rays—Emir of the Mountains—Plain of Esdraelon—Encampments—Jennin—Effect produced by Change of Government—Santorri—Ancient Castle—Napolose or* SICHEM—*Reception by the Governor—Aspect and State of the City—Its various Appellations—Circumstances connected with its ancient History—Tomb of Joseph—Tomb of Joshua—Nature of those Reliques—Samaritans—Jacob's Well.*

WE were on horseback by six o'clock, on Monday morning, July the sixth, notwithstanding our excursion, and continued our route. Leaving Tiberias, we took a different road from that by which we came, and crossed an extensive valley, hoping to visit Mount Thabor. In this valley, three hundred French cavalry defeated an army of ten thousand Turks; an event so astonishing, even to the Turks themselves, that they considered the victory as obtained by magic; an art which they believe many of the Franks to possess.

All the pleasure of travelling, at this season of the year, in the Holy Land, is suspended by the excessive heat of the sun. A traveller, wearied and spiritless, is often more subdued at the beginning than at the end of his day's journey. Many rare plants and curious minerals invite his notice, as he passes slowly along, with depressed looks fixed upon the ground; but these it is impossible for him to obtain. It appears to him to be an act of unjustifiable cruelty to ask a servant, or even one of the attending Arabs, to descend from his horse, for the purpose of collecting either the one or the other. All nature seems to droop; every animal seeks for shade, which it is extremely difficult to find. But the chamæleon, the lizard, the serpent, and all sorts of beetles, basking, even at noon, upon rocks and in sandy places, exposed to the most

scorching rays, seem to rejoice in the greatest heat wherein it is possible to exist. This is also the case in Egypt, where no desert is so solitary but reptiles and insects may be observed; proving that the ostrich, and other birds found there, are by no means, as some writers have maintained, at a loss for food. It is more probable that the desert offers to them nourishment they could not easily procure elsewhere. A very interesting volume of natural history might be made, relating only to the inhabitants of the desert: they are much more numerous than is commonly believed: and if to these were added the plants which thrive only in such a situation, with an account of those extraordinary petrifactions found in the African deserts; the various jaspers, and other siliceous concretions abounding in the sandy tract betwen the Red Sea and the Nile, as well as all over Arabia Petræa and Mauritania; the description would be truly marvellous. The enterprise of another Hasselquist is not required for this purpose; because, although much remains to be discovered, naturalists are already possessed of sufficient materials for the undertaking.

After three hours walking our horses, we arrived at a poor village, called *Lûbi*,* situated upon the brow of a range of hills, which bound the valley before mentioned, toward the south. During our ride, we had suffered apprehensions from the tribes of Arabs under arms, who were occasionly seen descending and scouring the opposite hills, as we crossed the valley. We could plainly discern them, by means of our glasses, reconnoitering us from the summits of those hills. They were described at Lûbi as collected in great force upon Mount Thabôr; so that our visit to that mountain became impracticable: the guard whom Djezzar had sent with us would not venture thither. We were therefore compelled to rest satisfied with the view we had of it from Lûbi. Djezzar's troops had, on the preceding day (Sunday), taken many thousand cattle from the Arabs: therefore, beside their natural predatory disposition, they were at this time actuated by motives of the most direful revenge, not only for the loss of their property, but also of many of their friends and relations, who had been captured. The mere sight of an escort from their bitter enemy, Djezzar Pacha would have induced them to put every one of us to death. We had lost somewhat of our strength by deserters from the pilgrims of our caravan, who

* Pronounced *Loobi*.

had thought proper to remain at Tiberias, intimidated by the state of the country. Our number, upon arriving at Lûbi, amounting only to thirty-three horsemen: these by the advice of the captain of the guard, we had dispersed as much as possible during the journey; and taught them to skirmish at a distance from each other, that the scouts of the Arab army, upon the heights, might not be able to count our whole force. We were at this time in the midst of a country continually overrun by rebel tribes. The wretched inhabitants of Lûbi pretended to be in hourly expectation of an assault, from which they said nothing but their property had hitherto preserved them. We could not, however, place any confidence in these people, and determined to make our stay with them as short as possible. Mount Thabor seemed to be distant from this place about six miles. Its top was described as a plain of great extent, finely cultivated, and inhabited by numerous Arab tribes. It appears of a conical form, entirely detached from any neighbouring mountain, and stands upon one side of the great plain of *Esdraelon*. We breakfasted at Lûbi, beneath the shade of some mats covered with weeds, set up against the side of a house; not being perfectly tranquil as to our hosts, who, in a rebel country, evidently brought us food with reluctance, and seemed disposed to quarrel with our guard. Our bread was baked upon heated stones, in holes dug in the ground. The women, who were principally occupied in preparing it, and who occasionally passed us for that purpose, were without veils, and of such unusual beauty, that we saw nothing to compare with them in any other part of the east.

Being therefore compelled to alter the plan of our journey, we returned from Lubi, by the way of Cana, once more to Nazareth; passing through the field of bearded wheat before mentioned, where the disciples of Christ are said to have plucked the ears of corn upon the Sabbath day. It lies nearly opposite to the village of Turan. We collected specimens of the wheat, in imitation of the other pilgrims of our party, who all seemed eager to bear away the produce of the land, as a consecrated relique. It was, in fact, the only wheat now standing, for the harvest of the country was by this time generally collected.

The next morning, Tuesday, July the seventh, we were refused camels to carry our luggage, by the people of Nazareth; upon the plea that the Arabs would attack us, and seize the

camels, in return for the cattle which Djezzar had taken from them. Asses were at length allowed, and we began our journey at seven o'clock. Every one of our party was eager to be the first who should get out of Nazareth; for although we had pitched a tent upon the roof of the house where we passed the night, it had been, as usual, a night of penance, rather than of rest; so infested with vermin was every part of the building. The author, accompanied by a servant, set out on foot, leaving the rest of his companions to follow on horseback. Having inquired of an Arab belonging to Djezzar's guard the shortest road into the plain of Esdraelon, this man, who had lived with Bedouins, and bore all the appearance of belonging to one of their roving tribes, gave false information. In consequence of this, we entered a defile in the mountains, which separates the plain of Esdraelon from the valley of Nazareth, and found that our party had pursued a different route. Presently messengers, sent by Captain Culverhouse, came to us with this intelligence. The rebel Arabs were then stationed at a village, within two miles distance, in the plain; so that we very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. It seemed almost evident that the Arab, whose false information as to the route had been the original cause of this deviation, intended to mislead, and that he would have joined the rebels as soon as his plan had succeeded. The messengers recommended, as the speediest mode of joining our party, that we should ascend the mountainous ridge which flanks all the plain toward Nazareth. In doing this, we actually encountered some of the scouts belonging to the insurgents; they passed us on horseback, armed with long lances, but offered us no molestation. As soon as we had gained the heights, we beheld our companions collected in a body, at a great distance below in the plain; easily recognizing our English friends by their umbrellas. After clambering among the rocks, we accomplished a descent toward the spot where they were assembled, and, reaching the plain, found Captain Culverhouse busied in surveying with his glass about three hundred of the rebels, stationed in a village near the mouth of the defile, by which we had previously proceeded. It was at this unlucky moment, while the party were deliberating whether to advance or to retreat, that the author, unable to restrain the impulse of his feelings, most imprudently punished the Arab who had caused the delay, by striking him. It is impossible to describe the confusion thus occasioned. The Mahometans, to a man, maintained that the infidel who had

lifted his hand against one of the faithful, should atone for the sacrilegious insult by his blood. The Arab, recovered from the shock he had sustained, sought only to gratify his anger by the death of his assailant. Having speedily charged his carbine, although trembling with rage to such a degree that his whole frame appeared agitated, he very deliberately pointed it at the object of his revenge, who escaped assassination by dodging beneath the horses, as often as the muzzle of the piece was directed toward him. Finding himself thus frustrated in his intentions, his fury became ungovernable His features, livid and convulsed, seemed to denote madness: no longer knowing what he did, he levelled his carbine at the captain of Djezzar's guard, and afterward at his dragoman Signor Bertocino, who, with Captain Culverhouse, and the rest of us, by this time had surrounded him, and endeavored to wrest it from him. The fidelity of the officers of the guard, added to the firmness and intrepidity of Captain Culverhouse and of Signor Bertocino, saved the lives of every Christian then present. Most of our party, destitute of arms, and encumbered by baggage, were wholly unprepared either for attack or defence; and every individual of our Mahometan escort was waiting to assist in a general massacre of all the Englishmen, as soon as the affront offered to a Mahometan had been atoned by the death of the offender. Captain Culverhouse, by a violent effort, succeeded in wresting the loaded carbine from the hands of the infuriate Arab; and Signor Bertocino, in the same instant, with equal intrepidity and presence of mind, galloping among the rest of them, brandishing his drawn sabre over their heads, and threatened to cut down the first person who should betray the slightest symptom of mutiny. The captain of Djezzar's guard then secured the trembling culprit, and it was with the greatest difficulty we could prevent him from putting this man to death. The rest of them, now awed into submission, would gladly have consented to such a sacrifice, upon the condition of our concealing their conduct from Djezzar, when we returned to Acre. These men afterward confessed, that if any blood had been shed, it was their intention to desert, and to have joined the rebel army. A fortunate piece of policy put an end to the whole affair. One of our party, riding off at full speed into the plain, threw his lance into the air, and thus began the game of *djirit*; the rest soon following, and expressing, by loud shouts, their readiness to restore good will among us. Nothing, however, could conciliate the offended Arab. He continued

riding aloof, and sulky, holding no communication even with his own countrymen and companions; until at length, having advanced to a considerable distance into the plain of Esdraelon, we espied a large camp; this our conductors recognized as consisting of cavalry belonging to Djezzar. We therefore directed our course toward the tents.

As we crossed this immense plain to the camp, we had a fine view of Mount *Thabor*,* standing quite insular, toward the east. The Arabs were said to be in great number upon all the hills, but particularly upon or near to that mountain. We found Djezzar's troops encamped about the centre of this vast plain, opposite to some heights where the French were strongly fortified during their last campaign in Syria. The camp contained about three hundred cavalry, having more the appearance of banditti than of any regular troops; and indeed it was from tribes of rovers that they were principally derived. Two days before our arrival, upon Sunday, July the fifth, they fell upon the Arabs who were tending their numerous herds of cattle, seized their property, and killed many of them. They justified themselves, by urging that these Arabs never pay the tribute due to Djezzar, unless it be exacted by force; and upon such emergencies all is confiscated that falls into the hands of the conquering party. Their battles exactly resemble those recorded in Scripture. A powerful prince attacks a number of shepherd kings, and robs them of their possessions; their "flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men servants, and maid servants, and camels and asses." In the earliest ages of history, we find such wars described as they happened in the same country, when "Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, smote the Rephaims in Ashteroth Karnrim, and the Zuzims in Ham, and the Emims in the plain of Kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto the plain of Paran, which is by the wilderness." In the battle of July the fifth, after a skirmish, wherein forty Arabs were killed, and many wounded,

* Reland writes this word *Tabor*; but I have preferred following the orthography of Eusebius *(in Onomast.)* as cited by him, and of the other Greeks, who wrote Θαβώρ: because this exactly agrees with the name of the mountain as it is now pronounced in the Holy Land. It is somewhat singular, that Reland, who cites Adamnanus *(de Locis Sanctis)* should have omitted to notice the following passage; because it occurs immediately after the extract he has inserted from that author, in his chapter "De Tabore." (Vid. Palæst. Illust. lib. i. c. 51.) "Sed infer hæc et hoc est notandum, quod illius famosi montis nomen, Græcis litteris sic oporteat scribi per θ et ω longum, Θαβώρ: Latinis verò litterulis cum asperatione Thabor, producta ô littera. Hujus orthographia vocabuli in libris Græcitatis est inventa." (Vide Mabillon. tom. iv. Actor. Sanctor. Orb. Benedicti. p. 517. *L. Par.* 1672.) A philologist in the seventh century, upon a rock in the Hebrides, is a curious circumstance in history; yet this is the fact: for, in this instance, it is evidently the Abbot of Iona, and not Arculfus, the French bishop, who makes the observation.

Djezzar's troops succeeded in driving to the mountains an army of ten thousand, as they related, (probably not half that number,) who left behind them sixty-eight thousand bullocks, camels, goats, and asses. When these attacks take place, the first care of the Arabs is directed to the preservation of their women and children, the aged and the sick; who are hurried off to the mountains, upon the earliest intelligence of danger. Their effects and their wealth consist generally in cattle.* Their emirs and sheiks† have gold and silver; but, like the Caplanders, they bury it in the earth: thus it is frequently lost; because the owner dies without acquainting his sucessor where he has concealed his treasure. Corn is extremely cheap among the Arabs. They pasture their cattle upon the spontaneous produce of the rich plains, with which the country abounds. Their camels require but little nourishment; existing, for the most part, upon small bails of meal, or the kernels of dates‡. The true Arab is always an inhabitant of the *desert*, a name given to any solitude, whether barren or fertile. Hence the appellations bestowed upon them, of *Badawi*, or *Bedouins*, and of *Saracens*; for these appellations signify nothing more than *inhabitants of the desert*.§ Their usual weapons consist of a lance, a poignard, an iron mace, a battle ax, and sometimes a matchlock gun. The moveables of a whole family seldom exceed a camel's load. They reside always in tents, in the open plain, or upon the mountains. The covering of their tents is made of goats' hair, woven by their women. Their mode of life very much resembles that of the gipsies in England; men, women, children, and cattle, all lodging together. In their disposition, though naturally grave and silent, they are very amiable; considering hospitality as a religious duty, and always acting with kindness to their slaves and inferiors.‖ There is a dignity in their man-

* See D'Arvieux's "*Voyage dans la Palestine.*" *Ch.* x *p* 191. *Par.* 1717, &c.

† *Sheik* signifies, properly, *an elder*. In the mountainous parts of Syria, it means simply a landholder. The leading sheik of a country is called *emir*, or *prince*.

‡ See D'Arvieux, ibid.

§ It is quite amusing to read the inflated note of Gibbon (Hist. ch. 50. vol. IX. 206. Note 30. Lond. 1807.) upon the origin of the word *Saracen*; which at last he abandons as hopeless of illustration; yet in many a modern map he might have read the expressions '*Zara*,' '*Zaara*,' and '*Sara*,' or the *Desert*; whence *Saracens*, or *Children of the Desert*.' As for *Bedouin* the words *Badavi*, *Bedouy*, and *Bedevi*, signify, according to D'Arvieux, (Voy. dans la Palest. p. 142.) '*an inhabitant of the desert*.'

‖ D'Arvieux, whose *racy* account of their manners and customs seems to have been dictated from the soil, whereon it was written, that truth and sincerity which he found to be characteristic of the people says, that "Scandal is unknown among them; that they speak well of all the world; never contradicting any one." See Voyage dans la Palestine, p. 165. Paris, 1717.

ner which is very striking; and this perhaps is owing to their serious deportment, aided by the imposing aspect of their beards. Selfishness, the vice of civilized nations, seldom degrades an Arab; and the politeness he practises is well worthy of imitation. Drunkenness and gaming, the genuine offspring of selfishness, are unknown among them. If a stranger enter one of their tents, they all rise, give him the place of honour, and never sit till their guest is accommodated. They cannot endure seeing a person spit, because it is deemed a mark of contempt: for the same reason it is an offence to blow the nose in their presence.* They detest the Turks, because they consider them as usurpers of their country. The curious superstition of dreading the injurious consequences of *a look*, from an evil, or an envious eye, is not peculiar to the Arabs. The Turks, and many other nations, the Highlanders of Scotlands, and the people of Cornwall, entertain the same notion. But the Arabs even extend it to their cattle, whom they believe liable to this fascination. The ancients, according to Virgil,† entertained a similar fantasy. To relate all that may be said concerning their other customs, particularly of the delight they take in horsemanship, and of the estimation wherein high-bred horses are held among them, would be only to repeat what has been already related, with admirable conciseness, truth, and judgment, by the Chevalier D'Arvieux; whose work, already referred to, is worthy the consideration of every reader.‡ He has preserved the ad-

* See D'Arvieux's Voyage, p. 171. D'Arvieux says, that to break wind before an Arab is deemed an act of infamy: "Il est souvent arrivé que ceux qui avoient eu ce malheur, ont été obligés de s'absenter, et de passer chés d'autres peuples pour n'être pas exposés aux huées, et à toutes les suites d'une méchante réputation." Ibid. p. 172.

† "Nescio, quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos." Ecl. iii. 103.

‡ Of all the Arab tribes, there is not one which at present excites so much interest as that of the *Wahabees*; whose very existence had scarcely merited attention when the author was engaged in these travels. Ibn Saoud, the present Wahabee chief, made in July, 1810, an incursion into the neighbourhood of Damascus. This happened about the time the enterprising Burckhardt arrived in that city, from Palmyra, and it is from his correspondence with the author that the substance of this note is derived. "The inhabitants of Damascus," (says he, in a letter dated Aleppo, May 3, 1811) "knowing the pacha's feeble resources for the defence of the city, were so much terrified, that many began to send off their most valuable effects to the mountain of the Druses. The Wahabees, however, executed their design in the true Arab style. Ibn Saoud remained only two days and a half in the Hauran (a mountainous district of Libanus, southeast of Damascus, still retaining its ancient patriarchal name;) overran, in that time, a space of at least 140 miles; plundered and ransacked above thirty villages; and returned, flying into the heart of his desert dominions. The pacha had issued from Damascus, with a corps of above six thousand men; but did not choose to hazard an engagement. Ibn Saoud was for several hours in view of him; but contented himself with awkwardly firing his guns. The Wahabees were, for the greater part, mounted upon she camels, whose milk afforded, in the desert, subsistence to themselves, and to the few horses which accompanied them. Their strength was between six and seven thousand men. It is to be presumed that their

dress of an Arab to his mare, as delivered in his own presence: and this, more eloquent than whole pages of descriptive information, presents us with a striking picture of Arab manners.* "Ibrahim," says he,† "went frequently to Rama, to inquire news of that mare which he dearly loved. I have many a time had the pleasure to see him weep with tenderness the while he was kissing and caressing her. He would embrace her; would wipe her eyes with his handkerchief; would rub her with his shirt sleeves; would give her a thousand benedictions, during whole hours that he would remain talking to her. '*My Eyes*,' would he say to her, '*my Soul, my Heart, must I be so unfortunate as to have thee sold to so many masters, and not to keep thee myself? I am poor, my Antelope! Thou knowest it well, my darling! I brought thee up in my dwelling, as my child; I did never beat nor chide thee; I caressed thee in the fondest manner. God preserve thee, my beloved! Thou art beautiful! Thou art sweet! Thou art lovely! God defend thee from envious eyes!*'"‡

Upon our arrival in the camp, we found the general in a large green tent, open all around, and affording very little shelter from the heat, as the *simoom*, or wind of the desert, was at that time blowing, and far more insufferable than the sun. Its parching influence pervaded all places alike; and coming as from a furnace, it seemed to threaten us all with suffocation. The author was the first who sustained serious injury from the fiery blast, being attacked by giddiness, accompanied with burning thirst. Head ache, and frequent fits of shivering, ensued; and these ended in violent fever. For

success will tempt them to repeat their attack; the eastern districts of Syria will then rapidly be deserted by their inhabitants; and the desert, which is already daily gaining ground upon the cultivated fields, will soon swallow up the remaining parts of one of the most fruitful countries of the east."

* This man's name was Ibrahim; being poor, he had been under the necessity of allowing a merchant of Rama to become partner with him in the possession of this animal. The mare was called *Tonisa*, (according to our mode of pronouncing, *Louisa*;) her pedigree could be traced, from public records, both on the side of the sire and dam, for five hundred years prior to her birth; and *her price was three hundred pounds; an enormous sum in that country.*

† "Ibrahim alloit souvent à Rama, pour scavoir des nouvelles de cette cavalle qu'il aimoit chérement. J'ai eu plusieurs fois le plaisir de le voir pleurer de tendresse, en la baisant, et en la caressant. Il l'embrassoit, il lui essuïoit les yeux avec son mouchoir, il la frottoit avec les manches de sa chemise, il lui donnoit mille bénédictions durant des heures entières qu'il raisonnoit avec elle: 'Mes yeux,' lui disoit-il, 'mon âme, mon cœur, faut-il que je sois assez malheureux pour t'avoir venduë à tant de maîtres, et pour ne te pas garder avec moi? Je suis pauvre, ma Gazelle! tû le scais bien, ma mignonne! Je t'ai élevée dans ma maison tout comme ma fille; je ne t'ai jamais battuë ni grondé; je t'ai caréssée tout de mon mieux. Dieu te conserve, ma bien aimée!. Tu es belle, tu es douce, tu es aimiable! Dieu te préserve du regard des envieux!'" *Voyage dans la Palestine*, p. 201. *Par.* 1717.

‡ See the passage from Virgil, in a former note.

some time, extended upon the ground, he vainly endeavoured to obtain some repose. The rest of the party, seated upon carpets near the general, informed that officer of the danger to which we had been exposed from the conduct of our escort; and besought an additional guard to accompany us as far as *Jennin*, upon the frontier of the Pacha of Damascus, whence Djezzar's soldiers were to return to Acre. This was readily granted. A large bowl of pilau, or boiled rice, was then brought, with melons, figs, sour milk, boiled mutton, and bread cakes, which they described as baked in the sun's rays. The author was too ill to witness the truth of this; but no one of the party entertained any doubt of the fact. Djezzar's officers who were in the tent joined in this repast, and fed heartily, helping themselves to the pilau with their fingers; eating all out of the same bowl; and shaking off the grains of rice as they adhered to their greasy hands, into the mess, of which all were partaking. The most interesting personage present upon this occasion was an Arab prince from the mountains, a young man who arrived with terms of truce. He was served in a part of the tent exclusively appropriated to his use; while a third service was also placed before the general. The dress of the young emir, considering his high rank, was worthy of particular notice. A simple rug across his body, afforded its only covering. A dirty handkerchief, or coarse napkin, was bound about his temples. These constituted the whole of his apparel. His legs and feet were naked. As this curious banquet was going on, a party of Turks, who were with the general, sat round the border of the tent, with their pipes in their mouths, silently gazing at our party: near to these were stationed the attendants of the mountain emir, between whom and their lord there was not the slightest distinction of dress. The meal being finished, the young prince began his parley with the general; telling him, that he came to offer his tribute due to Djezzar; to crave protection for his *clan* or family, and for his flocks. This business ended, all that were in the tent prepared to take their nap, and, having stretched themselves upon the same carpets which had served for their dinner tables, fell fast asleep.

Here, on this plain,* the most fertile part of all the land of

* Called by way of eminence, "The great Plain," Μεγα Πεδιον; in Scripture, and elsewhere, the "great Plain, or Field of Esdraelon," the "Field of Megiddo," the "Galilean Plain." It was afterward called the "Plain of Sabé." "Et adverte,"

Canaan,* (which, though a solitude, we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of Issachar† "rejoiced in their tents." In the first ages of Jewish history, as well as during the Roman empire, the crusades, and even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest.‡ Here it was that Barak, descending with his ten thousand from Mount Thabôr, discomfited Sisera§ and "all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him," gathered "from Harosheth of the Gentiles, unto the river of Kishon;" when "all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left;" when the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in *Taanach*,‖ by the waters of *Megiddo*." Here also it was that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist.** So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for Josiah†† became "an ordinance in Israel." The "great mourning in Jerusalem," foretold by Zechariah,‡‡ is said to be as the lamentations

says Brocardus, "quòd campus iste Magedo, Esdrelon, et planicies Galileae sunt ferè unus et idem campus; sed nomina illa hodie omnia in oblivionem abierunt, vocatque campus Sabae." (Vid. Terr. Sanct. Descript. p. 307. Nov. Orb. Reg. &c.—*Basil*, 1537.) It is often written *Esdrelon*, according to Brocardus; but we found the name still in use in the country, and pronounced *Esdraelon*, according to the manner in which the Greeks, and particularly Eusebius, modified the name of the city *Jezreel*, whence the plain derived its apellation. "*Eusebius*, ad vocem 'Ἰεζραὴλ,' scribit esse vicum nomine Ἐσδραηλὰν, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ κειμένην.", (Reland. Palaest. lib. i. c. 55. *Utrecht*. 1714.) "As the name *Jezreel* became *Esdraelé* among the Greeks, (Wells's Hist. Geog. vol. I. p. 329. Oxf. 1801.) so the adjoining plain is thence still denoted by the name of the "Plain of Esdraelon." This plain is the *Armageddon* of the Apocalypse; (Vid. Quaresmii Eluc. T. S. lib. vii. c. 4.)—"And he gathered them together into a place called, in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon." Ch. xvi. v. 16.

* "Gleba ejus optimaest, fertilis supra modum in frumento, vino et oleo, atque adeò rebus omnibus affluit, ut qui suis oculis aliquando conspexerunt, affirment sese nihil unquam perfectius, et in quod natura, aequè omnia sua contulisset, aspexisse." (Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 35. Colon. 1628.) "Cette campagne est la plus fertile et la plus heureuse pour les pasturages de toute la Terre Saincte, et porteroit de très beaux grains, et en abondance, commes nos meilleures terres de France, si elle estoit cultivée." (Doubdan Voy. de la Terre Saincte, p. 579. Par. 1657.)

† Deut. xxxiii. 18.

‡ "C'est là," says Doubdan, "où le prophéte Elie fit mourir ces quatre cens cinquante faux prophétes de Baal sur le torrent de Cison, qui y passe et l'arrouse dans toute sa largeur." (Voy. de la T. S. p. 579. Par. 1657.) In this, perhaps, Doubdan is for once mistaken. Elijah took the prophets of Baal from Carmel down to the brook Kishon; but that river flows into the sea, after leaving the Plain of Esdraelon, through another plain whereon Acre is situated, connected with this by a narrow valley. (See Maundrell's Journey, p. 57.)

§ Judges iv. 13, 15, 16. & ch. v. 19.

‖ "Josephus, lib. viii. Antiq. cap. ii. τὸ μέγα πεδίον fuisse regionem cui praefectus erat Bansias filius Achilud scribit, pro quâ regione Sacer Codex *Taanach*, *Megiddo* et *Bethschean* substituit." (Reland. Palaest. lib. i. c. 55. tom. I. p. 366. Utreteht 1714."

** 2 Kings, xxiii. 29.

†† "And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah. And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel." 2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25.

‡‡ Zechar. xii. 11.

in the plain of Esdraelon, or, according to the language of the prophet, "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the *valley of Megiddon.*" Josephus often mentions this very remarkable part of the Holy Land,* and always under the appellation of "*the great plain.*"† The supplies that Vespasian sent to the people of Sepphoris, are said to have been reviewed in the great plain, prior to their distribution into two divisions; the infantry being quartered within the city, and the cavalry encamped upon the plain. Under the same name it is also mentioned by Eusebius,‡ and by St. Jerom.§ It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxad, it is mentioned as *the great plain of Esdrelom,*||) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian Crusaders, and Anti-Christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of "every nation which is under heaven," have pitched their tents upon the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Thabôr and of Hermon.** It has not often been noticed in books of travels, because it does not occur in the ordinary route pursued by pilgrims in their journeys to Jerusalem. These men have generally landed at Jaffa; and have returned thither, after completing their pilgrimage:†† in consequence of this, we seldom meet with accounts of Galilee, or of Samaria, in their writings.‡‡ Even

* Josephus, lib. iii. de Bell. c. 2 & 3. Id. lib. v. Antiq. c. 1. Lib. viii. Antiq. c. 2. &c. &c.

† Τὸ μέγα πεδίον.

‡ Eusebius ad voc. Ἰεσραήλ, Id. ad. voc. Ἀρβηλά. Et ad voc. Βαιθσαιδ, &c.

§ Hieronymus, lib. de Sit. et Nom. Locorum Hebraïcorum.

|| It is so written from the original, Πεδίον μέγα Ἐσδρηλών. Vid Judith, c. i. 8.—And, according to our Version, "Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, and to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in Cilicia, and Damascus, and Libanus, and Anti-Libanus, and to all that dwelt upon the sea coast, and to those among the nations that were of Carmel, and Galaad, and the higher Galilee, and *the great Plain of Esdrelom.*"

** "We were sufficiently instructed, by experience, what the holy psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents being as wet with it as if it had rained all night." *Maundrell's Journey, p.* 57. Oxf. 1721.

†† Of which fact the reader may find amusing evidence in an extract from a MS. poem of the Cottonian Library. The last line will not easily be paralleled.

"At port Jaff begynn wee,
"And so frothe from gre to gre,
"At port Jaff ther is a place,
"Wher Petur reised thrugh goddes grace,
"From dede to lif to Tabitane,
"He was a woman that was her name."

See Purchas, lib. viii. *c.* 15. *p.* 1238. Lond. 1624

‡‡ This plan has so constantly been adopted by persons resorting to the Holy Land.

Doubdan,* whose work, full of the most valuable information, may be considered as the foundation of every recent elucidation of the Holy Land, contents himself with the view afforded of this plain from Mount Thabor.† Not that he has, on this account, omitted any interesting circumstance of its history. He has given us a lively picture of the different encampments he observed from the summit. "We had the pleasure," says he,‡ "to view from the top of that mountain, Arabs encamped by thousands; tents and pavillions of all colours; green, red, and yellow; with so great a number of horses and camels, that it seemed like a vast army, or a city besieged: and to the end that each party might recognize its peculiar banner, and its tribe, the horses and camels were fastened round the tents, some in square battalions, others in circular troops, and others again in lines: not only were Arabs thus encamped, but also Turks and Druses, who maintain abundance of horses, camels, mules, and asses, for the use of the caravans coming from or going to Damascus, Aleppo, Mecca, and Egypt."

Being provided with an addition to our escort of ten well-mounted and well accoutred Arabs in the service of Djezzar, we took leave of the general at three o'clock P. M. and having mounted our horses, continued our journey across the plain, toward Jennin. A tolerably accurate notion of its extent, in this direction, may be obtained from a statement of the time we spent in crossing it. We were exactly seven hours§ thus employed; proceeding at the rate of three miles in each hour. Its breadth, therefore, may be considered as equal to twenty-one miles. The people of the country told us it was two days'

that, in the very recent instance of the visit paid to that country by Châteaubriand, (whose interesting travels were published while this sheet was preparing for the press) his journey extends only from Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem back again to Jaffa. (See *Trav. in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, during the years* 1806 *and* 1807, *by F. A. Châteaubriand, English edit.* Lond. 1811.) It is, however, the best work which has yet appeared on the subject. The French edition could not be had when this volume was printing.

* Mons. Châteaubriand pleasantly styles him "honest Doubdan." (*Ibid. vol.* II. *p* 141.) justly extolling, upon other occasions, his perspicuity, accuracy, erudition, and, above all, his simplicity.

† "Or pendant que nous sommes encore sur le faiste de cette saincte montagne, il nous la faut horizonter et jetter la veuë avec plaisir sur tous les lieux considérables qu'on y descouvre, à l'imitation de la grande Sancte Paule, laquelle, comme dit Saincte Jerosme (*Ieron. Epl.* 27. *ad Eusto.*) montant sur le Thabor, ou le fils de dieu s'est transfiguré, elle contemploit les montagnes d'Hermon, et Hermonim, les grandes campagnes de Galilee," &c. *Voyage de la Terre Saincte, p.* 577. Par. 1657.

‡ Ibid. *p.* 579.

§ It is a curious fact, which may show how regularly computed distances, in this part of Asia, correspond with the time employed by travellers in passing them, that when the author compared this note in his journal with the diary of Maundrell, he found that traveller had performed the same journey precisely in the same space of time. He left Jennin at midnight, travelled all night, and in seven hours reached the opposite side, near Nazareth. See *p.* 119. *Journ. from Alepp. etc.* Oxf. 1721.

journey in length. One hour after leaving the camp, we crossed the line of separation between the dominions of Djezzar pacha and those of the pacha of Damascus. This line is nearly in the middle of the plain. At six we arrived at Jennin,* a small village, where we passed the night. The setting sun gave to it a beautiful appearance, as we drew nigh to the place. Here again we observed, as a fence for gardens, the *cactus ficus indicus*, growing to such enormous size, that the stem of each plant was larger than a man's body. The wood of it is fibrous, and unfit for any other use than as fuel. The wounds which its almost imperceptible thorns inflict upon those who venture too near it, are terrible in this climate; they are even dangerous to Europeans. Its gaudy blossoms made a most splendid show, in the midst of the weapons that surrounded them. The ruins of a palace and mosque in Jennin seem to prove that it was once a place of more importance than it is at present. Marble pillars, fountains, and even piazzas, still remain in a very perfect state. An inscription over one of these buildings in Arabic, purported that it was erected by a person of the name of Selim. This place is the GINAEA of ancient authors. Under this name it occurs in the description given of Samaria by Josephus;† deriving then, as it does now, the circumstance of its notoriety from its situation as a frontier village. It was the northern boundary of that province,‡ Adrichomius describes it as situated at the foot of Mount Ephraim,§ "where," says he, "Galilee ends, and Samaria begins." Quaresmius has written a long chapter concerning this place.‖ Here the level country terminates; for although many of the authors by whom Ginæa is mentioned, describe it as situated in the plain; it is in fact placed, as Adrichomius affirms, upon the foot of a hill, and upon its western declivity.

As the day broke the next morning, it was pleasing to observe the effects of better government in the dominion of the Pacha of Damascus. Cultivated fields, gardens, and cheerful countenances, exhibited a striking contrast to the territories of Djezzar Pacha, where all was desolation, war, and gloominess. We

* Written Jenneen by Maundrell. *Journ. from Aleppo, etc. p.* 111.

† Lib. iii. de Bell. c. 2.

‡ "Γιναία. Vicus qui Samaritin a septentrione terminat, in campo situs, ita legit Rufinus; nam in Græco est ἐνμεβάλῳ πεδίῳ." Illic loci situs est oppidique vicus Zjenniu, vel, ut alii scribunt, Jennin dictus, et transeunt illum qui Ptolemaïde Samariam, atque ita Hierosolymas tendunt." *Reland. Palæst, lib.* iii. *tom.* II. *p.* 812. *Utrechti*, 1714.

§ Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. in Manassem, I. numb. 30. p. 73. *Coloniæ* 1628.

‖ Quaresmii Eluc. T. S. lib. viii. c. 3. tom. II. p. 914. *Antverpiæ* 1639.

began our journey to Napolose at four o'clock. At seven we arrived at the castle of *Santorri*, situated upon a hill, and much resembling the old castellated buildings in England. It is very strong, and, for a place of so much consideration, it may be wondered that no account is given of it, even by authors who mention almost every village in the Holy Land. We should have considered this as the site of the ancient *Samaria*, were it not for the express mention made by Maundrell,* and by others, of the town of *Sebaste*, still preserving a name belonging to that city. Quaresmius also mentions† the city of "*Sebaste, sive Samaria*," as occurring in the route from Sichar to *Jenni*, or *Jennin*: although, performing this journey, we found no other place intervening, except Santorri; and it is situated upon a hill, according to the description given of ancient Samaria, which D'Anville places midway between Ginæa and *Napolose*, or SICHEM. To enter further upon this subject at present, were rather to perplex than to illustrate the geography of the country; and therefore it may be left for future travellers to explain the real situation of the place called *Sebaste* by Quaresmius, and *Sebasta* by Maundrell, and possibly to throw some light upon the story of Santorri.

The hill whereon the castle of Santorri is situated, rises upon the south side of a valley, bounded by other hills on every side; being about two miles in breadth, and five in length. This fortress held out againt Djezzar, when he was pacha of Damascus, and compelled him to raise the siege after two months. Having ascended to the castle, we were admitted within the gate, beneath a vaulted passage, quite dark, from its tortuous length and many windings. In the time of the crusades, it must have been impregnable; yet is there no account of it in any author; and certainly it is not of later construction than the period of the Holy Wars. The governor received us into a large vaulted chamber, resembling what is called *the keep* in some of our old Norman castles, which it so much resembled, that if we consider the part acted by the Normans in those wars, it is possible this building may have owed its origin to them. A number of weapons, such as guns, pistols, sabres, and poignards, hung round the walls. Suspended with these, were the saddles, gilded stirrups, and rich housings, belonging to the lord of the citadel. Upon the floor

* Journey from Alep. to Jerus, pp. 59, and 111. Oxf. 1721.
† Bluetd. Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 810. Antverp. 1639.

were couched his grayhounds, and his hawkers stood waiting in the yard before the door of the apartment; so that every thing contributed to excite ideas of other times, and a scene of former ages seemed to be realized before our eyes. The figure of the governor himself was not the least interesting part of the living picture. He had a long red beard, and wore a dress as distinguished by feudal magnificence and military grandeur as it is possible to imagine. He received us with the usual hospitality of his countrymen, dismissed the escort which had accompanied us from Acre, seemed proud of placing us under the protection of his peculiar soldiers, and allowed us a guard, appointed from his own troops, to ensure our safety as far as Napolose. We had some conversation with him upon the disordered state of the country, particularly of Galilee. He said, that the rebel Arabs were in great number upon all the hills near the Plain of Esdraelon; that they were actuated, at this critical juncture, by the direst motives of revenge and despair, for the losses they had sustained in consequence of the ravages committed by Djezzar's army; but that he believed we should not meet with any molestation in our journey to Jerusalem.

After leaving Santorri, our road was devious and very uneven, over a mountainous tract of country, until we came in sight of *Napolose*, otherwise called *Neapolis*, and *Napoleos*, the ancient SICHEM. The view of this place much surprised us, as we had not expected to find a city of such magnitude in the road to Jerusalem. It seems to be the metropolis of a very rich and extensive country, abounding with provisions, and all the necessary articles of life, in much greater profusion than the town of Acre. White bread was exposed for sale in the streets, of a quality superior to any that is to be found elsewhere throughout the Levant. The governor of Napolose received and regaled us with all the magnificence of an eastern sovereign. Refreshments, of every kind known in the country, were set before us; and when we supposed the list to be exhausted, to our very great astonishment a most sumptuous dinner was brought in. Nothing seemed to gratify our host more, than that any of his guests should eat heartily; and, to do him justice, every individual of the party ought to have possessed the appetite of ten hungry pilgrims, to satisfy his wishes in this respect.*

* A slight allusion to these little traits of national character will, it is hoped, be tolerated, as illustrating the extraordinary hospitality of the country; notwithstand-

There is nothing in the Holy Land finer than the view of Napolose, from the heights around it. As the traveller descends toward it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers; half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants. Their principal employment is in making soap; but the manufactures of the town supply a very widely extended neighbourhood, and they are exported to a great distance, upon camels. In the morning after our arrival, we met caravans coming from Grand Caïro; and noticed others reposing in the large olive plantations near the gates. The reader must be referred to the learned Reland, who wishes to know the various names possessed by this city, in different periods of its history; as well as to ascertain which among these ought to be considered as its peculiar and most appropriate appellation.* Every thing concerning it is interesting; but upon this subject, if all that Reland alone has written, in more than one part of his matchless work, was duly considered, the investigation would of itself constitute a copious dissertation. It is sufficient for the traveller to be informed, that, so long ago as the twelfth century, the elegant and perspicuous Phocas, himself visiting the place, and describing the city, speaks of it† as "SICHAR, the metropolis of the Samaritans, afterward called *Neapolis.*" Reland, from Josephus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerom,‡ writes it SICHEM.§ According to the ancient Hebrew text of

ing the dislike of certain readers to any detail concerning the diet and accommodations of travellers upon their journey. For a similar reason, a few words may be allowed concerning the watermelons of Napolose; because, although the name of that species of fruit is familiar, nothing can be more rare than the fruit itself in a state of perfection. Water melons are found upon most of the shores of the Mediterranean; but no one can be said to know any thing of their excellence, who has not tasted them in the Holy Land. Those of Napolose and of Jaffa attain a degree of maturity and flavour so extraordinary, that the watermelons of Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, of Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, do not appear to be the same sort of fruit. Something, as yet unnoticed in the nature of the soil, is necessary for the favourable growth of this plant; for it is evidently not owing to peculiarity of latitude. Its medical property, as a febrifuge, has only been admitted of late years. The physicians of Naples have used its fruit with success, even in dangerous cases; but perhaps that which might afford a cure in one climate, would, from the different quality of the fruit itself, be deleterious in another.

* Reland. Palæst. Illustrat. lib. iii. tom. II. p. 1004. *Traj. Bat.* 1714.

† Ἡ τῶν Σαμαρέων μετρόπολις Σιχὰ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα κλεθεισα Νέαπολις κειμένε μέσον δύο βουνῶν. "Samaritanorum metropolis *Sichar:* cui postmodum Neapoli nomen fuit; inter duos montes sita." *Phocar Descr. T. S. cap.* 13. *p.* 17. *apud. Leo. Allat.* Συμμ. Colon. 1653.

‡ "Transivit *Sichem*, (non ut plerique errantus legunt *Sichar*,) quæ nunc *Neapolis* appellatur." *Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulae. Rel. Palaest. lib.* iii. *tom.* II *p.* 1007.

§ Reland. Palæst. Illust. lib. iii. tom. II. p. 1004.

Genesis, and the book of Judges, it would be written *Schemen.** Josephus says that the natives called it *Mabartha;* but by others it was commonly named *Neapolis.*† Its modern appellation is *Napolose.* To the traditions concerning its antiquities, all writers bear testimony; and since even a sceptic has remarked,‡ that the Christians of Palæstine "fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event," we may surely regard them with interest. But the history of Sichem, referring to events long prior to the Christian dispensation, directs us to antiquities which owe nothing of their celebrity to any traditionary aid. The traveller, directing his footsteps toward its ancient sepulchres, as everlasting as the rocks wherein they are hewn, is permitted, upon the authority of sacred and indelible record,§ to contemplate the spot where the remains of Joseph,‖ of Eleazar,** and of Joshua,†† were severally deposited. If any thing connected with the memory of past ages be calculated to waken local enthusiasm, the land around the city is pre-eminently entitled to consideration. The sacred story of events transacted in the fields of Sichem,‡‡ from our earliest years is remembered with delight; but with the territory before our eyes where those events took place, and in the view of objects existing as they were described above three thousand years ago, the grateful impression kindles into ecstacy. Along the valley, we beheld "a company of Ishmeelites, coming from Gilead,"§§ as in the days of Reuben and Judah, "with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh," who would gladly have purchased another Joseph of his brethren, and conveyed him, as a slave, to some Potiphar in Egypt.‖‖ Upon the hills around, flocks and herds were feeding, as of old;*** nor in the simple garb of the shepherds of

* Ibid.

† Josephus, lib. v. De Bell. Jud. c. 4. ed. *Havercamp Amst.* &c. 1726.

‡ See Gibbon. Hist. &c. chap. 23. vol. IV. p. 83. *Lond.* 1807. Monsieur Châteaubriand has referred to the same observation of Gibbon. (*See Introduct. to Travels in Greece*, &c. *vol.* I. *p.* 70. Lond. 1811.) An English commentator may perhaps suspect the historian of irony.

§ See the Book of Joshua, c. xxiv.

‖ "And the bones of Joseph, which the Children of Israel brought out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem:" *Josh.* xxiv. 32.

** "And Eleazar, the son of Aaron, died; and they buried him in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim." *Ibid.* ver. 33.

†† "Joshua, the son of Nun, the servant of the LORD, died. . . . . And they buried him in the border of his inheritance in Timnath-serah, which is in Mount Ephraim, on the north side of the hill of Gaash." *Ibid.* ver. 29, 30.

‡‡ See Genesis, xxxvii.

§§ "And behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." *Ibid. v.* 25.

‖‖ Ibid. ver. 36.

*** "And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem?" *Ibid. v.* 13.

Samaria was there any thing repugnant to the notions we may entertain of the appearance presented by the sons of Jacob. It was indeed a scene to abstract and to elevate the mind; and under emotions so called forth by every circumstance of powerful coincidence, a single moment seemed to concentrate whole ages of existence. In the calmer moments dedicated to the traces of this memorial, the objects referred to are no longer beheld; but the impression remains; nor would the writer forego its influence for all that cooler philosophy might dictate or approve. The few travellers indeed of earlier times, who passed through Samaria in their way to Jerusalem, have more stoically related their visit to this sacred spot. Generally, satisfied with the guidance of the monks, they rapidly enumerate the consecrated places to which they were conducted, as if they were employed in making out a catalogue of names. The Jews of the twelfth century acknowledged that the tomb of Joseph then existed in Sichem, although both the city and the tomb were the possession and the boast of a people they detested. "The town," say Rabbi Benjamin,* "lies in a vale, between Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, where there are above a hundred *Cuthæans*,† who observe only the law of Moses, whom men call *Samaritans*. They have priests of the lineage of Aaron, who rests in peace, and those they call Aaronites, who never marry but with persons of the sacerdotal family, that *they may not be confounded with the people*. Yet these priests of their law offer sacrifices and burnt offerings in their congregations, as it is written in the law;‡ 'Thou shalt put the blessing upon Mount Gerizim.' They therefore affirm that this is the house of the sanctuary; and they offer burnt offerings, both on the Passover, and on other festivals, on the altar which was built on Mount Gerizim, of those stones which the children of Israel set up, after they had passed over Jordan. They pretend that they are descended from the tribe of Ephraim; and *have among them the sepulchre of Joseph the Just*, the son of our father Jacob, who rests in peace, according to that saying,§ '*The bones also of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up with them out of Egypt, buried they in Sechem.*" Maundrell, the only English writer who has visited Napolose,

* See the translation by Gerrans, p. 69. *Lond.* 1783.
† The Samaritans were called *Cuthæans* by Jewish writers; from *Sanballat*, a *Cuthite*, who was their founder. *See Josephus, Antiq. lib.* xi. *c.* 7.
‡ Deut. xi. 29. § Josh. xxiv. 32.

is more explicit than the earlier Christian pilgrims, concerning this place: but he was principally occupied in discussion with a Samaritan priest, concerning the difference between their text and the Hebrew, and in identifying the two mountains, *Ebal* and *Gerizim*, between which the city stands. He notices, however, the tomb of Joseph; still bearing its name unaltered, and venerated even by the Moslems, who have built a small temple over it.* Its authenticity is not liable to controversy: since tradition is, in this respect, maintained upon the authority of sacred scripture: and the veneration paid to it by Jews, by Christians, and by Mahometans, has preserved, in all ages, the remembrance of its situation.† Having shown, upon a former occasion, that tombs were the origin of temples:‡ it is not necessary to dwell upon the utter improbability of their being forgotten among men who approached them as places of worship. The tomb of Joshua was also visited by Jewish pilgrims in the twelfth century. This is proved by the Hebrew Itinerary of Petachias,§ who was contemporary with Benjamin of Tudela;‖ and its situation, marked by him with the utmost precision,** is still as familiar to the Jews of Palæstine as the place where the temple of Solomon originally stood. It was, in fact, in the midst of a renowned cemetery, containing also the sepulchres of other patriarchs; particularly of one, whose synagogue is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela, as being in the neighbourhood of the warm baths of Tiberias.†† These tombs are hewn in the solid rock, like those of Telmessus in the Gulph of Glaucus, and are calculated for duration, equal to that of the hills wherein they have been excavated. It may also be worthy of notice, that, when writers of the age of Benjamin and Pe-

* "We saw on our right hand, just without the city, a small mosque, said to have been built over the sepulchre purchased by Jacob of Emmor the father of Shechem. (*Gen.* 33 19.) It goes by the name of Joseph's sepulchre, his bones having been here interr'd, after their transportation out of Egypt. (*Josh.* 24. 32.)" *Journ from Aleppo to Jerus p.* 62. Oxf. 1721.

† "In Sichem verb relata fuerunt ossa Joseph ex. Ægypto." *Eugesippus, P.* iii. Συμμ. *L. Allat.* Col. 1653.

‡ See Part I. of these Travels, c. xvii

§ Petachiea Itinerarium. Vid. Thes. Antiq. Sacr. tom. VI. *Venet.* 1746.

‖ "Non licet. R. Petachiam Seculo xii. statuere antiquiorem, sed illud potius consequitur. R. Benjaminem, et R Petachiam fuisse coaevos." *Introd. in Petach. Itin. ab. J. Christoph. Wagenseilio. Ibid.* 1161, 1162.

** "Mons. Gaasch valde excelsus est, atque in eo concitus Obadias Propheta. In hunc montem praeltum, per gradus fit ascensus, qui, ibi. incisi sunt, atque in medio montis sepultus est Josua filius Num, et, juxta eum, Caleb Jephunne filius. PROPHETARUM MONUMENTA FOS SCATURIT, E QUO AQUA OPTIMA PER MONTEM MANAT. IBIQUE SEPULCHRIS, BASILICÆ EOREGÆ ADJICIUNTUR." *Petachiae Itiner. Ibid.* 1205, 1206.

†† Benjamin's Itinerarium, cap. 10. *Helmst.* 1696.

tachias are speaking of the immediate receptacles of embalmed bodies, as reliques held in veneration by the Jews, they refer to SOROI constituting integral parts of mountains, and chiseled with a degree of labour not to be conceived from mere description. These are monuments on which a lapse of ages effects no change: they have defied, and will defy, the attacks of time; and continue as perfect at this hour as they were in the first moment of their completion. Thus we are informed in sacred scripture, according to the Septuagint Version, that, when Joseph died,* "they embalmed him, and he was put 'ἐν τῷ Σόρῳ' in Egypt;" that is to say, in one of those immense *monolithal* receptacles to which alone the ancients applied the name of ΣΟΡΟΣ: these were appropriated solely to the burial of men of princely rank; and their existence, after the expiration of three thousand years, is indisputably proved, by the appearance of one of them in the principal pyramid of Egypt. Therefore, when our English translators render the Hebrew or the Greek appellation for such a receptacle by our word *coffin*, necessarily associating ideas of a perishable box or chest with the name they use, it is not surprising to find a writer like Harmer stating it as an extraordinary fact, that the remains of distinguished persons in the east were *honoured* with a *coffin*, as a mark of their rank; whereas, says he,† "*with us, the poorest people have their coffins*:" or that other authors should deride, and consider as preposterous, the traditions mentioned by Jewish Rabbins, which, at this distance of time, presume to identify the *coffins* of their patriarchs and prophets.‡ When it is once understood what the real monuments are, to which those traditions allude; the veneration always paid by that people to a place of sepulture; their rigorous adherence, in burial, to the cemeteries of their ancestors; the care with which memorials are transmitted to their posterity; and other circumstances connected with their customs and history, which cannot here be enumerated: it is not merely probable, but it amounts almost to certainty, that the sepulchres they revere were originally the tombs of persons to whom they are now ascribed.

* Gen. L. 26. In the English Version the words are, "He was put in a *coffin*."

† See Harmer's Observations, vol. III. p. 69, 70. *Lond.* 1808.

‡ Gerrans, translator of the Hebrew Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin, published in 1783, makes use of an allusion to the Prophet Daniel's *coffin*, as a proof of the spurious nature of the Work. (*See Dissert. p.* 10 *prefixed to the volume.*) There is every reason to believe that Benjamin's Itinerary is a mere compilation; but the objection thus urged does not impeach its veracity. The tradition alluded to was probably borrowed from former writers.

In the time of Alexander the Great, Sichem was considered as the capital of Samaria.* Its inhabitants were called *Samaritans*, not merely as people of Samaria, but as a sect at variance with the other Jews.† They consisted principally of deserters from Judæa. They have continued to maintain their peculiar tenets to the present day.‡ The inhabitants, according to Procopius.§ were much favoured by the emperor Justinian, who restored their sanctuaries, and added largely to the edifices of the city. The principal object of veneration among them, is *Jacob's Well*, over which a church was formerly erected.‖ This is situated at a small distance from the town,** in the road to Jerusalem, and has been visited by pilgrims of all ages; but particularly since the Christian æra, as the place where our Saviour revealed himself to the woman of Samaria. The spot is so distinctly marked by the evangelist,†† and so little liable to uncertainty, from the circumstance of the well itself and the features of the country, that if no tradition existed for its identity, the site of it could hardly be mistaken. Perhaps no Christian scholar ever attentively read the fourth chapter of St. John, without being struck with the numerous internal evidences of truth which crowd upon the mind in its perusal. Within so small a compass it is impossible to find, in other writings, so many sources of reflection, and of interest. Independently of its importance as a theological document, it concentrates so much information, that a volume might be filled with the illustration it reflects upon the history of the Jews, and upon the geography of their country. All that can be gathered on these sub-

* Josephus, Antiq. lib. xi. c. 8.

† Josephus says of them, that they boasted of their Jewish origin whenever the Jews were in prosperity, but disowned any connection with them when in adversity. *Vid. Antiq. lib*, xi. c. 8.

‡ The ancient medals of the city bear the name of *Flavia Neopolis*. Spanheim (*De Praest. et Us Numism p*, 769. *Amst.* 1761.) notices a medal of the Emperor Titus in Seguin's collection, with this inscription, ΦΛΑΟΥΙΝΕΑΠΟΛΙΣΑΜΑΡΙΑΣ. Vaillant mentions colonial coins of Philip the Elder, on which appeared Mount Gerizim, with a temple on its summit. For an account of this temple, named by Antiochus *the Temple of Jupiter*, see *Josephus, Antiq. lib*, xi. *c.* 8. *lib.* xii. *c.* 7.

§ See Reland. *Palaest. Illust. lib.* iii. *p.* 1008. *tom.* II. *Utrecht*, 1714. Procopius *lib.* v. *De Ædificiis Justiniani, cap.* 7.

‖ Attributed, as usual, to the Empress Helena. (*See Maundrell's Journey. p.* 62. *Arculfe* as preserved in *Adamnaus*, gives a plan of it, which proves its form to have been that of a Greek cross: (*lib.* ii. *de Loc. Sanct.*) This is also in Reland's work (*p.* 1008. *tom.* II. *Palaest. Illust. Utrecht*, 1714.) It was mentioned by St. Jerom in the fourth century. Antoninus, the Martyr, saw it in the sixth: Arculfe, in the seventh; Willibald, in the eighth; and Phocas, in the twelfth.

** "About one third of an hour from Naplosa, we came to "*Jacob's Well.*" Journey from Alep. to Jerus. *p.* 62. *Oxf.* 1721.

†† John, c. iv.

fects from Josephus* seems but as a comment to illustrate this chapter. The journey of our Lord from Judæa into Galilee; the cause of it; his passage through the territory of Samaria; his approach to the metropolis of that country; its name; his arrival at the Amorite field which terminates the narrow valley of *Sichem;* the ancient custom of halting at a well;† the female employment of drawing water; the disciples sent into the city for food, by which its situation out of the town is so obviously implied; the question of the woman referring to existing prejudices which separated the Jews from the Samaritans; the depth of the well; the oriental allusion contained in the expression, "*living water*;" the history of the well, and the customs thereby illustrated; the worship upon Mount Gerizim; all these occur within the space of twenty verses; and if to these be added, what has already been referred to‡ in the remainder of the same chapter, we shall perhaps consider it as a record, which, in the words of him who sent it,§ "WE MAY LIFT UP OUR EYES, AND LOOK UPON, FOR IT IS WHITE ALREADY TO HARVEST."

* Vid. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 4, 7, 8. lib. xii. c. 3, 7. &c.

† "At this well, the narrow valley of Sychem ends; opening itself into a wide field, which is probably part of that parcel of ground, given by Jacob to his son Joseph." *Journey from Alep. to Jerus. p.* 63. *Oxf.* 1721.

‡ See p. 229, note 2, of this Volume.

§ John, iv. 35.

CHAP. XVI.

THE HOLY LAND—NAPOLOSE TO JERUSALEM.

Journey to Jerusalem—Singular Cultivation of Judæa—Jacob's Field—Bethel—Beer—Prospect of the Holy City—Formalities of a Public Entry—Reception by the inhabitants—Gate of Damascus—Identity of "the Holy Places"—Visit to the Governor—Convent of St. Salvador—Appearance of the Monks—Dormitory for Travellers—Pilgrim's Chamber—Convent Stores—Library—Exactions of the Turks—Manufactures of Jerusalem—Mecca Fruit—Fetid Limestones—Water of the Dead Sea—Visit to "the Holy Places"—Sepulchre of the Messiah—Its Identity disputed—Its present Appearance—Other Reliques—Plan for the survey of the City—Sion Gate—Discovery made by the Author—Inference derived from it—Possible Site of Golgotha, or Calvary—Greek Inscriptions—Remarkable Tomb—Hebrew Inscriptions—Conjecture respecting Mount Sion.

We left Napolose one hour after midnight, that we might reach Jerusalem early the same day. We were, however, much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen.* The road

* Authors disagree very much concerning this distance. Reland, who compares the computed measure, by time, with the Roman miles (*Vid.* "Mensurae quibus veteres locorum intervalla metiuntur," Palaest. Illust lib ii. c. 1.) makes an hour's journey equivalent to three miles; and this corresponds with its relative proportion to a French league, or to three English miles. But, in the valuable map wherein he has exhibited the distances of places in Roman miles, from Josephus, Eusebius, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, and the Itinerary of Antoninus, (*Vid. cap. 5. id. lib.*) he states the distance between Napolose and Jerusalem a- equal to forty Roman miles; that is to say, twenty eight from Napolose to Bethel, and twelve from Bethel to Jerusalem. Again, in estimating the extent of the Holy Land (*Vid. tom.* I. *p.* 423. *Traj Bat.* 1714.) he gives, from Josephus, Eusebius, and an ancient anonymous Itinerary, the following distances:

Ab Hierosolymis ad Bethel, ex Itinerar. veter. Hieros. et Eusebio.. *mil.* 12.

Inde ad Neapolin. ex eodem Itiner. . . . . *mil.* 28, vel. 29.

The fact is, that notwithstanding the numerous authors who have written in illustration of the geography of this country, the subject still remains undecided. We have no accurate map of the Holy Land: and were we to collect the distances from books of Travels, the labour would be fruitless. Phocas, who is generally accurate, states the distance between Samaria (i. e. Sichem, vel Neapolis) and Jerusalem most erroneously; making it only equal to eighty-four stadia, or ten miles and a half. Ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρείας ἕως τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως εἰσὶ στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα τέσσαρα. "A Samaria ad sacram civitatem stadia numerantur quatuor et octaginta." (Phocæ Descript. T. S. cap. 14.) This would only allow a journey of three hours and a half. Maundrell makes it eleven hours and thirty-five minutes, according to the following state

was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones:* yet the cultivation was every where marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of Judæa were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops, we noticed millet, cotton, linseed, and tobacco; and occasionally small fields of barley. A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the east, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly pourtrayed in every countenance; instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of Djezzar Pacha's desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and a beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest;† the salubrity of its air;‡ its limped spring; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales:—all these, added to the serenity

ment from his journal. (See pp. 62, 63, 64, 66, 67. Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. Oxf. 1721.)

	Hours.
Napolosa to Kane Leban	—4
Kane Leban to Bethel	—1 3-4
Bethel to Beer —	—2 1-2
Beer to Jerusalem —	—3 1-3
	11. 35 min.

Adapting, therefore, Maundrell's time to Reland's scale, the distance would be little more than thirty-four miles and a half. We considered it to be much more; but it is difficult to obtain accurate measure, even by actual observation of the country, owing to its mountainous and rugged nature.

* If the following passage from Phocas afforded the only internal evidence to be found in his Work, of his having visited the country, travellers, who follow him, will deem it satisfactory. Ἡ δίοδος πᾶσα λιθόστρωτος, καὶ ταῦτα, κατάξηρος ὅσα ἡ πᾶσα τοιαύτη χῶρα, καὶ αὐχμηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάμπελος καὶ ὑπόδενδρος. "Via est omnis lapidus strata; et, licet tota ea regio siccitate arescat, et squalleat, ubique tamen vitibus et arboribus constipatur." Phocæ Descr. Terr. Sanct. c. 14. Colon. 1653. The extraordinary cultivation of this singular country, and the mode of it, is also noticed by Maundrell. *See Journ. from Alep to Jerus. pp.* 64, 65.

† "The seasons," says Josephus, "seem to maintain a competition, which should be most productive. See his account of the country around the lake of Genesareth, (lib. iii, de Bell. c. 18.) as cited in a former chapter of this work.

‡ We saw neither mosquitoes nor locusts; nor did the croaking of toads or frogs denote the vicinity of any of those deadly marshes which poison the atmosphere on so many shores of the Mediterranean.

of its climate, prove this land to be indeed "a field which the Lord hath blessed:* God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine."

The first part of our journey led through the valley lying between the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim.† We passed the sepulchre of Joseph,‡ and the well of Jacob,§ where the valley of Sichem opens into a fruitful plain, watered by a stream which rises near the town. This is allowed, by all writers, to be the piece of land mentioned by St. John,‖ which Jacob bought** "at the hand of the children of Emmor," and where he erected his altar†† to "the God of Israel." Afterward, as the day dawned, a cloudless sky foretold the excessive heat we should have to encounter in this day's journey; and before noon, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the most shaded situation we could find, stood at 102 degrees. Our umbrellas scarcely afforded protection, the reflection from the ground being almost as insupportable as the sun's direct rays. We had, during the morning, a long and most tedious ride, without rest or refreshment; silently following our guides, along a narrow and stony track, over a mountainous country, and by the edge of precipices. We passed, without notice, a place called *Leban* by Maundrell,‡‡ the *Lebonah* of Scripture: also, about six hours distance from Napolose, in a narrow valley, between two high rocky hills,§§ the ruins of a

* Gen. xxvii. 27, 29.

† *Ebal*, sometimes written *Gebal*, is upon the north; and *Gerizim*, or *Garizim*, upon the south. The streets of Napolose run parallel to the latter; which overlooks the town. (Vid. Joseph. lib. v. Antiq. c. 9.) "And it shall come to pass, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee in unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt put the *blessing* upon Mount Gerizim, and the *curse* upon Ebal." (Deut. xi 29.) Also, in the record of the covenant, (Deut. xxvii. 5.) the people are directed to build an altar of *whole stones* upon Mount Ebal. "And Moses charged the people (ibid. v. 11.) the same day, saying, These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim, to bless the people;" "and (ibid. v. 13.) these shall stand upon Mount Ebal, to curse." (See also Josh. viii 33.) The Samaritans have now a place of worship upon Mount Gerizim. (See Maundrell. Journ. from Alepp. to Jerus. p. 59.) Reland (tom. II. p. 1006. tom. I. p. 344. Traj. Bat. 1714.) wrote the name of this mountain both *Garizim* and *Gerizim*. The Samaritans, according to Phocas, believed, that upon Mount Gerizim, which stands upon the right hand of a person facing the east, Abraham prepared the sacrifice of his son Isaac. Ὧν τὸ δεξιώτερον ὑπάρχει τὸ ὄρος ἐν ᾧ οἱ Σαμαρεῖς λέγουσι χρηματίσαι τῷ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ζητῆσαι τοῦ Ἰσαάκ. "In dexteriore montium (Samaritanorum ea traditio est) Deus Abrahamo responsum dedit, et Isaacum in sacrificium petiit." *Phocae Desc. Terr. Sanct.* c. 13. *Col.* 1652.

‡ See Maundrell's Journey, &c. p. 62. Oxf. 1721.

§ "At about one third of an hour from Naplosa, we came to Jacob's Well." Ibid.

‖ Chap. iv. 5.

** Genesis xxxiii. 19.

†† "And he erected there an altar, and called it (El-Elohe-Israel) God, the God of Israel." Ibid. v. 20

‡‡ See p. 63. Journ. from Aleppo, &c.

§§ Ibid.

village, and of a monastery, situated where the *Bethel* of Jacob is supposed to have been.* The nature of the soil is an existing comment upon the record of the *stony territory*, where "*he took of the stones of the place, and put them for his pillows.*" At two o'clock P. M. we halted for a little repose, near a well, beneath the shade of a ruined building. This place was said to be three hours distance from Jerusalem. It is perhaps the same described by Maundrell, under the name of *Beer*,† so called, says he, from its *fountain of water*, and supposed to be the *Michmash* of sacred scripture.‡ It is described by him as distant three hours and twenty minutes from the Holy City.§ This name of our halting place is not found, however, in any of our journals. Here, upon some pieces of very mouldy biscuit, a few raw onions, (the only food we could find upon the spot,) and the water of the well, we all of us fed with the best possible appetite; and could we have procured a little salt, we should have deemed our fare delicious.

At three P. M. we again mounted our horses, and proceeded on our route. No sensation of fatigue or heat could counterbalance the eagerness and zeal which animated all our party, in the approach to Jerusalem; every individual pressed forward, hoping first to announce the joyful intelligence of its appearance. We passed some insignificant ruins, either of ancient buildings or of modern villages; but had they been of more importance, they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind toward the main object of interest and curiosity. At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill toward the south—"HAGIOPOLIS!" exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade: and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company,

* Gen. xxviii. 19.

† "At the bottom of the hill it has a plentiful fountain of excellent water, from which it has its name. At its upper side are remains of an old church built by Empress Helena, in memory of the blessed Virgin, who, when she was in quest of the child Jesus, as it is related (Luke ii 24.) came (as tradition adds) to this city. *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 64. *Oxf.* 1721.

‡ 1 Sam. xiii. 16, 23. xiv. 5. This position of *Michmash* by Maundrell by no means agrees with the situation assigned to it by Reland (Palæst. Illust. tom. II. p. 897. Traj. Bat 1714.) upon the authority of Eusebius: "*Est vicus grandis 9 mill. a Helia* (Hierosolyma) *prope Rama, teste Eusebio.*"

§ "Leaving Beer, &c. in two hours and one third, we came to the top of a hill from whence we had the first prospect of Jerusalem. In one hour more, we approached the walls of the Holy City." *Journ. from Alep. to Jerus.* p. 66. *Oxf.* 1721.

Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour.* As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills whereby it is surrounded give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses.† About three quarters of an hour before we reached the walls, we passed a large ruin upon our right hand, close to the road. This, by the reticulated style of masonry upon its walls, as well as by the remains of vaulted fondations of brick work, evidently denoted a Roman building. We could not obtain any account of it; neither is it mentioned by the authors who have described the antiquities of the country.

At this place, two Turkish officers, mounted on beautiful horses sumptuously caparisoned, came to inform us, that the governor, having intelligence of our approach, had sent them to escort us into the town. When they arrived, we were all assembled upon an eminence, admiring the splendid appearance of the city; and being impressed with other ideas than those of a vain ostentation, would gladly have declined the parade, together with the interruption caused by a public entry. This was, however, said to be unavoidable; it was described as a necessary mark of respect due to Djezzar Pacha,

* At the same time it should be confessed, that there is no other point of view where Jerusalem is seen to so much advantage. In the celebrated prospect from the Mount of Olives, the city lies too low; is too near the eye; and has too much the character of a *bird's-eye view*. It has all the formality of a plan or topographical survey.

† Ἡ δὲ ἁγία πόλις κεῖται μέσον διαφόρων φαράγγων, καὶ βουνῶν, καὶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ θεωρούμενον θαυμαστὸν, ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπερανεστηκυῖα ὁρᾶται ἡ πόλις καὶ χθαμαλὴ· πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας χώραν ἐστὶν ὑπερκειμένη, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα ταύτης γηλόφα χθαμαλίζεται. "Sancta civitas variis vallibus et montibus circumsepitur, nec admiratione caret, quod in ea spectatur: eodem enim temporis momento, et supereminens et depressa apparet: namque si Judææ oram inspexeris, supereminet; si colles illi adhærentes, complanatur." *Phocæ Desc. Terr. Sanct.* c. 14. *Colon.* 1653.

under whose protection we travelled; as well as of consequence to our future safety. We therefore consigned ourselves to all the etiquette of our Mahometan masters of ceremony, and were marshalled accordingly. Our attendants were ordered to fall back in the rear; and it was evident, by the manner of placing us, that we were expected to form a procession to the governor's house, and to appear as dependants, swelling the train of our Moslem conductors. Our British tars, not relishing this, would now and then prance toward the post of honour, and were with difficulty restrained from taking the lead. As we approached the city, the concourse of people became very great, the walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried out "*Bon' Inglesi! Viva l' Ingilterra!*" others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally Christain dogs, and filthy infidels. We could never learn wherefore so much curiosity had been excited; unless it were, that of late, owing to the turbulent state of public affairs, the resort of strangers to Jerusalem had become more uncommon; or that they expected another visit from Sir Sidney Smith, who had marched into Jerusalem with colours flying and drums beating, at the head of a party of English sailors. He protected the Christian guardians of the Holy Sepulchre from the tyranny of their Turkish rulers, by hoisting the British standard upon the walls of their monastery. Novelty, at any period, produces considerable bustle at Jerusalem: the idleness of its inhabitants, and the uniform tenor of their lives, rendered more monotonous by the cessation of pilgrimage, naturally dispose them to run after a new sight, or to listen to new intelligence. The arrival of a Tartar courier from the Vizier's army, or the coming of foreigners to the city, rouses Christians from their prayers, Jews from their traffick, and even Moslems from their tobacco or their opium, in search of something new.

Thus attended, we reached the gate of Damascus about seven o'clock in the evening.* Châteaubriand calls this *Bab-el-Hamond*, or *Bab-el-Cham*, the *Gate of the Column*.† "When," says he, "Simon the Cyrenian met Christ, he was coming from the gate of Damascus;" thereby adopting a topography suited to the notions generally entertained of the

* Thursday, July the 9th.
† Travels in Greece, Palestine, &c. vol. II. p. 38. *Lond.* 1811.

relative situation of Mount Calvary and the *Prætorium*, with regard to this gate; Simon being described* as "coming out of the country," and therefore, of course, entering by that gate of the city contiguous to "*the dolorous way*." It were, indeed, a rash undertaking to attempt any refutation of opinions so long entertained, concerning what are called "*the Holy Places*" of this memorable city. "Never," says the author now cited,† "was subject less known to modern readers, and never was subject more completely exhausted." Men entitled to the highest consideration, unto whose authority even reverence is due,‡ have written for its illustration; and some of the ablest modern geographers, quitting more extensive investigations, have applied all their ingenuity, talents, and information, to the topography of Jerusalem.§ It would therefore seem like wanton temerity, to dispute the identity of places whose situation has been so ably discussed and so generally admitted, where there not this observation to urge, that the descriptions of Jerusalem since the crusades have principally issued from men who had no ocular evidence concerning the places they describe. Like Thevenot, writing an account of scenes in Asia without ever having quitted Europe, they have proved the possibility of giving to a fiction an air of so much reality, that it has been cited, even by historians, as authority.‖ If, as spectators upon the spot, we confessed ourselves dissatisfied with the supposed identity of certain points of observation in Jerusalem, it is because we refused to tradition alone, what appeared contradictory to the evidence of our senses. Of this it will be proper to expatiate more fully in the sequel. It is now only necessary to admonish the reader, that he will not find in these pages a renewal of the statements made by Sandys, and Maundrell, and Pococke, with a host of Greek and Latin pilgrims from the age of Phocas down to Breiudenbach and Quaresmius. We should no more think of enumerating all the absurdities to which the Franciscan friars direct the attention of travellers, than of

* "As they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon a Cyrenian, coming out of the country." *Luke* xxiii. 26.

† Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 2. Lond. 1811.

‡ Eusebius, Epiphanius, Hieronymus, &c

§ See particularly the Dissertation of D'Anville, in the Appendix to Mons. Châteaubriand's interesting account of his Travels, vol. II. p. 369. of the edition by Frederic Schoberl. *Lond.* 1811.

‖ "The *accurate* Thevenot," says Mr. Gibbon (*Hist. vol.* III. *p.* 14. *Lond.* 1807) "WALKED, in one hour and three quarters, round two of the sides of the triangle," &c. He is speaking of Constantinople. Assuredly, Thevenot never set foot in the country.

copying, like another Cotovic,* the whole of the hymns sung by the pilgrims at every station. Possessing as much enthusiasm as might be necessary in travellers viewing this hallowed city, we still retained the power of our understandings sufficiently to admire the credulity for which no degree of preposterousness seemed too mighty; which converted even the parables of our Saviour into existing realities; exhibiting, as holy reliques, the house of *Dives*.† and the dwelling place of the *good Samaritan*. There is much to be seen at Jerusalem, independently of its monks and monasteries; much to repay pilgrims of a very different description from those who usually resort thither, for all the fatigue and danger they must encounter. At the same time, to men interested in tracing, within the walls, antiquities referred to by the documents of Sacred History, no spectacle can be more mortifying than the city in its present state. The mistaken piety of the early Christians, in attempting to preserve, either confused or annihilated the memorials it endeavoured to perpetuate. On viewing the havoc they have made, it may now be regretted that the Holy Land was ever rescued from the dominion of Saracens, far less barbarous than their conquerors. The absurdity of hewing the rocks of Judæa, whether of Mount Calvary or any other mount, into gilded chapels, and of disguising the face of nature with painted domes and marble coverings, by way of commemorating the scenes of our Saviour's life and death, is so evident and so lamentable, that even Sandys, with all his credulity, could not avoid a happy application of the reproof directed by the Roman Satyrist against a similar violation of the Egerian Fountain.‡

We were conducted to the house of the governor, who received us in very great state; offering his protection, and exhibiting the ordinary pomp of Turkish hospitality, in the number of slaves richly dressed, who brought fuming incense, coffee, conserved fruit, and pipes, to all the party, profusely sprinkling us, as usual, with rose and orange flower water. Being then informed of all our projects, he ordered his interpreter to go with us to the Franciscan convent of St. Salvador, a large building like a fortress, the gates of which were

* See De Châtaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 3. note 2. Lond. 1811.
† See the Preface to Part II.
‡ Juven. Sat. 3. *Cantab.* 1763.

" In vallem Ægeriæ descendimus, et speluncas
Dissimiles veris. Quantò præstantius esset
Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum !"

See Sandys' Travels, p. 161. *Lond.* 1637.

thrown open to receive our whole cavalcade. Here, when we were admitted into a court, with all our horses and camels, the vast portals were again closed, and a party of the most corpulent friars we had ever seen from the warmest cloisters of Spain and of Italy waddled round us, and heartily welcomed our arrival.

From the court of the convent we were next conducted, by a stone staircase, to the refectory, where the monks who had received us introduced us to the Superior, not a whit less corpulent than any of his companions. In all the convents I had ever visited (and these are not few in number) I had never beheld such friars as the Franciscans of St. Salvador. The figures sometimes brought upon the stage, to burlesque the monasterial character, may convey some notion of their appearance.* The influence which a peculiar mode of life has upon the constitution, in this climate, might be rendered evident by contrasting one of these jolly fellows with the *Propaganda* Missionaries. The latter are as meagre and as pale, as the former are corpulent and ruddy. The life of the missionaries is necessarily a state of constant activity and of privation. The guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, or, according to the name they bear, the *Terra Santa* friars, are confined to the walls of their comfortable convent, which, when compared with the usual accommodations of the Holy Land, is like a sumptuous and well-furnished hotel, open to all comers whom curiosity or devotion may bring to this mansion of rest and refreshment.

After being regaled with coffee, and some delicious lemonade, we were shown to our apartments, to repose ourselves until supper. The room allotted to our English party we found to be the same which many travellers have before described. It was clean, and its walls were whitewashed. The beds, also, had a cleanly appearance; although a few bugs warned us to spread our hammocks upon the floor, where we slept, for once, unmolested. Upon the substantial door of this chamber, whose roof was of vaulted stone, the names of many English travellers had been carved. Among others, we had the satisfaction to notice that of THOMAS SHAW, the most learned writer who has yet appeared in descriptions of the Levant. Dr. Shaw had slept in the same apartment seventy-nine years before our coming.†

* Those who remember seeing the late inimitable actor, Palmer, sen. of Drury-lane Theathre, as the Friar in Mr. Lewis's drama of "The Castle Spectre," may form a correct idea of the figures presented by these monks, both as to the dress they wear, and their personal appearance.

† Dr. Shaw visited Jerusalem in 1722.

A plentiful supper was served, in a large room called the Pilgrim's Chamber. Almost all the monks, together with their Superior, were present. These men did not eat with us; having their meals private. After we had supped, and retired to the dormitory, one of the friars, an Italian, in the dress worn by the Franciscans, came into our apartment, and, giving us a wink, took some bottles of *Noyau* from his bosom, desiring us to taste it: he said that he could supply us with any quantity, or quality, of the best *liqueurs*, either for our consumption while we staid, or for our journey. We asked him whence it was obtained; and he informed us, that he had made it; explaining the nature of his situation in the monastery, by saying, that he was a confectioner; that the monks employed him in works of ornament suited to his profession; but that his principal employment was the manufacture of *liqueurs*.* A large part of this convent, surrounding an elevated open court or terrace, is appropriated to the reception of pilgrims; for whose maintenance the monks have considerable funds, the result of donations from Catholics of all ranks, but especially from Catholic princes. These contributions are sometimes made in cash, and often in effects, in merchandize, and stores for the convent. To mention, by way of example, one article, equally rare and grateful to weary English travellers in the Levant; namely, *tea*. Of this they had an immense provision, and of the finest quality. Knowing, from long habit in waiting upon pilgrims, the taste of different nations, they most hospitably entertain their comers according to the notions they have thus acquired. If a table be provided for Englishmen or for Dutchmen, they supply it copiously with tea. This pleasing and refreshing beverage was served every morning and evening while we remained, in large bowls, and we drank it out of pewter porringers. For this salutary gift the monks positively refused to accept our offers of compensation, at a time when a few drachms of any kind of tea could with difficulty be procured from the English ships in the Mediterranean, at the most enormous prices. Persons who have not travelled in these latitudes will perhaps not readily conceive the importance of such an acquisition. The exhausted traveller, reduced by continual fever, and worn by incessant toil, without a hope of any comfortable repose, experience in this infusion the most cooling and balsamic

* Perhaps for sale among the Mahometans; who will make any sacrifice to obtain drams of this nature.

virtues:* the heat of his blood abates; his spirits revive; his parched skin relaxes; his strength is renovated. As almost all the disorders of the country, and particularly those, to which a traveller is most liable, originate in obstructed perspiration, the medicinal properties of tea in this country may perhaps explain the cause of its long celebrity in China. Jerusalem is in the same latitude with Nankin, and it is eight degrees farther to the south than Pekin: the influence of climate and of medicine, in disorders of the body, may therefore, perhaps, be similar. Certain it is, that travellers in China, so long ago as the ninth century, mention an infusion made from the leaves of a certain herb, named *Sah*, as a *cure for all diseases*; which is proved to be the same now called *Tea* by European nations.†

In the commotions and changes that have taken place in Jerusalem, the convent of St. Salvador has been often plundered and stripped of its effects. Still, however, the riches of the treasury are said to be considerable; but the principal part of its wealth is very properly concealed from all chance of observation. At present, it has a small library, full of books of little value, the writings of polemical divines, and stale dissertations upon peculiar points of faith. We examined them carefully, but found nothing so much worth notice as the Oxford edition of Maundrell's journey. This volume some traveller had left: the worthy monks were very proud of it, although unable to read a syllable it contained. In the church, as well as in the chambers of the monastery, we noticed several pictures; all of these were bad, although some of them appeared to have been copied from originals that possessed greater merit. In the Pilgrims' chamber, a printed ad-

* "If, in the course of our travelling,
——— "We chanced to find,
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
We bless'd our stars, and thought it luxury.
"This is the method of travelling in these countries; and these are its pleasures, and amusements. Few, indeed, in comparison with the many toils and fatigues; fewer still with regard to the greater perils and dangers that either continually alarm, or actually beset us." Shaw's travels, préf. p. xvii. Lond. 1757

† "Le roy se reserve aussi le revenu qui provient des mines de sel, et d'une herbe qu'ils boivent avec de l'eau chaude, dont il se vend une grande quantité dans toutes les villes, ce qui produit de grandes sommes. On l'appelle sah; et c'est un arbrisseau qui a plus de feuilles que le grenadier, et dont l'odeur est un peu plus agréable, mais qui a quelque amertume. On fait bouillir de l'eau, on la verse sur cette feuille et cette boisson les guerit de toutes sortes de maux." (Anciennes Relations de deux Voyageurs Mahometans, &c. p. 31. Paris, 1718) Eusebius Renaudot, the learned French translator of the original Arabic manuscript of these travels, in the notes which he added to the work, proves the plant here mentioned to have been the tea tree, called chah by the Chinese, and by other oriental nations tcha Cataïi, or sini; the tcha of Cataï, or of China. (Ibid. p. 222.) "Notre auteur," says he, "est le plus ancien, et presque le seul de Arabes qui ait parlé de la boisson Chinoise, si commune présentement dans toute l'Europe, et connuë sous le nom de thé."

vertisement, pasted upon a board, is suspended from the wall, giving notice, that "NO PILGRIM SHALL BE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN THE CONVENT LONGER THAN ONE MONTH:" a sufficient time, certainly, for all purposes of devotion, rest, or curiosity. The Franciscans complain heavily of the exactions of the Turks, who make frequent and large demands upon them for money; but the fact of their being able to answer these demands, affords a proof of the wealth of the convent. Sir Sidney Smith, during his visit to Jerusalem, rendered them essential service, by remonstrating with the Turkish governor against one of these *avanias*, as they are called, and finally compelling him to withdraw the charge. The monks assured us, that the English, although protestants, are the best friends the Catholics have in Jerusalem, and the most effectual guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. This served, indeed, as a prelude to a request that we would also intercede for them with the governor, by representing to him, that any ill usage offered to Christians would be resented by the British nation.* We rendered them all the service in our power, and they were very thankful.

Friday, July 10.—This morning our room was filled with Armenians and Jews, bringing for sale the only produce of the Jerusalem manufactures; beads, crosses, shells, &c. The shells were of the kind we call mother-of-pearl, ingeniously, although coarsely, sculptured, and formed into various shapes. Those of the largest size, and the most perfect, are formed into clasps for the zones of the Greek women. Such clasps are worn by the ladies of Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and the islands of the Archipelago. All these, after being purchased, are taken to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they receive a sort of benediction: exactly after the manner in which the beads and crosses, purchased at Loretto in Italy, are placed in a wooden bowl belonging to the house of the Virgin

* They have since made a similar application to Mons. De Châteaubriand; and it appears, from his narrative, that they hold nearly the same language to all comers. "They thought themselves saved," says he, "by the presence of one single Frenchman." (See Travels, vol. I. p. 387. Lond. 1811.) They had paid the Turkish governor, the preceding year, 60,000 piastres; nor has there ever yet been an instance of their having refused to comply with his demands. Still Mons. De Châteaubriand maintains that they are "very poor." Admitting the injustice of the robberies committed upon them by the Turks, the mere fact of the booty so often obtained affords proof to the contrary. We believed them to be very rich. The attention and hospitality we experienced in this convent demand the fullest acknowledgment. Whether their situation with regard to Djezzar Pacha, or the services we rendered them, by our remonstrances with the governor, caused them to refuse any remuneration from us, we did not learn. We could not prevail upon them to accept of payment for our board and lodging. Yet while we acknowledge this bounty, we should deem a statement of their poverty unjustifiable, knowing it to be false.

Mary. Afterward, they are worn as reliques. The beads are manufactured, either from date stones, or from a very hard kind of wood, whose natural history we could not learn. It was called "*Mecca fruit*," and, when first wrought, appeared of the colour of box; it is then dyed, yellow, black, or red. The beads are of various sizes; and they are all strung as rosaries; the smaller being the most esteemed, on account of the greater number requisite to fill a string, and the greater labour necessarily required in making them. They sell at higher prices when they have been long worn, because they have then acquired, by friction, a higher polish. This sort of trumpery is ridiculed by all travellers, but we cannot say it is scouted by any of them; for there has not been one who did not encourage the Jerusalem manufactories by the purchases he made. It offers an easy method of obtaining a large quantity of acceptable presents, which occupy little space, for the inhabitants of Greek and Catholic countries, as well as for Turks and Arabs. We provided ourselves with a considerable cargo, and found them useful in our subsequent journey.* The custom of carrying such strings of beads was in use long before the Christian æra; and the practice of bearing them in the hand prevails, among men of rank, all over the east.† This subject the author has already introduced into a former publication;‡ therefore its repetition here is unnecessary. It is not so easy to account for the origin of the shell, as a badge worn by pilgrims;§ but it decidedly refers to much earlier oriental customs than the journeys of Christians to the Holy Land, and its history will probably be found in the mythology of eastern nations. Among the substances which they had wrought in the manufacture of rosaries, and for amulets, we were glad to notice the black fetid limestone‖ of the Lake Asphaltites; because it enabled us to

* Such a quantity of them is sometimes sent to Spain, Portugal, and other countries, that it is sufficient for the entire freight of a vessel.

† The Turks call a string of ninety-nine beads, tespy. This number of beads corresponds with their names of the deity. Hamid Ali, a late vizier, wore one of pearl, valued at 300*l.* sterling. See Dallaway's Constantinople, p. 84.

‡ See "Greek Marbles," pp. 78. 79. Camb. 1809. See also the necklace worn by Isis, as engraved in Cuper's Harpocrates, p. 109, Utrecht, 1687.

§ It was an ancient symbol of Astarté, the Syrian goddess, as Venus Pelagia (αναδυομένη;) but, as the appropriate cognizance of a pilgrim's hat, is beautifully commemorated in the well known ditty,

"And how should I thy true love know
"From any other one?"
"O, by his cockle hat and staff,
"And by his sandal shoon"

‖ "Chaux carbonatée fétide," Haüy. "Pierre puante," Lameth, tom. II. p. 58. "Swinestone," Kirwan. "Stinkstein," Brochant, tom. I. p. 567. "Spathum frictione fœtidum," Waller, tom, I. p. 148.

procure very large specimens of that mineral, in its natural state. It is worn in the east as a charm against the plague; and that a similar superstition attached to this stone in very early ages, is evident from the circumstance of our having afterward found amulets of the same substance in the subterranean chamber below the Pyramids of *Saquâra*, in Upper Egypt. The cause of the fetid effluvia emitted from this stone, when partially decomposed by means of friction, is now known to be owing to the presence of sulphureted hydrogen.* All bituminous limestone does not possess this property. It is very common in the sort of limestone called *black marble* in England, though not always its characteristic. The workmen employed by stone masons often complain of the unpleasant smell which escapes from it during their labours. The ancient Gothic monuments in France frequently consisted of fetid limestone.† The fragments which we obtained from the Dead Sea had this property in a very remarkable degree; and it may generally be observed, that the oriental specimens are more strongly impregnated with hydro-sulphuret than any which are found in Europe. The water of the Dead Sea has a similar odour. The monks of St. Salvador keep it in jars, together with the bitumen of the same lake, among the articles of their pharmacy; both the one and the other being also esteemed on account of their medical virtues.

We set out to visit what are called "the Holy Places." These are all amply described by at least an hundred authors. From the Monastery we descended to the church of the Holy Sepulchre; attended by several pilgrims, bearing with them rosaries and crucifixes for consecration in the tomb of Jesus Christ. Concerning the identity of this most memorable relique, there is every evidence but that which should result from a view of the Sepulchre itself. After an attentive perusal of all that may be adduced, and all that has been urged, in support of it, from Eusebius, Lactantius, Sozomen, Jerom, Severus, and Nicephorus, it may be supposed that the question is for ever decided. If these testimonies be insufficient, "we might," says Chateaubriand,‡ "adduce those of Cyril, of

* Brochant Minéralog. tom. I. p. 568. Paris, 1808, &c.
† See Romé de Lisle, Cristallog. tom. I. p. 574.
‡ Mons. De Châteaubriand, whose work contains much illustration of this curious subject, after showing that the church of the Holy Sepulchre may *possibly* be referred to a period long anterior to the age of Helena, maintains, upon the evidence of a letter written by the Emperor Constantine to Macarius bishop of Jerusalem, preserved by Eusebius, and upon the testimonies of Cyril, Theodorat, and the Itinerary

Theodorat, and even of the Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem," in the middle of the fourth century. From the time of the emperor Adrian, when the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour was almost in the memory of man, unto the age of Constantine, an image of Jupiter marked the site of the Holy Sepulchre,* and Mount Calvary continued to be profaned by a statue of Venus.† This powerful record of the means used by the Pagans to obliterate the rites of Christianity, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the Tomb, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt. Theodoret affirms, that Helena, upon her arrival, found the fane of Venus,‡ and ordered it to be thrown down. To what then can be attributed the want of every document within the building now called the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which might denote the site of such a monument? The sepulchres of the Jews, as has been already maintained,§ were, in the age of the Crucifixion, of a nature to withstand every attack of time: they were excavations made in the heart of solid rocks, which even earthquakes would scarcely remove or alter. Indeed, we have evidence from the Gospel itself, that earthquakes, in certain instances, had no power over them; for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, made before the earthquake which accompanied the crucifixion, is described,‖ after that event had taken place, as "his own new tomb, which he had hewn

here cited, that its existence, as far back as the time of Constantine, cannot be disputed. *See Travels in Greece, Palaestine, &c. vol.* II. *p.* 19. *Lond.* 1811.

* Doubdan, from De Sponde, mentions the year of Adrian's life when this happened; it was the last but one, A. D. 137. Adrian died A. D. 138. De Châteaubriand quotes the author of the "*Epitome of the Holy Wars*," to prove that, "forty six years after the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus, the Christians obtained permission of Adrian to build, or rather to rebuild, a church over the tomb of their God." *(See Travels in Greece, Palaestine, &c. vol.* II. *p.* 18. *Lond.* 1811.) This can hardly be true, consistently with the facts related by Sozomen, (*lib.* ii. c. 2.) and by Jerom, (*Epist. ad Paulinum*) concerning the profanation of the holy places by that Emperor.

† "Ab Hadriani temporibus, usque ad Imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, *in Loco Resurrectionis* SIMULACRUM JOVIS, *in crucis rupe* STATUA EX MARMORE VENERIS à Gentilibus posita colebatur; existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus, quod tolleret nobis fidem Resurrectionis et Crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluissent." (Hieronymus Epist. ad Paulinum; de Instit. Monac. c. 2. tom. I See also Sozomen. Hist. lib. ii. c. 1.) Sozomen relates, that the Heathens surrounded Mount Calvary with a wall, first covering the holy places with stones; then erecting a temple of Venus; and, lastly, placing in it the image of the goddess. Dio Cassius (in Vit. Hadrian.) says, that Adrian built a city upon the site of Jerusalem, which had been ruined, giving it the name of *Ælia Capitolina*; and that in the place where the temple of God had been, he erected one to Jupiter.

‡ Theodoret, lib. i. cap. 18. Paris, 1642. This Greek Father also mentions the age of Helena, at the time she visited Palæstine. The journey took place a short time before her death, when she had attained her eightieth year. Few *octogenarian* ladies exhibit equal enterprise.

§ See the observations in the last Chapter concerning the Sepulchres of Samaria.

‖ Matth. xxvii. 60. Mark, xv. 46. Luke, xxiii. 53. John, xix. 41.

out of the rock." Even the grooving for the stone at the door was unchanged and entire, for "he rolled the great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed;"* and it was afterward "sealed and made sure."† Quaresmius, by an engraving‡ for the illustration of the mode of burial then practised, has shown, according to a model familiar to the learned monk, from his residence in the Holy Land where such sepulchres now exist, the sort of tomb described by the Evangelists. But there is nothing of this kind in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; nothing that can be reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial. In order to do away this glaring inconsistency, it is affirmed that Mount Calvary was levelled for the foundations of the church; that the word ὄρος, *mons*, does not necessarily signify a mountain, but sometimes *a small hill*; that the sepulchre of Christ alone remained after this levelling had taken place, in the centre of the area; and that this was encased with marble!—not a syllable of which is supported by any existing evidence offered in the contemplation of what is now called the Tomb. Let us, therefore, proceed to describe what really remains.

We came to a goodly structure, whose external appearance resembled that of any ordinary Roman Catholic Church. Over the door we observed a bas-relief, executed in a style of sculpture meriting more attention than it has hitherto received. At first sight, it seemed of higher antiquity than the existence of any place of Christian worship; but, upon a nearer view, we recognized the history of the Messiah's entry into Jerusalem—the multitude strewing palm branches before him. The figures were very numerous. Perhaps it may be considered as offering an example of the first work in which Pagan sculptors represented a Christian theme. Entering the church, the first thing they showed to us was a slab of white marble in the pavement, surrounded by a rail. It seemed like one of the gravestones in the floor of our English churches. This, they told us, was the spot where our Saviour's body was anointed by Joseph of Arimathea. We next advanced toward a dusty fabric, standing, like a huge pepper box, in the midst of the principal aisle, and beneath the main dome. This rested upon a building, partly circular, and partly oblong, as upon a pedestal. The interior of this strange fabric is divided into

* Matth. xxvii. 60.
† Ibid. v. 66. "So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone."
‡ Elucid. Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 529. *Antverp.* 1639.

two parts. Having entered the first part, which is a kind of antechapel, they shew you, before the mouth of what is called the Sepulchre, the stone whereon the angel sat: this is a block of white marble, neither corresponding with the mouth of the sepulchre, nor with the substance from which it must have been hewn; for the rocks of Jerusalem are all of common compact limestone.* Shaw, speaking of the Holy Sepulchre, says,† that all the surrounding rocks were cut away, to form the level of the church; so that now it is "*a grotto above ground*:" but even this is not true: there are no remains whatsoever of any ancient known sepulchre, that, with the most attentive and scrupulous examination, we could possibly discover. The sides consist of thick slabs of that beautiful breccia, vulgarly called *verd antique* marble: and over the entrance, which is rugged and broken, owing to the pieces carried off as reliques, the substance is of the same nature.‡ All that can therefore now be affirmed with any shadow of reason, is this; that, if Helena had reason to believe she could identify the spot where the sepulchre was, she took especial care to remove every existing trace of it, in order to introduce the fanciful and modern work which now remains. The place may be the same pointed out to her; but not a remnant of the original sepulchre can now be ascertained. Yet, with all our sceptical feelings thus awakened, it may prove how powerful the effect of sympathy is, if we confess that, when we entered into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and beheld, by the light of lamps, there continually burning, the venerable figure of an aged monk, with streaming eyes, and a long white beard, pointing to the place "*where the body of our Lord was*," and calling upon us to "kneel and experience pardon for our sins"—— we knelt, and participated in the feelings of more credulous

* According to some, however, the stone belonging to the mouth of the Sepulchre is preserved elsewhere; and this is said to be a part of the tomb, placed to receive the kisses of the pilgrims.

† Shaw's Travel's, p. 264. *Lond.* 1757.

‡ These objections are not new; they were urged long ago; and Quaresmius undertook to answer them. The reader may be amused by the style in which he opens his refutation. "*Audivi nonnullos nebulones Occidentales haereticos detrahentes iis quae dicuntur de jam memorato sacratissimo Domini nostri Jesu Christi Sepulchro, ex nullius momenti ratiunculis negantes illud verè esse in quo positum fuit corpus Jesu*," &c. (Vid. cap. 14. lib. v. Elucid T. S.) This chapter is entitled "OBJECTIONES NONNULLAE QUIBUS IMPUGNATUR VERITAS SANCTISSIMI SEPULCHRI." In the next (chap. xv.) he undertakes to refute the objections made by *Gulielmus de Baldensel*; and these are precisely the same now urged by the author. "*Monumentum Christi*," says G. de Baldensel, "erat excisum in petrâ vivâ, &c. illud verò ex petris pluribus est compositum, de novo conglutinato cæmento." Quaresmius says, this objection applied only to the external covering of the Sepulchre; but this is not true.

pilgrims. Captain Culverhouse, in whose mind the ideas of religion and of patriotism were inseparable, with firmer emotion, drew from its scabbard the sword he had so often wielded in the defence of his country, and placed it upon the tomb. Humbler comers heaped the memorials of an accomplished pilgrimage; and while their sighs alone interrupted the silence of the sanctuary, a solemn service was begun. Thus ended our visit to the Sepulchre.

If the reader has caught a single spark of this enthusiasm, it were perhaps sacrilegious to dissipate the illusion. But much remains untold. Every thing beneath this building seems discordant, not only with history, but with common sense. It is altogether such a work as might naturally be conjectured to arise from the infatuated superstition of such an old woman as was Helena, subsequently enlarged by ignorant priests. Forty paces from the Sepulchre, beneath the roof of the same church, and upon the same level, are shown two rooms, one above the other. Close by the entrance to the lower chamber, or chapel, are the Tombs of Godfrey of Boulogne, and of Baldwin, kings of Jerusalem, with inscriptions in Latin, in the old Gothic character. These have been copied into almost every book of travels, from the time of Sandys,* to the present day. At the extremity of this chapel they exhibit a fissure or cleft in the natural rock; and this, they say, happened at the crucifixion. Who shall presume to contradict the tale? But, to complete the *naïveté* of the tradition, it is also added, that THE HEAD OF ADAM WAS FOUND WITHIN THE FISSURE. Then, if the traveller has not already heard and seen enough to make him regret his wasted time, he may ascend by a few steps into a room above. There they will show him the same crack again; and immediately in front of it, a modern altar. This they venerate, as Mount Calvary, the place of crucifixion; exhibiting upon this contracted piece of masonry the marks, or holes, of the three crosses, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection. After this he may be conducted through such a farrago of absurdities, that it is wonderful the learned men, who have described Jerusalem, should have filled their pages with any serious detail of them. Nothing, however, can surpass the fidelity with which Sandys has particularized every circumstance of all this trumpery; and his rude cuts are characterized by

* See Sandy's travels, p. 163. Lond. 1637. Doubdan Voyage de la T. S. p. 7. Paris, 1657, &c. &c

equal exactness.* Among others, should be mentioned the place where the cross was found; because the identity of the timber, which has since supplied all Christendom with its relics,† was confirmed by a miracle,‡—proof equally infallible with that afforded by the eagle at the tomb of Theseus, in the isle of Scyra, when Cimon the Athenian sought the bones of the son of Ægeus.§

It is time to quit these degrading fallacies: let us break from our Monkish instructors; and, instead of viewing Jerusalem as pilgrims, examine it by the light of history, with the Bible in our hands. We shall thus find many interesting objects of contemplation. If Mount Calvary has sunk beneath the overwhelming influence of superstition, studiously endeavouring to modify and to disfigure it, through so many ages; if the situation of Mount Sion yet remains to be ascertained:‖ the Mount of Olives, undisguised by fanatical labours, exhibits the appearance it presented in all the periods of its history. From its elevated summit almost all the principal features of the city may be discerned, and the changes that eighteen centuries have wrought in its topography may perhaps be ascertained. The features of nature continue the same, though works of art have been done away: the beautiful gate of the temple is no more; but Siloa's fountain haply flows, and Kedron sometimes murmurs in the valley of Jehosaphat.**

It was this resolve, and the determination of using our own eyes, instead of peering through the spectacles of priests, that led to the discovery of antiquities undescribed by any author; and marvellous it is, considering their magnitude, and the scrutinizing inquiry which has been so often directed to every object of the place, that these antiquities have hitherto escaped

* These designs were first cut for Cotovicus, in brass; and re-engraved, on the same metal, for Sandys.

† "Another time he was telling of an old signpost that belonged to his father, with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men of war." Tale of a Tub. See Swift's Works, vol. I. p. 79. Edinb. 1761.

‡ The Jews, being tortured, by the doting old empress and her priests, to make known, three hundred years after the crucifixon, the situation of our Saviour's cross, contrived at last to produce three crosses. This caused a woful dilemma, as it was not easy to ascertain which of those three belonged to our Saviour. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, soon decided this point, by touching the body of a woman who had "an incurable disorder" with these crosses. Her miraculous cure made known "the true cross." See Sandys, p. 169. Lond. 1637.

§ Plutarch. in Thes.

‖ See Reland, Palæst. Illust. tom. II. pp. 845, 846, et seq. Traj. Bat. 1714.

** "Torrens hic est vero nomine, quam aestivo tempore flumen esse desinat, et nomen habeat, adeoque sicco pede transeatur." Relandi Pal. Illust. tom. I. p. 294. lib. i cap. 45.

notice.* It is possible that their position, and the tenor of their inscriptions, may serve to throw new light upon the situation of Sion, and the topography of the ancient city. This, however, will be a subject for the investigation of future travellers. We must content ourselves with barely mentioning their situation, and the circumstances of their discovery. We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of Sion: it is situated upon the south side of Jerusalem, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the mount. If this be indeed Mount Sion, the prophecy† concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the Turks have a mosque over what they call the tomb of David. No Christain can gain admittance; and we did not choose to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the mount‡ having quitted the city by what is called "Sion Gate," we descended into a dingle or trench, called Tophet, or Geniunon, by Sandys. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping toward the vally of Jehosaphat, we observed, upon the sides of the opposite mountain, which appears to be the same called by Sandys the "Hill of Offence," facing Mount Sion, a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those already described among the ruins of Telmessus, in the gulph of Glaucus; and answering to the account published by Shaw§ of the *Cryptæ* of Laodicea, Jebilee, and Tortosa. We rode toward them; their situation being very little elevated above the bottom of the dingle, upon its southern side. When we arrived, we instantly recognized the sort of sepulchres which had so much interested us in Asia Minor, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workmanship, exhibiting a series of subterranean chambers, hewn with marvellous art, each containing one, or many repositories for the dead, like cisterns, carved in the rock, upon the

* Perhaps Sandys alludes to them in his brief notice of "divers sepulchres," &c. following his description of Aceldama. See p. 187. Lond. 1637.

† Micah iii. 12.

‡ That is to say, "where Christ did eate his last supper; where also, after his resurrection, the doores being shut, he appeared to his apostles, when they received the Holy Ghost; where Peter converted three thousand; and where, as they say also, they held the first councell, in which the apostle's creed was decreed." See Sandys' travels, p. 185. Lond. 1637.

§ Shaw's travels, p. 263. Lond. 1757.

sides of those chambers.* The doors were so low, that, to look into any one of them, it was necessary *to stoop*, and in some instances, to creep upon our hands and knees: these doors were also grooved, for the reception of immense stones, once squared and fitted to the grooves, by way of closing the entrances. Of such a nature were, indisputably, the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ. This has also been proved by Shaw,† but the subject has been more satisfactorily elucidated by the learned Quaresmius, in his dissertation concerning ancient Sepulchres.‡ The cemeteries of the ancients were universally excluded from the precincts of their cities. In order, therefore, to account for the seeming contradiction implied by the situation of the place now shown as the tomb of the Messiah, it is pretended that it was originally on the outside of the walls of Jerusalem; although a doubt must necessarily arise as to the want of sufficient space for the population of the city, between a boundary so situated, and the hill which is now called Mount Sion. The sepulchres we are describing carry, in their very nature, satisfactory evidence of their being situated out of the ancient city, as they are now out of the modern. They are not to be confounded with those tombs, commonly called "*the sepulchres of the kings*," to the north of Jerusalem, believed to be the burial place of Helena, queen of Adiebéné. What, therefore, are they? Some of them, from their magnificence, and the immense labor necessary to form the numerous repositories they contain, might lay claim to regal honours; and there is one which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of inhuming a single individual. The Karæan Jews, of all other the most tenacious in adhering to the customs of their ancestors, have, from time immemorial, been in the practice of bringing their dead to this place for interment; although this fact was not wanted to prove it an ancient Jewish cemetery, as will be seen in the sequel. The sepulchres themselves, according to the ancient practice, are stationed in the midst of gardens. From all these circumstances, are we not authorized to seek here for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, who, as a pious Jew, necessarily had his burying place in the cemetery of his countrymen, among the graves of his forefathers? The

* In the writings of the prophets, frequent allusion occur to similar places of sepulture; thus Isaiah xiv. 15 18. Ezekiel xxxii. 20, &c.

† Shaw's travels, p. 263. Lond. 1757

‡ Vide cap. vii. ("de forma et qualitate veterum sepulchrorum," Elucid. T. 3. Quaresmii, tom. II. p. 127. Antv. 1639.

Jews were remarkable for their rigid adherence to this custom: they adorned their burial places with trees and gardens: and the tomb of this Jew is accordingly described as being in a garden; and it was "*in the place* where our Saviour was crucified.*" Of what nature was that place of crucifixion? It very worthy of observation, that every one of the Evangelists, (and among these, "he that saw it, and bare record."†) affirm, that it was "*the place of a scull;*" that is to say, a *public Cœmetery* ‡ "called in the Hebrew, GOLGOTHA;" without the city, and very near to one of its gates. St. Luke calls it CALVARY, which has the same signification. The church, supposed to mark the site of the Holy Sepulchre, exhibits no where the slightest evidence which might entitle it to either of these appellations. Can there be therefore aught of impiety or of temerity in venturing to surmise, that upon the opposite summit, now called Mount Sion, without the walls, the crucifixion of the Messiah was actually accomplished? Perhaps the evidence afforded by existing documents may further illustrate this most interesting subject.—These will now be enumerated.

Upon all the sepulchres at the base of this mount, which, "*as the place of a scull,*" we have the authority of the gospel for calling either *Calvary* or *Golgotha*, whether the place of crucifixion or not, there are inscriptions in Hebrew and in Greek. The Hebrew inscriptions are the most effaced: of these it is difficult to make any tolerable copy. Besides the injuries they have sustained by time, they have been covered by some carbonaceous substance, either bituminous or fumid, which rendered the task of transcribing them yet more arduous. The Greek inscriptions are brief and legible, consisting of immense letters deeply carved in the face of the rock, either

* John xix. 41.
† John xix. 35.
‡ Reland says, that the hill was called Golgotha, from its resemblance to the shape of a human scull. "Golgotham collem exignum à formâ cranii humani dictum, quam referebat, notum est." (Palæstina Illustrata, lib. iii. tom II. p. 960. Utrecht, 1714.) But the words of the gospel do not imply this. The hill is expressly denominated "the place of a scull" by all the evangelists. And, indeed, the circumstance of the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea being there situated, is complete proof that it was a place of burial.

over the door, or by the side, of the sepulchres. Upon the first we observed these characters:

+·THCAΓIAC
CIWN

OF · THE · HOLY
SION

Having entered by the door of this sepulchre, we found a spacious chamber cut in the rock, connected with a series of other subterranean apartments, one leading into another, and containing an extensive range of receptacles for the dead, as in those excavations before alluded to, (but which appear of more recent date,) lying into the north of Jerusalem, at a more considerable distance from the city; and also as in the *Cryptæ* of the Necropolis near Alexandria in Egypt. Opposite to the entrance, but lower down in the rock, a second, and a similar aperture, led to another chamber beyond the first. Over the entrance to this, also, we observed an inscription, nearly obliterated, but differing from the first, by the addition of two letters:

+ HN.....THC
AΓIACCIWN

Having reached the extremity of this second chamber, we could proceed no farther, owing to the rubbish which obstructed our passage. Perhaps the removal of this may, at some future period, lead to other discoveries. It was evident that we had not attained the remotest part of these caverns. There were others with similar Greek inscriptions, and one which particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. The large stone that once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed, within, a fair sepulchre, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to that which is now called Mount Sion. As we viewed this sepulchre, and read upon the spot the description given of Mary

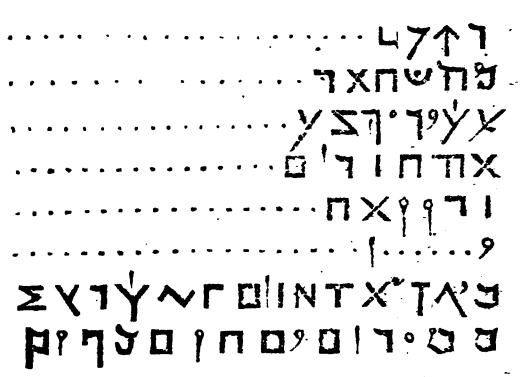
Magdalene and the Disciples coming in the morning,* it was impossible to devest our minds of the probability that here might have been the identical tomb of Jesus Christ; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the Disciples strove together,† when "John did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre." They are individually described as *stooping* down to look into it;‡ they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing so huge a stone,§ that when once fixed and sealed, it might have baffled every human effort. But upon this, as upon the others already mentioned, instead of a Hebrew or a Phœnician inscription, there were the same Greek characters, destitute only of the Greek cross prefixed in the former instances. The inscription stood thus,

ΘΗCΑΓΙΑC
CIWN

the letters being very large, and deeply carved in the rugged surface of the rock.

The Hebrew inscriptions, instead of being over the entrances, were by the side of the doors. Having but little knowledge of the characters with which they were written, all that could be attempted was, to make as faithful a representation as possible of every incision upon the stone, without attempting to supply any thing by conjecture; and even admitting, in certain instances, doubtful traces, which were perhaps casualties caused by injuries the stone had sustained, having no reference to the legend.‖ The following characters appeared upon the side of the entrance to a sepulchre somewhat farther toward the west than the last described.

* John xx. † Ibid. v. 4.
‡ Ibid. vv. 5, 11.
§ "And they said among themselves, 'Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?'—(And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away:) for it was very great." Mark xvi. 3, 4.
‖ A copy of one of these inscriptions was since shown to some learned Jews. These men recognized the Hebrew character, and would have made such alteration in the transcript as might serve to develop more fully the imperfect parts of it, and lead to an explanation of some of the words. This was not permitted; because, conjecture, by introducing more than is warranted by the original, would rather bewilder than illustrate. In doubtful inscriptions, the pencil of an artist will frequently effect a more genuine copy than the pen of the profoundest scholar, who ventures to supply the vacant spaces, and even to alter the letters according to his manner of reading those inscriptions.



From the imperfect state of this inscription, and the decomposition of the rock itself whereon it is placed, the copy may be liable to error. It was made, however, with great care, and due attention was paid to the position of the lines. The words of the inscription are supposed to be Arabic, expressed in Hebrew and Phœnician characters.* The arrow-headed character occurs here, as in the inscriptions at Telmessus.

All the face of this mountain, along the dingle supposed to be the vale of Gehinnon by Sandys, is marked by similar excavations. Some of these, as may be seen by reference to a former note, did not escape his searching eye; although he neglected to observe their inscriptions, probably from keeping the beaten track of pilgrims going from Mount Sion to the Mount of Olives, and neglecting to cross the valley in order to examine them more nearly. The top of the mountain is covered by ruined walls and the remains of sumptuous edifices: these he also noticed; but he does not even hint at their origin. Here again we are at a loss for intelligence; and future travellers will be aware of the immense field of inquiry which so many undescribed remains belonging to Jerusalem offer to their observation. If the foundations and ruins as of a citadel may be traced all over this eminence, the probability is, that this was the real Mount Sion; that the *Gehinnon* of San-

* This method of writing is said, by that learned oriental scholar, Mr. Hammer, now secretary to the German minister at Constantinople, to have been adopted by Arabian Jews, in their inscriptions upon the hills near Jerusalem.

dys, and of many other writers, was in fact the valley of *Millo*, called *Tyropœon* by Josephus,* which separated Sion from Mount Moriah, and extended as far as the Fountain Siloa, where it joined the valley of Jehosaphat. The sepulchres will then appear to have been situated beneath the walls of the citadel, as was the case in many ancient cities. Such was the situation of the Grecian sepulchres in the Crimea, belonging to the ancient city of Chersonesus, in the Minor Peninsula of the Heracleotæ.† The inscriptions already noticed seem to favour this position; and if hereafter it should ever be confirmed, "the remarkable things belonging to Mount Sion," of which Pococke says‡ there are no remains in the hill now bearing that appellation, will in fact be found here. "The garden of the Kings, near the Pool of Siloam, where Manasseh and Amon, kings of Judah, were buried;" the cemetery of the kings of Judah; the traces and remains of Herod's palaces, called after the names of Cæsar and Agrippa; "together with the other places mentioned by Nehemiah."§ All along the side of this mountain, and in the rocks above the valley of Jehosaphat, upon the eastern side of Jerusalem, as far as the sepulchres of Zechariah and Absalom,‖ and above these, almost to the top of the Mount of Olives, the Jews resident in the city bury their dead, adhering still to the cemetery of their ancestors: but having long lost the art of constructing the immense sepulchres now described, they content themselves in placing Hebrew inscriptions upon small upright slabs of marble, or of common limestone, raised after the manner at present generally in use throughout the east.

* De Bell. Jud. lib. vi. c. 6.
† See the first part of these Travels, vol. I.
‡ Description of the East, vol. II. part I. p. 9. *Lond.* 1745.
§ Ibid.
‖ See the plans of Jerusalem, in the volumes of Sandys, Doubdan, Quaresmius, Shaw, and Pococke. Those in Quaresmius (Elucid. T. S. p. 38. tom. II. Antv. 1639.) are taken from Brocardus and Villalpandus, and adapted to their descriptions. That of Sandys is the best.

CHAP. XVII.

THE HOLY LAND—JERUSALEM.

The subject continued—Identity of the Holy Sepulchre again contested—Origin of its supposed Locality—Improbability of the Tale—Further View of the Jewish Cemeteries—Aceldama—Inscriptions—Ancient Paintings—Age of the CRYPTAE—*Fountain Siloa, and Oak Rogel—Mount of Olives—View from the Summit—Difference between the Modern and Ancient City—Situation of Mount Sion—Pagan remains of Mount Olivet—Their possible Origin—Ascent of David—* LAKE ASPHALTITES—*General Appearance of Judea—Miraculous Impression of our Saviour's Foot—*GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE—*Olives of the Mount—Tomb of the Virgin Mary—Sepulchres of the Patriarchs—Bazars—Sepulchres of the Kings—History of that Cemetery—Mosque of Omar—Greek and Armenian Convents—State of Politics in Jerusalem.*

PERHAPS it may now be manifest, that so far from deriving accurate notions of the topography and antiquities of Jerusalem in the descriptions of former writers, these objects really remain for future investigation. If, during an endeavour to remove existing prejudices, and to excite a due contempt for Monkish errors, the subject seem rather perplexed than elucidated, it is because, in the subversion of a fabric raised by ignorance and superstition, its parts must necessarily lie scattered and confused. The materials have been falsely put together, but they are genuine; and others, coming after, will arrange and connect them in a more reasonable manner. Since the period of the author's visit to Jerusalem, the building, which had received the appellation of the church of Mount Calvary, has been destroyed by fire. In all probability it will now be seen, that what was called *the Holy Sepulchre* was a mere delusion—a Monkish juggle; that there was, in fact, no *crypt* nor monument, resembling a Jewish place of burial, beneath the dome of that building; that we must seek elsewhere for the place of our Saviour's Tomb; and that the city never was so limited in its extent, toward the northwest, as to admit a wall in that situation. A sepulchre, such as was that of the

Messiah, being, of all others, the least liable to injury, would remain in spite of the devouring element. It is, perhaps, not impossible to develop the true cause of the selection made by Helena, in fixing upon that spot as the place of crucifixion. Persons who have been accustomed to compare the manners of different countries, must be well aware how general the practice is, among all nations, of connecting with a *Lusus Naturæ*, or any extraordinary physical appearance, some wild and superstitious fantasy. Thus the similitude of a *hand* in the surface of a rock, as at Nazareth;* of a *foot*, as, at the Mount of Olives;† any remarkable shape in a log of wood, as in the Palladium of ancient Illium;‡ the places venerated by Laplanders;§ and the idols worshipped by the Chinese;‖ in short, in every country of the earth where uncultivated man is found, fear, the parent of superstition, has pointed out objects of adoration, or multiplied articles of faith. The state of human intellect is not less degraded among Christians of the Holy Land, making prostrations and processions before stocks and roots,** than among the forlorn worshippers of *Thor*, the *loggerheaded idol* of northern nations.†† Such superstitions disgraced both the Greek and the Catholic churches long posterior to the time of Constantine: and Helena, whether the daughter of a Bri-

* See chap. XIII. p. 266

† "There standeth a little Chappel..... paved with the naturall rocke, which beareth *the impression of a foot step*: they say, of our Saviours." *Sandys' Travels*, p. 166. *Lond.* 1637.

‡ The Palladium, like many other of the ancient idols of Greece, was, according to some authors, nothing more than a piece of wood, of an extraordinary form. Heyné, in his Excursus, says, that the Palladium and the Penates were *lignea*. See also Ovid's account of the preservation of the Palladium by Metellus, when the Capitol was *on fire*.

§ "Loca, quæ Lapponibus sancta erant et religiosa, *singulari quadam et inusitatâ formâ et figurâ* a reliquis distinguebantur." *Leemii Comment. de Lappon. &c. p.* 442. *Hafn* 1767.

‖ "In Cuchiang, near to Hangam, there is *a great stone*, &c. which they cover yearly quite over with gold, and then worship it." *Nieuhoff's Dutch Embassy to China, Englished by Ogilby, p.* 224. *Lond* 1669.

** See the account given by Quaresmius of a *Lusus Naturæ* found near Jerusalem, to which miraculous powers were ascribed in healing diseases. Also the engraving "CRUCIFIXI EX LILII RADICE. PRODIGIOSA ET NOVA IMAGO." The representation really excites horror. Speaking of it, he says, "Mirabilis est virtutis et efficaciæ: s illo et enim aqua benedicitur, quæ etiam posi annum, etis in parvo vase recondita, incorrupta ac velut recens è fonte haustâ invenitur; febricitantibus feliciter propinatur, qui et sanitatis inde beneficium consequuntur. Ad eum (*i. e.* possessorem) habenter stationes et processiones, et in quibusvis afflictionem et tribulationum necessitatibus, post Deum, ad illum confluunt fideles, ut ab animi et corporis adversitate liberari, et necessariis bonis ditari mereantur." *Elucidat. T. S. lib.* iv. *c.* 10. *tom.* II. *p.* 13 *Antv.* 1639.

†† Thor, or "the Thunderer," of Northern nations, (See Verstegan's "Restitution of Decayed Intelligence," p. 75. *Lond.* 1628.) from whom our *Thor's Day*, or *Thursday*, is derived, is always an image of *wood* among the Laplanders. The account given of it by Scheffer proves it to have been the trunk of a tree, having at one end an accidental similitude of the human head. *See Scheffer's Hist. of Lapl. p.* 103 *Lond.* 1704.

tish prince* or of an innkeeper at Drepanum,† cannot be supposed to have possessed attainments beyond the age in which she lived, or the circumstances of her origin. That she was amiable—that she merited, by her virtues, her exalted station, has not been disputed; but her transactions in Palæstine bear the stamp of dotage and infirmity. Few things, considering her sex and the burthen of her years, have occurred more extraordinary than was her journey to the Holy Land, and its consequences. Whatsoever might have been her mental endowments, her bodily energies, at a season of life‡ when human strength is said to be "but labour and sorrow," were superior to the weight of age, and to the fatigues of a pilgrimage sufficient to have exhausted the most vigorous youth.§ Nothing could surpass the zeal with which she visited every spot consecrated by the actions of Jesus Christ, and by his Apostles,‖ from the hills of Jerusalem to the shores of the sea of Galilee, and over all Samaria, nor the piety with which she endeavoured to perpetuate the remembrance of the holy places by the monuments she erected.** But, after all, the manner in which the identity of any of those places was ascertained seems not less an object of derision, than the gross superstition, founded upon their supposed discovery, has long been of contempt. From the time of Adrian, to that of Constantine, Jerusalem had been possessed by Pagans: Helena arrives, overturns their temples, and prepares to identify the situation of every place connected with our Saviour's history. The first thing to be ascertained is the site of Mount Calvary. An accidental fissure in one of the rocks of Jerusalem suggests the idea of a possible consequence resulting from the præternatural convulsion of nature at the crucifixion, and is immediately adopted as an indication of the spot. This fissure had been already an object of traditionary superstition, as the repository of the body or head of Adam.†† It served to identify the

* "Filia fuit unius Britanniæ Reguli, Coel nomine." Quaresmii Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 424.

† Τὴν πόλιν Δρέπανον, Ἑλενόπολιν τὴν μητέρα τιμῶν, προσηγόρευε. Oppidum Drepanum, matrem honorens, Helenopolin adpellavit." Nicephorus Callistus, lib. vii. c. 49. Paris, 1630.

‡ "Pulo ante mortem, quam octogesimum ætatis agens oppetebat, istud itor fecit." Theodoret, lib. i. cap. 18. Paris, 1642.

§ "Cum ætate recipiens incrementa virtutum, sexu et ætate quidem infirma, sed divina virtute promptior et fortior reddita," &c. Quaresm. Elucid, T. S. lib. v. cap, 28. Antv. 1639.

‖ Vid. Nicephor. lib. viii c. 30.

** Nicephorus, (Ibid. Paris, 1630.) after enumerating twenty-six churches and chapels built by Helena in the Holy Land, adds, "Quin et plures ecclesias alias in sanctis illis locis, supra triginta, amantissima Dei fæmina Imperatoris mater condidit."

†† "Venit enim ad me traditio quædam talis, quod corpus Adæ primi hominis ibi sepultum est, ubi crucifixus est Christus; ut sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, sic in

place.* The ground is ordered to be cleared for the foundations of a church. That which never indicated even an ascent, by means of a raised altar and *a flight of steps*, becomes a mount, and is called *Calvary*.† The Pagan idols in its neighbourhood are thrown down and removed;‡ the Holy Sepulchre itself, a few yards from this fissure, and upon the same level with it, is afterward said to be discovered beneath a heap of earth and stones;§ although, as a Jewish *crypt*, its being described as thus buried seems to imply an impossibility. Nothing remains to complete the furniture of the sanctuary but the discovery of the Cross: this an old Jew, menaced and tormented, speedily brings to light, with two others that were not required.‖ Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, receives orders to superintend and complete the execution of a most magnificent sanctuary;** and Helena, triumphant in the success of her journey, returns from the Holy Land richer than Jerusalem itself in the number and the importance of the reliques she conveyed.†† If there had been originally any hill or rock wherein the real sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was hewn‡‡ for its Jewish possessor, is it

Cristo omnes vivificentur; ut in loco illo, qui dicitur Calvariæ locus, id est locus capitis, caput humani generis Adam resurrectionem inveniat cum populo universo per resurrectionem Salvatoris, qui ibi passus est, et resurrexit." Origen. Tract. 35. in Matth. See also Hieronym. in cap. 27 Matth. Cyrill. et Basil in cap. 5 Isaiæ. Athanasius in lib. de Passione Domin. &c. &c.

* "Sicut Apostolus dicit (2 Cor. xi. 3.) "Omnis viri caput est Christus." O magnam prophetica n appellationem! Cyrill. Catech. 13. Vid. Quaresm. lib. v. c. 4. tom. II. p. 489. Antv. 1679. Hear also Jerom: "Andivi quemdam exposuisse Calvariæ locum in quo sepultus est Adam; et ideo sic appellatum esse, quia ibi antiqui hominis sit conditum caput." Hieronym. in cap. 27 Matth. Quaresmius, lib. v. c. 14 tom. II. p. 468.

† "E sacratissimo Calvariæ monte per salam, quam antea ascendimus, descendimus." Quaresm. lib. v. tom. II. p. 481

‡ Theodoret. Hist. lib. I. cap. 18. Paris, 1642.

§ Euseb. in Vit. Constantini, lib. iii. c. 24, &c. Paris, 1659.

‖ The account of the supposed discovery of the "three crosses," as related by Adrichomius, is too long for insertion here; but it offers a curious picture of deplorable superstition, long prevalent on this subject; and renders it doubtful whether Helena, with all her character of humanity, were not as cruel as our English Mary, when instigated by a bigoted priest. Macarius, who is styled "sapientissimus ille Hierosolymorum episcopus," seems to have been a principal agent in the torments inflicted upon the Jews, as well as in the juggling miracles which preceded and followed the discovery. Vide Adrichomii Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 176. Colon. 1628.

** Vid. Epist. Constantini ad Macarium Episc. Ierosolym. apud Euseb. De Vitâ Constantin. lib. iii. cap. 31. Paris. 1659. The original building, erected by Constantine's order, A. D. 326, was destroyed at the beginning of the eleventh century, by Almansor Hakim Billa, a caliph of the race of the Fatimites in Egypt, and rebuilt by a Greek emperor in 1048. Yet, says Mons. De Châteaubriand, (vol. II. p. 17. Lond. 1811.) "the architecture of the church is evidently of the age of Constantine." The small fabric, over what is now called the sepulchre, was again rebuilt in 1555. Vid. Lit. Bonifacii apud Quaresm. t. II. p. 512.

†† "His et aliis pietatis operibus egregiè peractis, revertitur Romam ad filium suum dilectissimum Imperatorem Constantinum, deferens immensum thesaurum, pretiosissimas reliquias, crucem, clavos, quibus salvator noster homines et angelos cœlestibus bonis ditavit." Quaresmius, Elur. T. S. lib. v. c. 28. Antv. 1639.

‡‡ "Le petit temple, qui est proprement le lieu du S. sepulchre, est aussi toute de marbre, et il a de chaque côté trois colomnes, et par derrière, quatre." Voy. ou Levant, par Corneille Le Bruyn. tom II. p 245. Paris, 172[illegible]

likely, or was it possible, that every trace of it should have been swept away? Can there be any reason assigned for supposing that Helena would have destroyed what every Christian must have been so anxious to preserve? that, in the construction of a church, to commemorate the existence of the tomb, she would have levelled and cut away not only the sepulchre itself, but also the whole of Mount Calvary? This is so little in consonance with common reason, that it is impossible to allow the old tale its ordinary credit. It is true, that, in order to discuss this topic with any attention to accuracy, we shall find there is much to unlearn; we must tread back the path of history to the time in which all the incongruities of the age of Constantine were fabricated and put together; and having done this, and cast a view over the state of Christianity since that period—the absurdities believed and propagated—the gross interpolations of scripture record admitted and revered—we shall perhaps no longer wonder at any difficulty of reconciling Helena's illustrations with gospel history, but admire the moderation which contents itself with showing the place "*where Adam's head was discovered*," instead of *the head itself*.

Continuing our researches along this dingle, as it inclines toward the east, before its junction with the larger valley of Jehosaphat, we came to some sepulchres, which had not wholly escaped the notice of former travellers. We find them obscurely alluded to in the curious literary imposture of Monsieur de Thevenot,* although the author from whom he derived his account of them cannot now be ascertained. The sepulchres he mentions are evidently those we observed here, because he notices the existence of paintings in a crypt, called by him the cave of the Apostles, near *Aceldama*.† We found such remains upon the same side of the mountain we have been describing, and near the place commonly shown as *Aceldama*,‡

* As not only Mr. Gibbon, but also Monsieur De Châteaubriand, more recently, quotes the work of Thevenot. (See Trav. in Greece, Palæst. &c. vol. II. p. 135. Lond. 1811.) as the writings of a traveller who had actually seen the places he described, whereby others will perhaps be deceived, it may be proper here to insert the words of Morei concerning that publication. "Il ne vit pourtant qu'une partie de l'Europe. Mais, s'il mit des bornes si étroites à ses voyages, il n'en mit point au desir de profiter des voyages des autres &c. Ce fut des instructions qu'il recut de leur louche, et des mémoires qu'ils lui communiquerent, qu'il composa les voyages qu'il donna au public." Dictionnaire Historique par Louis Moreri, tom. X. p. 138. Paris, 1759.

† See Thevenot's work, entitled, "Travels into the Levant," chap. xlix, p. 204. Lond. 1687.

‡ This place, purchased by the chief priests to bury strangers in, now belongs to the Armenians. It is still, as it ever was, a place of burial; and its appearance maintains the truth of the tradition, which points it out as the Aceldama of Scrip-

or *the field of blood.* The sepulchres containing them are similar to those which were described at the end of the preceding chapter; and inscriptions appeared, as before, upon the outside. None of these inscriptions are now in a state to be interpreted; but we endeavoured to copy two of them, where the characters were sufficiently perfect to allow of our making a transcript.

In the first, perhaps the words ΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ might form the end of the first line, and the beginning of the second. The last line seems to terminate with the word CIWN.

+ WNHNΛΔIA . . . . .
PONΘEKANW . . .
ΛΦOYΓOPMAHIKI
. . . . . C . . N

In the second, the mixture of letters usually called Etruscan, and properly Phœnician, with the characters of the Greek alphabet, added to the imperfect state of the inscription, seem to render illustration hopeless:

ΘΗΚΗΔΙ . . . . . ΗΓΟΝ . . . . .
Ο ΦΕS . . . . ΙΙΟΝΟΘΤΗL
. . . . . ΙΥΒΕΝΑS
ΘΟΛΛ . . . ΙΥΓ
CO . . . . . ΓΙΥΗ . . . . .

In some of these sepulchres were ancient paintings, executed after the manner of those found upon the walls of Herculaneum and Pompeii; except that the figures represented were those of the Apostles, the Virgin, &c. with circular lines, as symbols of glory, around their heads. These paintings ap-

ture. It has ever been famous on account of the sarcophagous virtue possessed by the earth about it, hastening the decay of dead bodies. Ship loads of it were carried to the Campo Santo in Pisa. See Pococke's Obs. on the East, vol. II. p. 25. Lond. 1745.

peared upon the sides and upon the roof of each sepulchral chamber, preserving a wonderful freshness of colour, although much injured by Arabs or Turks, whose endeavours to efface them were visibly displayed in many instances. The sepulchres themselves are, from these documents, evidently of Christian origin, and of more recent construction than the tombs we first noticed in our descent from the southern gate of the city, where there exists no such internal ornament, and where the inscriptions, from their brevity, and the immense size of the letters, seem to denote higher antiquity. Yet, to what period can we ascribe them? During all the time that Jerusalem has remained in subjection to the Moslems, the labour requisite in their formation could not have been carried on; since nothing excites the jealousy and opposition of Mahometans more, than seeing a Christian dig, or make excavation of any kind. They believe such works always originate in some knowledge of hidden treasure. From the great expense required in hewing and completing them, it cannot be supposed that these were the tombs of vulgar persons; but after Jerusalem was rescued from the hands of the Saracens, individuals of rank were interred beneath monuments of a very different description, and in quite another situation, as may be proved by reference to the tombs of Godfrey de Bouillon, his brother Baldwin, and four others, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.* The only age to which, with any probability, they may be referred, is that long interval of prosperity and peace enjoyed by the Christians of Jerusalem after the dispersion of the Jews by Adrian; that is to say, from the establishment of the Gentile church, and the ordination of Mark,† until the reign of Dioclesian. If this be true, the paintings may be considered as exhibiting specimens of the art belonging to the second century; and thereby illustrating, by very ancient examples, the remarks made, in the Author's travels in Russia.‡

* See De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 15. Lond. 1811.

† He is called Saint Mark by Tillemont, which, unless attention be paid to the date of his ordination, may cause him to be confounded with Mark the evangelist. Mark was made bishop before the death of Adrian, which happened in the middle of the year 138. (See Tillemont, Hist des Emp. tom. II. p. 294. Paris. 1702. and the authorities by him cited.) The establishment of the Gentile church bears date from that period. See the list of Mark's successors, as given by Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 12. Paris, 1659.

‡ The fact, however, if established, will prove the existence of such paintings long before the council of Illiberis. Portraits were in use from the earliest ages. Josephus relates, that it was a common practice with the Greeks, and other nations, to set a high esteem upon the portraits of friends, relations, and even of servants. This passage of Josephus is only preserved, however, in the Latin version. "Græcis itaque, et aliis quibusdam, bonum esse creditur imagines insituere. Denique et patrum

concerning the idol pictures of the Greek church in Russia, which they resemble, in all circumstances of style and execution. Similar paintings have been noticed in the description given of our journey to the summit of Gargarus and source of the Scamander, as found in the ruins of Oratories among the recesses of Mount Ida.* Shaw mentions very ancient paintings, as found in the *cryptae* of Egypt.† We also observed similar works in caves near the pyramids. Winkelmann's account of the art of painting among the ancient Egyptians may therefore possibly serve to illustrate the method used by Syrian or Greek artists in preparing and laying on the colours for these paintings, which preserve their original freshness in a very remarkable manner.‡

Leaving the mountain where all these sepulchres are hewn, and regaining the road which conducts toward the east, into the valley of Jehosaphat, we passed the *Fountain Siloa*, and a white mulberry tree which is supposed to mark the spot where the *Oak Rogel* stood.§ Hence we ascended to the summit of the MOUNT OF OLIVES; passing, on our way, a number of

et uxorum filiorumque figuras depingentes exsultant, quidam vero etiam nihil sibi competentium sumunt imagines, alii vero et servos diligentes, hoc faciunt." Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. ii. p. 474. tom. II. Edit. Havercampi, Amst. etc. 1726.

* See chap. v. p. 81. and chap. vi. p. 86. of this volume.

† See Shaw's Travels, p. 350. Lond. 1757. "Several of these cryptæ (Note 5. Ibid.) painted with symbolical figures, are seen near the pyramids. Chrysippus' Antrum Mithræ seems to have been of the same kind. Τὰ τείχεα τῶν σπηλαίων πάντα ποικίλοις εἴκοσι κοσμούμενα, καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὃς μεσίτας καλοῦσι, ἀγάλματα περιστάμενα."

‡ "Couleurs sont en détrempe, et plus ou moins délayées avec de l'eau de colle, ou chargée de gomme: elles sont toutes employées pures et sans mêlange. On en compte six: le blanc, le noir, le bleu, le rouge, le jaune, et le vert. Le rouge et le bleu, qui dominent le plus, paroissent broyes, assez grossièrement. Le blanc, composé de céruse ordinaire, fait l'enduit de la toile des momies, et forme ce que nos peintres appellant l'impression, sur laquelle ils appliquent les couleurs. . . . . Les couleurs, ainsi que la dorure, ont conservé leur fraîcheur pendant quelques milliers d'années." Histoire de l'Art, par Winkelmann, tom. I. pp. 191, 192. Paris, An 2-de la République.

§ The author mentions this tree merely from its importance as a landmark. Pococke seemed aware that "the sepulchres of the kings" (mentioned 2 Chron. xxi. 20.) might be situated somewhere near this spot; for he says, "Near this pool (Siloa,) at a white mulberry tree, they say Isaiah was sawn asunder, by the order of Manasseh; and here it is to be supposed he was buried, under the oak Rogel. It is probable the king's gardens were over this vale, in which the tree of Rogel is mentioned." See Pococke, vol. II. part I. p. 24. Lond. 1745. If we can once ascertain the situation of the gardens, that of the sepulchres will be thereby determined. He notices the "great number of grottos cut out of the rock, some of which have porticos, and are adorned with the plain Egyptian cornish;" and adds, "they seem to be ancient sepulchres." Seem to be! Is it possible to entertain a doubt of the fact? The truth is, that the real nature of ancient sepulchres has been too little attended to, even where inscriptions upon them clearly explain their history. Benjamin of Tudela, who is at best but doubtful authority, might have satisfied Pococke on this head: he expressly mentions these sepulchres. He is proceeding by the same road to the Mount of Olives, when he says, "Mount Sion is without Jerusalem: fronting the city are three Jewish burying places, where they buried their dead in ancient times; in one of them there is a sepulchre with the date remaining." Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, p. 74. ed. by Gerrans. Lond. 1784.

Hebrew tombs.* The Arabs upon the top of this mountain are to be approached with caution, and with a strong guard. Here indeed we stood upon holy ground; and it is a question, which might reasonably be proposed to Jew, Christian, or Mahometan, whether, in reference to the history of their respective nations, it be possible to attain a more interesting place of observation. So commanding is the view of Jerusalem afforded in this situation, that the eye roams over all the streets, and around the walls, as if in the survey of a plan or model of the city. The most conspicuous object is the mosque erected upon the site and foundations of the temple of Solomon: this edifice may perhaps be considered as the finest specimen of Saracenic architecture which exists in the world. But this view of Jerusalem serves to strengthen the objections urged against the prevailing opinion concerning the topography of the ancient city. D'Anville believed that ancient and modern Jerusalem were very similarly situated; that by excluding what is now called Calvary, and embracing the whole of what is now called Mount Sion, we should have an area equal in extent to the space which was occupied by the walls and buildings before the destruction of the holy city by Vespasian and Titus.† But this is by no means true:‡ a spectator upon the Mount of Olives, who looks down upon the space enclosed by the walls of Jerusalem in their present state, as they have remained since they were restored in the sixteenth century by Solyman the son of Selim, and perhaps have existed from the time of Adrian, must be convinced, that instead of covering two conspicuous hills, Jerusalem now occupies one eminence alone;§ namely, that of

* "Toute la coste de la montagne est creusée d'une infinité de sepulchres des anciens Juifs, qui sont taillés comme des fours dans la roche; et plus bas, dans le fonds de la vallée, sont les sépultures de ceux, de cette nation, qui vivent à present en Jerusalem; qui ne sont autre chose que des fosses, comme les nostres, couvertes d'une, deux, ou trois, pierres, mal polies et sans ornement." Doubdan, Voyage de la T. S. p. 130. Paris, 1657.

† See the treatise of Mons. D'Anville (sur l'Ancienne Jerusalem, Paris, 1747.) as cited by Gibbon, vol. IV. p. 82. Lond. 1807.

‡ See the observations in note (59) chap. xxliii of Gibbon's Hist. Ibid.

§ After the city was rebuilt by Adrian, A. D. 137, or 138. (See Tillemont, note 9. sur l'empereur Adrian,) and called Ælia Capitolina, (which name subsisted in the age of Chrysostom, and is still retained in the country,) the whole of Mount Sion, and not part only, was excluded. See the numerous evidences adduced by Tillemont (Histoire des Empereurs, tom IV. p. 294. Paris. 1702.) who, speaking of Mount Sion, says, "Au milieu du iv. siécle la montagne de Sion estoit entierment inhabitée, se labouroit comme une plaine campagne;" thereby fulfilling the prophecy which declared (Micah iii. 12.) that Zion should be "ploughed as a field." The authorities referred to by Tillemont are derived from Eusebius, Cyril, and the Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, written A. D. 333. His note is founded principally upon evidences from Vopiscus, Dio Cassius, Jerom, and Eusebius.

Moriah, where the temple stood of old, and where, like a phenix that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent, the famous mosque of Omar is now situated. It is probable that the whole of Mount Sion has been excluded; and that the mountain covered by ruined edifices, whose base is perforated by ancient sepulchres, and separated from Mount Moriah by the deep trench, or tyropœon, extending as far as the Fountain Siloa, toward the eastern valley, is, in fact, that eminence which was once surmounted by the "bulwarks, towers, and regal buildings" of the house of David. There seems to be no other method of reconciling the accounts which ancient authors give of the space occupied by the former city; these in no wise correspond with its present appearance: and the strange temerity which endeavours to warp the text of an historian,* so as to suit existing prejudices, and the interests of a degrading superstition, cannot surely be too eagerly scouted by every friend of truth and science. Eusebius allows a distance of twenty-seven stadia, or three miles and three furlongs, for the circumference of the ancient city.† The circuit of the modern town does not exceed two miles and a half,‡ or twenty stadia, according to the measure of Eusebius. We cannot, therefore, without including this mountain, embrace an area sufficiently extensive even for the dimensions afforded by Eusebius. But supposing that the ancient *cryptae*, described at the conclusion of the preceding chapter, do mark the position of the regal sepulchres, in the midst of the vast cemetery of the ancient Jews, where the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea was also possibly situated, then it will appear evident that the mountain standing to the south of that deep trench or valley, which Sandys has described as the valley of Gehinnom, §

* "We must not take in a literal sense," (says Mons. De Châteaubriand. Trav. vol. II. p. 85. Lond. 1811.) the text of Josephus, when the historian asserts, that 'he walls of the city advanced to the north, as far as the sepulchres of the kings." In what sense, then, are we to take the text of an historian? It however happens, that the text of Josephus (lib. vi. de Bell. c. 6.) contains no such assertion. The words σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν do not refer to the tombs of the kings of Judah, but to the royal caves of Helena's sepulchre, which were quite in a different situation: these lying to the north of Jerusalem; whereas the sepulchres of the kings were upon the south side of the city.

† Eusebii Præp. Evang. lib. ix. cap. 36. Paris, 1659.

‡ See Maundrell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 110. Oxf. 1721. De Châteaubriand and walked round it in about an hour. We were rather more than an hour employed in riding round, a foot's pace, but we kept at a short distance from the walls.

§ That the valley of Gehinnom, Γῆ Ἐννόμ, or Γῆ Βεννόμ, VALLIS FILII HINNOM, (Reland. Palæst. Illust. t. I. p. 353. Utr. 1714.) was a place of sepulture, may be proved by reference to various authorities, Heathen, Jewish, and Christian. In the Latin Iversion of the Hebrew Itinerary of Petachias (vid. Thesaur. Antiq. Sacrar. B. Ugolini, tom. VI. 1207, 1208. Venet. 1746.) the following passage occurs

where the sepulchres appear which now exhibit, in so many instances, the words of an inscription, THC AΓIAC CIWN,) was, in fact, Mount Sion; opposed, upon the south, to Moriah, and divided from it by this valley.* That the summit of this mountain was formerly included within the walls of the ancient city, the remains upon it, at this hour, not only of walls, but of sumptuous edifices,† seem forcibly to demonstrate. In this view of the subject, the topography of the city seems more reconcilable with ancient documents. The present church of the holy sepulchre, and all the trumpery attached to it, will, it is true, be thrown into the back ground; but the sepulchres of the kings of Judah, so long an object of research, do then become a prominent object in the plan: the possible site of our Saviour's tomb may be denoted; and

———Siloa's brook, that flow'd
Fast by the oracle of God,——

will continue in the situation assigned for it by christian writers of every sect and denomination,‡ since the age of the apostles and earliest fathers of the church.

It was upon the Mount of Olives that the Messiah delivered his prediction concerning the downfall of Jerusalem; and the army of Titus encamped upon the very spot§ where its destruction had been foretold. Not that, by the introduction of this fact, any allusion is here intended to the particular place shown as "the rock of the prediction." The text of the Evangelist‖ proves that our Saviour, when he delivered

"Est hic terra fissa, atque dicitur vallis filiorum hinom, ubi τῶν ἔξω cœmeterium." But Eusebius (ad vocem Γαιεννὲμ) places this valley upon the eastern side of the city. All the valleys around Jerusalem were places of sepulture; particularly that now called Jehosaphat, which is upon the eastern side. But whenever the observations of an early writer tend to interfere with the notions entertained by the Catholics of the topography of Jerusalem, they endeavour to accommodate the text to their notions, or else explain away its meaning.

* Rauwolff, speaking of the Tyropœon mentioned by Josephus, says, "This valley hath been, since the desolation, so filled up, that no depth at all appeareth in our days, but only without the fountain gate, by the Fountain Siloah." (See Travels into the Eastern Countries, Ray's edition, p. 289. Lond. 1693.) A deep valley filled up, so that even the marks of its existence have disappeared! Is it possible to credit this; especially when such a valley was of use in fortifying the city, by rendering the walls above less accessible? Josephus says (lib. vi. de Bell. c. 6. Colon. 1691.) that the oldest of these three walls was extremely strong, owing to the depth of the inferior valley.

† "Whose height yet shews the reliques of no meane buildings." Sandys' Travels, p. 186. Lond. 1637.

‡ Josephus (lib. vi. de Bell. Jud. c. 6.) describes the valley which separated the upper town from the lower, as terminating with the Fountain Siloa; and this is the case with Sandys' valley of Gehinnom.

§ Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 5. Colon. 1691.

‖ Luke, ch. xix. 37.

the prophecy, was "*at the descent of the Mount of Olives*," although in such a situation that "*he beheld the city, and wept over it.*" Whether the tenth legion of the Roman army was stationed upon the summit or side of the mountain, cannot now be ascertained; neither is the circumstance worth a moment's consideration. We found, upon the top, the remains of several works, whose history is lost. Among these, were certain subterraneous chambers, of a different nature from any of the *cryptae* we had before seen. One of them had the shape of a cone, of immense size; the vertex alone appearing level with the soil, and exhibiting, by its section at the top, a small circular aperture: the sides, extending below to a great depth, were lined with a hard red stucco, like the substance covering the walls of the subterraneous galleries which we found in the sandy isle of Aboukir, upon the coast of Egypt. This extraordinary piece of antiquity, which, from its conical form, may be called a subterraneous pyramid, is upon the very pinnacle of the mountain. It might easily escape observation, although it is of such considerable size; and perhaps this is the reason why it has not been noticed by preceding travellers.* We could not find any appearance of an entrance, except by the circular aperture, which is not unlike the mouth of a well, level with the surface of the mountain. This *crypt* has not the smallest resemblance to any place of Christian use or worship. Its situation upon the pinnacle of a mountain rather denotes the work of Pagans, whose sacrilegious rites upon "*the high places*" are so often alluded to in Jewish history. Perhaps some light may be thrown upon its history by the observations of Adrichomius,† who speaks of the fane constructed by Solomon, upon the top of the Mount of Olives, for the worship of Astaroth, the idol of the Sidonians.‡ The Venus of Paphos was represented by a symbol which had the peculiar form of this *crypt*; that is to say, a cone; but the Phœnician Astaroth, and the

* All hope of intelligence from the monks of Jerusalem concerning antiquities not included in their catalogue of "local sanctities," (or "stations," as they sometimes called them,) is quite forlorn. The very search after Heathen antiquities is by them deemed heretical and profane. Vid. Quaresmius "de externâ profonâ, sed detestabili ac vitiosâ peregrinatione," apud Eluc. T. S. lib. iii. c. 34. Antv. 1639.

† De Loc. extra Urb. 192. apud Theat. T. S. p. 170. Colon. 1628.

‡ The three points, or summits, of the Mount of Olives, whereof the centre, being the highest, was set apart for the worship of Astaroth, are thus described as having been polluted by Heathen abominations: "And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, (i. e. Mount of Olives) which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Sidonians; and for Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites; and for Milcom, the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile." 2 Kings, xxiii. 13.

Paphian goddess, were one and the same divinity. When *Josias* overthrew the heathen idols, and cut down the groves,* which happened rather more than six centuries† before the time of our Saviour, the *adytum*, or *crypt*, appropriated to the rites of Astaroth, remained; for it is plainly stated in scripture, that *the place* was not destroyed, but "*defiled*," and made a receptacle for "*the bones of men*;" the greatest of all pollutions, as may be seen by reference to the history of the building of Tiberias upon the lake Gennesareth; when, on account of sepulchres found there, it was necessary to grant extraordinary privileges to persons who would reside on the polluted spot.‡ To this species of pollution the *crypt* now described seems to have been condemned, from a very remote period; and it may be presumed, that a place which had once become an ossuary, or charnel house, among the Jews, would never be appropriated to any other use among the inhabitants of Judæa. If it be observed, that the painted stucco, with which the interior of this is coated, denotes a more recent epocha in the history of the arts; then the walls of the *cryptae* near the pyramids of Egypt, and in other parts of the east—nay, even the surface of the Memphian Sphinx,§ which has remained so many ages exposed to all attacks of the atmosphere—may be instanced, as still exhibiting the same sort of cement, similarly coloured, and equally unaltered.‖

About forty years before the idolatrous profanation of the Mount of Olives by Solomon, his afflicted parent, driven from Jerusalem by his son Absalom, came to this eminence to present a less offensive sacrifice; and, as it is beautifully express-

* "And he brake in pieces the images, and cut down the groves, and filled their places with the bones of men." Ibid. vol. 14.

† B. C. 624.

‡ See p. 266 of this Volume. Also Josephi Antiquit. lib. xviii. c. 3. Colon. 1691.

§ The Author will have occasion to refer to this fact again, in the sequel.

‖ At the same time, in determining the real origin of the subterraneous conical *crypt* upon the summit of the Mount of Olives, the learned reader must use his own judgment. For this purpose, it is necessary he should be informed, that it is not upon the spot which is shown to travellers as the place of our Saviour's ascension; this last being lower than the summit of the mountain. There are passages in the writings both of Eusebius and of St. Willibald's biographer which seem to point at this place; the first, referring to *a Cave* (τῷ ἄντρῳ) honoured by Constantine as that of the ascension, situated ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρώρειας (Vid. cap. xli. lib. iii. de Vit. Constant. Paris, 1659.) and the last, describing this sanctuary as "Ecclesia desuper patula et sine tecto." (Vid. Vit. S. Willibald. apud Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæcul. 3. Pars 2. p. 376. L. Paris 1672.) But another of St. Willibald's biographers (Auct. Anonym.) alluding to the same sanctuary, says, "HODIE ETIAM DOMINICORUM VESTIGIA PEDUM." Vid. Mabillon. &c. ubi supra, p. 387.) and this remark does not apply to the *crypt*.

ed by Adrichomius,* "PLENS, ET NUDIS PEDIBUS, DEUM ADORAVIT." What a scene does the sublime, though simple, description given by the Prophet,† picture to the imagination of every one who has felt the influence of filial piety, but especially of the traveller standing upon the very spot‡ where the aged monarch gave to Heaven the offering of his wounded spirit. "And David went up by the ascent of Mount Olivet;§ and wept as he went up, and had his head covered; and he went bare foot; and all the people that *was* with him covered every man his head; and they went up weeping." Abstracted from every religious view, and considered solely as a subject for the most gifted genius in poetry or in painting, it is perhaps impossible to select a theme more worthy the exercise of exalted talents. Every thing that is sublime and affecting seems to be presented in the description‖ of the procession or march of David, in his passage across the Kedren; and particularly in the moment when the Ark of the Covenant is sent back, and the aged monarch, having in vain entreated Ittai** to leave him, begins to ascend the mountain, preceded by the various people said to form the van of the procession. Every wonderful association of natural and of artificial features, of landscape and of architecture, of splendid and diversified costume, of sacred pomp, and of unequalled pathos, dignify the affecting scene; here a solemn train of mourners; there the seers,†† the guardians and companions of the ark; men, women, children,‡‡ warriors, statesmen, citizens, priests, Levites, counsellors;—with all the circumstances of grandeur displayed by surrounding objects; by the waters of the torrent; by the sepulchres of the valley; by the lofty rocks, the towers, bulwarks, and palaces of Sion; by the magnificent perspective on every side; by the bold declivities and lofty summits of Mount Olivet: and, finally, by the concentration of all that is great and striking in the central group,

* Theatrum Terr. Sanct. p 170. *Colon.* 1628.

† 2 Sam. xv. 30.

‡ "And it came to pass, that when David was come to the top of the Mount, where he worshipped God," &c. 2 Samuel, xv. 32.

§ Ibid. v. 30.

‖ See the whole of the fifteenth chapter of the second book of Samuel.

** "Then said the king to Ittai the Gittite, Wherefore goest thou also with us Return to thy place, and abide with the king; for thou art a stranger, and also an exile. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee wander in going up and down with us? Seeing I go whither I may, return thou, and take back thy brethren: mercy and truth be with thee!" Ibid. v. 19, 20.

†† "The king said also unto Zadok the priest, *Art not thou a seer?* Return into the city in peace." Ibid. v. 27.

‡‡ "And Ittai the Gittite passed over, and all his men, and all the little ones that were with him." Ibid. v. 22.

distinguished by the presence of the afflicted monarch. If it should be urged, that this subject is too crowded, it is only so in description; a painter, by the advantages of perspective, easily obviates every objection of this nature. Haste and tumult are, in a certain degree, the requisite characteristics of such a representation; and these a judicious artist would know how to introduce. Milton, as a poet, and Le Bruyn, as a painter, might have done justice to this most stupendous theme; nor would any one despair of success, who should be told that the genius of our northern minstrel, or the pencil of a West, was exercised in the undertaking.

The view of Jerusalem from this eminence is from east to west. Toward the south appears the Lake Asphaltites, a noble expanse of water, seeming to be within a short ride from the city; but the real distance is much greater; and the journey thither was at this time attended with such imminent danger from the Arabs, that it was no longer attempted.* Lofty mountains inclose it with prodigious grandeur, and resemble, by their position, the shores of the Lake of Geneva, opposite to Vevay and Lausanne. To the north of the lake are seen the verdant and fertile pastures of the Plain of Jericho, watered by the Jordan, whose course may be distinctly discerned. For the rest, nothing appears in the surrounding country but hills, whose undulating surfaces resemble the waves of a perturbed sea. These were bleak and destitute of wood, and seemed to be without cultivation. However, this cannot be ascertained by a distant view: we often found that mountains, which, when remote, appeared like naked rocks, were, when we drew near to them, covered with little terraces, like a series of steps, and abundantly productive. At a short distance from the summit, we were desired to notice the famous impression of a man's left foot† in the rock, which has so lo

* Mr. Seetzen, a most enterprizing German traveller, who is now exploring the interior of Africa to the south of Abyssinia, has since succeeded in traversing the eastern borders of the Dead Sea. The intrepid Burckhardt, communicating this intelligence to his friend the author, in a letter from Syria, adds the following judicious remarks: "It has become a conviction with me, that travels in these countries, if extended beyond the great caravan roads, admit only two modes to ensure the traveller's safety. He must either travel with a Pacha's retinue, to ensure his safety by an imposing appearance, and by never ceasing presents: or else he must throw himself, as an object of compassion, upon the mercy and good natured disposition of the natives. Any half measures cannot fail to expose him to embarrassment and danger."

† Mons. De Châteaubriand (Trav. vol. II. p. 49. Lond. 1811.) says, it is an impression of our Saviour's left foot, but that the mark of the right was once visible. Bernard de Breidenbach saw the impression of the right foot in 1483.—"ET PRAESERTIM PEDIS DEXTRI." Vid. Peregrinatio Sacra, Spir. 1490.

been shown as that made by our Saviour at his ascension.* Over this, Helena constructed one of her churches.† It is not our intention to add a single syllable to all that has been already written upon this subject;‡ those who can receive amusement or edification from the legend, in its most interesting form, may be referred to the entertaining work of Mons. de Châteaubriand, from the perusal of which the reader rises as from a pleasing romance.§ So fully is this miracle believed, even at this hour, that it is mentioned in the certificate given to pilgrims at the Franciscan convent, as one of the proofs of the sanctity of the place.‖

As we descended from the mountain, we visited an Olive-ground, always mentioned as the *Hortus Oliveti*,** or GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE. This place is, not without reason, shown as the scene of our Saviour's agony the night before his crucifixion, both from the circumstance of the name it still retains, and its situation with regard to the city.†† Titus, it is true, cut down all the wood in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem;‡‡ and were this not the case, no reasonable person would regard the trees of the place as a remnant of so remote an age; notwithstanding the story of the olive formerly shown

* The account of which is thus given by Adrichomius—CREDAT JUDAEUS APELLA NON EGO! "Atque ex hujus summitate coram astantibus et intuentibus discipulis, data eis benedictione, in cœlum ascendit, facie (ut etiam ex ultimis pedum ejus vestigiis ad tantæ rei memoriam petroso monti, instar ceræ, impressis, etiamnum evidenter colligitur) ad occidentem versus Catholicam ex gentibus Romanam spectans Ecclesiam, ad quam ipse ejus caput, tanquam geminos et illustres oculos D. Petrum suum in terris vicarium Pastorem ac apostolorum coriphæum, et D. Paulum gentium doctorem, missurus erat." Adrichomii Theatrum Terr. Sanct. p. 170. Colon. 1628.

† Ibid.

‡ The reader wishing to examine the history of this marvellous impression, in its utmost detail, may consult Doubdan, and the authors by him cited. (See Voyage de la Terre Saincte, ch. xxvii. p. 277. Paris, 1657.) Doubdan's account is full of the miracles that have taken place upon the spot—"Miracles," says he, "qui aujourd'huy ont cessé—la Divine Providence agissant de la sorte, pour ne pas jetter les perles devant les porcs."

§ Mons. de Châteaubriand, from Gregory Nazianzen and others, even describes the attitude of our Saviour during his ascension: from Adrichomius he derives the particular point of the compass to which the Messiah's face was turned, as he rose. See "Travels in Greece, Palestine," &c. p. 49. Lond. 1811.

‖ These are the words: "Mons Oliveti, ubi videntibus discipulis, ad cœlos ascendit Dominus, suorum pedum vestigia in æternam relinquens memoriam."

** Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv. Luke xxii. John viii. It is mentioned by St. Jerom. (Vid. Hieron. in Loc. Heb. Lit. G.) Adrichomius distinguishes "Gethsemani, villa ad radices Montis Oliveti," from the "Hortus Oliveti;" although they are both contiguous. "Hortus erat in Monte Oliveti non longé á Gethsemani; rupi cuidam concavæ adhærens . . . . . Ubi ætate Hieronymi desuper Ecclesia erat aedificata, quae adhuc ostenditur." Adrichomii Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 170. Colon. 1628. See also Brocard. Itiner. 6. Breidenbach. 14. Jul. Sol. tom. IX. cap. 2. &c. &c.

†† Upon the subject of this garden, Doubdan offers a genuine specimen of Monkish writing. "C'est là où croissent les lys de l'innocence entre les espines dela douleur, le cyprès edoriférent de la devotion, et la mirrhe de la componction, les pommes d'or d'un sensible amour de Dieu," etc. etc. Voy. de la T. S. p. 287. Par. 1657.

‡‡ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 15. Colon. 1691.

in the citadel of Athens, and supposed to bear date from the foundation of the city.* But, as a spontaneous produce, uninterruptedly resulting from the original growth of this part of the mountain, it is impossible to view even these with indifference. We found a grove of aged olive trees, of most immense size, covered with fruit, almost in a mature state: from this circumstance we were unable to view or to collect blossoms from any of those trees, and are yet ignorant of their specific nature. That the olive of Jerusalem is of the same species with the European olive, we do not absolutely affirm; the leaves being considerably broader, and more silvery underneath than in any, either of the wild or cultivated varieties, which we have seen.† We provided ourselves with specimens from these trees for our *herbarium*, and have found few things more gratifying than were these trifles, as presents to those friends who wished to obtain memorials from the Holy Land. It is truly a curious and an interesting fact, that, during a period of little more than two thousand years, Hebrews, Assyrians, Romans, Moslems, and Christians, have been successively in possession of the rocky mountains of Palæstine; yet the olive still vindicates its paternal soil, and is found, at this day, upon the same spot‡ which was called, by the Hebrew writers, "*Mount Olivet*,"§ and "*the Mount of Olives*,"‖ eleven centuries before the Christian æra.

The rest of this day's journey was spent in viewing antiquities justly entitled to the highest consideration among the curiosities of Jerusalem,—the "*Sepulchre of the Virgin Mary*," and the "*Tombs of the Patriarchs*:" all of these are in the valley between the Mount of Olives and the city, on the eastern side of the torrent Kedron, at the foot of the mountain. The "Sepulchre of the Virgin" is to the north of the other tombs; these being nearly opposite to the area of Solomon's Temple, where the Mosque of Omar is now

* See De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 39. Lond. 1811.

† It is highly probable that the supposed varieties of OLEA EUROPAEA, at present enumerated in the species Plantarum, include several distinct species.

‡ "Quis enim dubitet Montem Oliviferum illum esse qui nunc illo nomine dicitur? Et si quis dubitet, omnia loca adsita et valles et fontes et rivi abunde ostendent nulli alii monti præter hunc ea convenire quæ de Monte Olivifero veteres tradiderunt." Reland. Palaest. Illust. lib. i. c. 4. tom. I. p. 22. Traj. Bat. 1714.

§ 2 Samuel, xv. 30. Generally referred to the year 1023 B. C.

‖ The book of Zechariah has reference to a much later period; the following prophecy being generally ascribed to the year 587 B. C. "And his feet shall stand in that day upon 'the Mount of Olives,' which is before Jerusalem upon the east; and the Mount of Olives shall cleave, in the midst thereof, toward the east and toward the west." Zechariah, xiv. 4.

situated. Quitting, therefore, the "garden of Gethsemani," we descended, a short distance farther toward the north, and arrived at the entrance to the "Virgin's Sepulchre."* This, like the tombs where we discovered the inscriptions, is also a *crypt*, or cave, hewn with marvellous skill and most surprising labour, in a stratum of hard compact limestone. Whatever may have been the real history of its origin, there can be no doubt but that it was intended as a repository for the dead, and, from all appearance, as the receptacle of many bodies. It seems also evident, that the persons here interred were held in veneration by the living, from the commodious and magnificent descent leading to the interior of the crypt, together with the dome and altar which appear within, as for a sanctuary. Neither Eusebius, Epiphanius, nor Jerom, mentions a syllable to authorize even the tradition concerning this sepulchre. The earliest notice of it, as the tomb of the Virgin, occurs in the writings of Adamnanus, the Irish monk and abbot of Iona, who described it from the testimony of Arculfus† in the seventh century, according to its present situation. Bede gives also, from Adamnanus, a similar account.‡ It is moreover mentioned by John Damascenus, who lived about the year 720.§ A sepulchre was pointed out to Willibald, twenty years afterward, called the "Tomb of the Virgin," in the valley, at the foot of Mount Olivet.‖ Among the Greeks, Andrew of Crete, in the eighth century, affirmed that the Virgin lived upon Mount Sion, and there died.** It is however presumed, by other writers, that she retired with St. John to Ephesus. Pococke, upon the au-

* On the disputed authenticity of the tradition concerning the sepulchre, Butler rests an opinion, that the virgin ended her earthly career at Jerusalem. "Tillemont," says he, "and some others, conjecture that she died at Ephesus; but some think, rather, at Jerusalem; where, in latter ages, mention is made of her sepulchre, cut in a rock at Gethsemani." Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. viii. p. 178. Edinb. 1799.

† Sanctorum locorum sedulus frequentator sanctus Arculfus Sanctæ Mariæ ecclesiam in valle Josaphat frequentabat: cujus dupliciter fabricatæ inferior pars sub lapideo tabulato mirabili rotunda structura est fabricata: in cujus orientali parte altarium habetur; ad dexteram verò ejus partem, Sanctæ Mariæ inest saxeum cavum sepulchrum, in quo aliquando sepulta pausavit." Adamnan. De Loc. Sanct. apud Mabillon. Acta. Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. 3. Pars. 2. p. 507. L. Par. 1672.

‡ Beda, ex eo, de Loc. Sanct. p. 502.

§ See Doubdan (Voy. de la T. S. p. 121. Par. 1657.) Also Quaresmius, who cites the passage (Elucid. T. S. tom. II. p. 246. Antv. 1639.) and candidly states the arguments "contra veritatem sepulchri," which he is unable, although he endeavours, to refute.

‖ "Et in illa valle est Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, et in Ecclesia est sepulchrum ejus. . . . . Et ibi orans adscendit in Montem Oliveti, qui est ibi juxta vallem in orientali plaga." Vita S. Willibaldi apud Mabillon. Acta Sanctor. Ord. Benedict. Sæc. 3. Pars 2. p. 376. L. Par. 1672.

** Orat. in Dormit. B. M. Butler's "Lives of the Saints," vol. viii. p. 179.

thority of certain authors, whom he has not named, thinks it probable that this sepulchre belonged to *Melisendis*, queen of Jerusalem.* We descended to it by a noble flight of fifty marble steps: each of these was twenty feet wide. This commodious descent may possibly have been owing to the notion entertained by the empress Helena concerning its origin; but the sepulchre itself is of great antiquity. It is the largest of all the *cryptæ* near Jerusalem. Appropriate chapels, within a lofty and spacious vault, distinguish the real or the imaginary tombs of the Virgin Mary, of Joseph, of Anna, and of Caiaphas. Struck with wonder, not only in viewing such an astonishing effort of human labour, but in the consideration that history affords no light whatever as to its origin, we came afterward to examine it again; but could assign no probable date for the æra of its construction. It ranks among those colossal works which were accomplished by the inhabitants of Asia Minor, of Phœnicia, and of Palæstine, in the first ages; works which differ from those of Greece, in displaying less of beauty, but more of arduous enterprize; works which remind us of the people rather than the artist; which we refer to as monuments of history, rather than of taste.

Proceeding hence toward the south, along the eastern side of the valley, between the Mount of Olives and Mount Moriah,† toward the bridge over the Kedron, across which our Saviour is said to have passed in his visit to the garden of Gethsemane,‡ we came to "*the Sepulchres of the Patriarchs*," facing that part of Jerusalem where the temple of Solomon was formerly erected. The antiquities which particularly bear this name are four in number. According to the order wherein they occur from north to south, they are severally called the sepulchres of Jehosaphat, of Absalom, the cave of St. James, and the sepulchre of Zechariah. From the difficulty of conveying any able artist to Jerusalem, and the utter impossibility of finding any of the profession there, these monuments have never been faithfully delineated. The

* See "Pococke's Description of the East" vol. ii. part 1. p. 22. Lond. 1745.

† The plate engraved for Doubdan's work (facing p. 120. of his "Voyage de la Terre Sainte," published at Paris in 1657,) affords a very accurate representation of the situation of the ancient sepulchres along the eastern side of the valley of Jehosaphat, at the foot of the Mount of Olives, facing Jerusalem.

‡ "He went forth with his disciples over the brook Kedron, where was a garden, into which he entered, and his disciples. And Judas also which betrayed him, knew the place, for Jesus ofttimes resorted thither with his disciples." John xviii. 1, 2.

wretched representations given of them in books of travels, convey no idea adequate to the appearance they exhibit.* There is a certain air of grandeur, and of sublimity, expressed by their massy structure, by the boldness of their design, and by the sombre hue prevailing not only over the monuments themselves, but over all the surrounding rocks whence they were hewn, which is lost in the minuteness of engraved representation.† In order to form the sepulchres of Absalom and of Zechariah, the solid substance of the mountain has itself been cut away; sufficient areas being thereby excavated, two monuments of prodigious size appear in the midst; each seeming to consist of a single stone, although standing as if erected by an architect, and adorned with columns‡ appearing to support the edifice, whereof they are in fact themselves integral parts; the whole of each mausoleum being of one entire block of stone. These works may therefore be considered as belonging to sculpture rather than to architecture; for, immense as are the tombs, they are sculptured instead of being built. The Doric order appears in the capitals of the columns: hence it has been inferred, that some persons have decorated these places according to the rules of Greek architecture since they were originally constructed;§ but there is not the slightest reason for this conjecture. The columns are of that ancient style and character which yet appear among the works left by Ionian and Dorian colonies in the remains of their Asiatic cities; particularly at Telmessus, where even the inscriptions denote a period in history long anterior to the æra when such a modification of these ancient structures might have taken place. It has never yet been determined

* The engravings in Pococke's second volume of his "Description of the East," Lond. 1745, may be considered as affording the most faithful delineation of these monuments; but they are by no means adequate to the effect produced by the originals.

† Mons. De Châteaubriand, considering these monuments as designed by Jews, who had adopted something of the Grecian model, is particularly happy in describing the singular taste which resulted from the alliance. "But" (Trav. vol. II. p. 102. Lond. 1811.) "in naturalizing at Jerusalem the architecture of Corinth and Athens, the Jews intermixed with it the forms of their peculiar style. The tombs in the valley of Jehosaphat display a manifest alliance of the Egyptian and Grecian taste From this alliance resulted a heterogeneous kind of monuments, forming, as it were, the link between the pyramids and the parthenon" This observation is not less remarkable for its truth than for the judicious taste which it displays.

‡ "The ornaments of this sepulchre (Absalom's) consist of twenty-four semi columns of the Doric order, not fluted, six on each front of the monument." Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. II. p. 100. Lond. 1811.

§ See Pococke's Descript. of the East, vol. II. Lond. 1745. Pococke described the columns as of the Ionic order, and so designed them According to notes in the author's journal, they are Doric; and they are so described by Mons. De Châteaubriand. See Trav. in Greece, Palaest. &c. p. 109. Lond. 1811.

when these sepulchres were hewn, nor by what people.* They are a continuation of one vast cemetery, extending along the base of all the mountainous elevations which surround Jerusalem upon its southern and eastern sides; and their appearance alone, independently of every other consideration, denotes the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people. To relate the legends of the monks concerning these places would be worse than silence, even if they had not often been told before. The "*Sepulchre of Jehosaphat*," and the "*Cave of St. James*," are smaller works, of the same nature with the monuments ascribed to *Absalom* and *Zechariah*. All of them contain apartments and receptacles for the dead, hewn in the same marvellous manner. Josephus mentions a monument erected by Absalom; but he describes it as a marble *Stêlê*, distant two stadia from Jerusalem.† The same, however, is said in Scripture to have borne the name of "*Absalom's Place*," in the beginning of the eleventh century before the Christian æra.‡ A very extraordinary circumstance concerning the two principal sepulchres is, that, at present, there is no perceptible entrance to the interior. The only way of gaining admittance to that of Absalom is through a hole recently broken for the purpose; and to that of Zechariah, although the Jews pretend to a secret knowledge of some such opening, there is no entrance of any kind. After viewing these monuments, having now examined all the antiquities to the south and east of Jerusalem, we crossed the bed of the torrent Kedron by the bridge before mentioned: then, ascending to the city by a very steep hill, on which tradition relates that St. Stephen was stoned, we made the circuit of the walls upon the northern and western side; and, having found nothing remarkable, entered by the gate of Jaffa.

The streets of Jerusalem are cleaner than those of any other town in the Levant; though, like all of them, they are very narrow. The houses are lofty; and, as no windows ap-

* Mons. De Châteaubriand places them among the Greek and Roman monuments of Pagan times (See Trav. vol. II. p. 95.) erected by the Jews. "If I were required," says he, (Ibid. p. 101.) "to fix precisely the age in which these mausoleums were erected, I should place it about the time of the alliance between the Jews and the Lacedæmonians, under the first Maccabees."

† Antiq. lib. viii. cap. 9. Colon. 1691.

‡ "Now Absalom, in his lifetime, had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale; for he said, I have no son to keep up my name in remembrance: and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called, unto this day, Absalom's place." 2 Sam. xviii, 18.

pear on any of the lower stories, and those above are latticed, the passage seems to be between blank walls. We visited the bazars, or shops, which are in a most unwholesome situation, being covered over, and, to all appearance, a nursery for every species of contagion. Hardly any thing was exposed for sale; the various articles of commerce were secreted, through fear of Turkish rapacity. Our inquiry after medals was not attended with any success; but an Armenian produced a very fine antique gem, a carnelian deeply intagliated, representing a beautiful female head decorated with a laurel chaplet. He asked a *piastre* for it, smiling at the same time, as if he thought it not worth a *parâ*. Upon being paid his demand, he threw down the gem, eagerly seizing the money, and burst into an immoderate fit of laughter.

On the following morning, July the eleventh, we left Jerusalem by the gate of Damascus, on the northwest side, to view the extraordinary burial place erroneously called the "*sepulchres of the kings of Judah*," distant about a mile from the walls. This place does not exhibit a single sepulchral chamber, as in the instances so lately described, but a series of subterraneous chambers, extending in different directions, so as to form a sort of labyrinth, resembling the still more wonderful example lying westward of Alexandria in Egypt, by some called the "sepulchres of the Ptolemies." Each chamber contains a certain number of receptacles for dead bodies, not being much larger than our coffins, but having the more regular form of oblong parallelograms; thereby differing from the ordinary appearance presented in the sepulchral crypts of this country, where the *soros*, although of the same form, is generally of very considerable size, and resembles a large cistern. The taste manifested in the interior of these chambers seems also to denote a later period in the history of the arts: the skill and neatness visible in the carving is admirable, and there is much of ornament displayed in several parts of the work.* We observed also slabs of marble, exquisitely sculptured: these we had never seen in the burial places before mentioned. The entrance is by an open court, excavated in a stratum of white limestone, like a quarry. It is a square of thirty yards. Upon the western side of this area appears the

* "Opus verè singulare, magna industria, admirabile visu, dignumque Regiis sepulchris. Neque verò crediderim huic simile, aut vetustius toto orbe terrarum reperiri posse." Joannes Zuallardus, apud J. B. Villalpandum. Vid. Quaresm. Elucid. T. S. lib. vi. c. 8. Antv. 1639

mouth of a cavern, twelve yards wide, exhibiting, over the entrance, an architrave with a beautifully sculptured frieze. Entering this cavern, and turning to the left, a second architrave appears above the entrance to another cavern, but so near to the floor of the cave as barely to admit the passage of a man's body through the aperture. We lighted some wax tapers, and here descended into the first chamber. In the sides of it were other square openings, like door frames, offering passages to yet interior chambers. In one of these we found the *operculum* of a white marble coffin:* this was entirely covered with the richest and most beautiful sculpture, but, like all the other sculptured work about the place, it represented nothing of the human figure, nor of any animal, but consisted entirely of foliage and flowers, and principally of the leaves and branches of the vine.

As to the history of this most princely place of burial, we shall find it difficult to obtain much information. That it was not what its name implies, is very evident; because the sepulchres of the kings of Judah were in Mount Sion. The most probable opinion is maintained by Pococke,† who considered it as the sepulchre of Helena, queen of Adiabene. De Chateaubriand has since adopted Pococke's opinion.‡ But both these writers, speaking of the pyramids mentioned by Josephus at Helena's monument,§ have overlooked the testimony of Eusebius upon the subject, and of his commentator Valesius. According to Eusebius,‖ conspicuous pillars, rather than pyramids, ΣΤΗΛΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΑΝΕΙΣ, denoted, in his time, the site of Helena's burial place: and it may be urged, that *Stelae*** are indeed very appropriate characteristics of the exterior of an

* This is engraved in Le Bruyn's Travels. See plate facing p. 185. tom. II. Voy. au Levant. Paris, 1725.

† Description of the East, vol II. p. 26. Lond. 1745. See the plan of these sepulchres, beautifully engraved in the fifth plate of that volume.

‡ See Trav. in Greece, Palaest. &c. vol. II. p. 106. Lond. 1811.

§ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. c. 2. Colon. 1691.

‖ Τῆς γέ τοι Ἑλένης ἧς δὴ καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, εἰσέτι νῦν στῆλαι Διαφανεῖς ἐν προαστείοις δείκνυνται τῆς νῦν Αἰλίας· τοῦ δὲ Ἀδιαβήνων ἔθνους αὕτη βασιλεῦσαι ἐλέγετο. "Ceterum Helenae illus cujus mentio fit à Josepho, illustres etiamnum extant cippi in suburbiis Hierosolymorum, quae mutato nomine nunc Ælia appellatur: eamque Adiabenorum reginam fuisse perhibent." Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 12. p. 50. Paris, 1659.

**The reader is requested to examine the observations concerning sepulchral pillars, pp. 1, 3, 10. of the author's account of the Greek Marbles at Cambridge; to which he is now able to add the following remarks from Valesius. "In hoc Eusebii loco στῆλαι sunt columnae, seu cippi sepulchrales in quibus humatorum nomina perscribebantur. De his scholiastes Aristophanis in Equitibus et in Avibus. Earum usus etiam apud Romanos. Nam Dio, in lib. 67. de funebri cena, ait στήλην ταφοειδῆ ἐκαον· τῷ σφῶν παρίστησι τό τε ὄνομα, αὐτοῦ ἔχουσαν. Idem in lib. 69 de equo Borysthenis sepulchro eandem vocem usurpat. In veteribus glossis στήλη cippus redditur. Cicero in libro 2 de legibus columnas dixit, ubi agit de sepulchris. Cic-

ancient sepulchre, and more reconcilable with the account of their subsequent disappearance. Valesius,* commenting upon these words of Eusebius, is at a loss to reconcile the *stêlae* with the *pyramids* noticed by the Jewish Historian. "Twice," says he, "does Josephus, in the same book, call them *Monuments* (Μνημεῖα). Rufinus uses the word *sepulchre*; and Jerom† calls it a *mausoleum*, which still existed in his time." Valesius then proceeds to cite Pausanias‡ who, speaking of the two most memorable sepulchres that were known, mentions those of Mausolus in Caria, and that of Helena in Judæa. But Villalpandus notices a pyramid yet visible at these caves;§ meaning, probably, a pillar with a pyramidal summit. Josephus describes the sepulchre of Helena as being to the north of the city;‖ and although he mentions the "*Royal Caves*" immediately after the notice of Helena's Sepulchre, the circumstance of his allusion to the pyramids at the latter,** one of which, actually seen by Villalpandus,†† having since disappeared, and thereby warranted the possible annihilation of the other two, is deemed sufficient by Pococke to identify the place alluded to by the Jewish historian. Indeed, it seems evident, that by the "*Royal Caves*" nothing more is intended by Josephus than the regal Sepulchre of Helena he had before mentioned; thus repeated under a different appellation. "The third wall," says he,‡‡ "began at the tower Hippicus; whence

mens Alexandrinus in libro 5. Stromat. scribit Hipparchum Pythogoreum eo quod arcana magistri evulgasset, è collegio ejectum fuisse, et cippum ei positum fuisse tanquam mortuo, καὶ στήλην ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ΟΙΑ ΝΕΚΡΩΙ." *Valesii Annot.* in lib. ii. Hist. Eccl. Euseb. p. 32. Ibid.

* Ubi supra.

† Hieronymus in oratione de obitu Paulae.

‡ Pausan. in Arcadicis. Vid. cap. xvi. p. 633. Ed. Xyland. Lips. 1696.

§ Vid. Johan. Baptist. Villalpand. tom. III. Apparatus lib. iii. cap. 1. et in sua Antiquae Jerusalem Descriptione.

‖ Josephus De Bell Jud. lib. vi. c. 6. Colon. 1691.

** Ὁ δὲ Μονόβαζος τάφε ἐκείνης ἐστῶ, καὶ τὰ τῶ ἀδελφῶ πέμψας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα θάψαι προσέταξεν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσιν, ἃς ἡ μήτηρ κατεσκευάκει τρεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρία στάδια τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως ἀπεχούσας. "Monobabazus autem ossa ejus et fratis sui misit Hierosolyma, condenda in extructis ab ipsa pyramidibus tribus numero, tertio ab urbe Hierosolymitana stadio dissitis." Joseph, Antiq. lib. xx. c. 2. p. 689. Colon. 1691.

†† See Pococke, "Descript. of the East," vol. II. p. 20. Lond. 1745.

‡‡ Τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ ὁ Ἱππικὸς πύργος, ὅθεν μέχρι τῶ βορείου κλίματος κατατείνων ἐπὶ τὴν Ψήφινον πύργον, ἔπειτα καθήκων ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἑλένης μνημείων· Ἀδιαβηνὴ βασιλὶς ἦν αὕτη, Ἰζάτης βασιλέως μήτηρ· καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηκυνόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τῶ Γναφέως προσαγορευόμενον μνῆμα. "Tertio autem muro initiumdabat turris Hippica, unde versus Borealem tractum sese extendens ad turrim usque Psephinam, deinde protendens sese ex adverso monumenti Helenae, quæ Adiabenorum regina erat et Izatae regis mater et per a pelumcas regias in longum ductus flectebatur quidem in angulari turri prope monumentum Fullonis dictum." Josephi de Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 4. tom. II. p. 326. Ed. Havercampi, 1726.

extending to the north, to the tower Psephinus; then reaching onward, opposite to the sepulchres of Helena, queen of Adiabene, and mother of king Izates; and being prolonged by the Royal Caves (i. e. cryptæ of Helena's sepulchres) it bent, with a tower at the corner, near the monument called the Fuller's." The historian, in this passage, is not necessarily referring to two distinct places of burial: the "*Sepulchre of Helena*," and the "*Royal Caves*," are, in all probability, only different names of the same place. Nothing seems to have excited more surprise than the doors of these chambers, of which Maundrell published a very particular description.* Only one remained hanging in his time. "It consisted of a plank of stone, about six inches in thickness, carved so as to resemble a piece of wainscot. This turned upon two hinges, which were of the same entire piece of stone with the door." Maundrell afterward explains the method by which this work was accomplished.† The same sort of door exists among the sepulchres at Telmessus, and is described in a former part of this volume.‡ But the ancients possessed the art of being able to close these doors in such a manner, that no one could have access to the sepulchres who was not acquainted with the secret method of opening them, unless by violating the sepulchre, and forcing a passage through their stone pannels. This has been done by the moderns, in some instances, at Telmessus, with a view to rifle the tombs; and the doors, though broken, still remain closed, with their hinges unimpaired. Pausanias, describing the Sepulchre of Helena at Jerusalem, mentions§ this contrivance: "It was so contrived, that the door of the sepulchre, which was of stone, and similar in all respects to the sepulchre itself, could never be opened, except upon the return of the same day and hour in each succeeding year: it then opened of

* Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p. 77. Oxf. 1721.

† Ibid. p. 78.

‡ See chap. VIII.

§ Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολόμοις ἣν ἰδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς· μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον ἐξανοίγεσθαι πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε αὖ καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα καί οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοίξαι πειρώμενος, ἀνοίξαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν, κατάξαις δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος. "Et apud Hebraeos in Solymorum urbe, quam Romanorum Imperator funditus excidit, Helenae indigenae mulieris sepulchrum miri operis est, in eo enim ostium fabricatum est e marmore, uti ceterae sepulchri partes, id anni stato die, atque hora, occulto machinae cujusdam motu aperitur; neque ita multo post occluditur, quod si alio tempore aperire conatus fueris, effringas facillus, quam ulla vi recludas." Pausan. in Arcad. cap. xvi. p. 633. edit. Kuhnii. Lips. 1696.

itself, by means of the mechanism alone; and after a short interval closed again. Such was the case at the time stated: had you tried to open it at any other time, you would not have succeeded, but have broken it first, in the attempt." Pausanias here evidently alludes to the art thus possessed, and to a door like that which Maundrell has described as belonging to this sepulchre. When doors of this kind were once closed, it was not very probable that any one would attempt to open them by violence; although certain instances did occur of the plunder of tombs, as in the example afforded by Josephus in the history of Herod.* But such conduct was always considered to be, in a very high degree, impious;† and the superstition mentioned by Quaresmius, as recorded by Livy,‡ which considered a ruined sepulchre an ill omen; must have tended, together with the veneration in which tombs were held, toward their constant preservation

After leaving these tombs, we again made the circuit of the whole city, keeping as close to the walls as possible, and remaining all the while on horseback. In this manner we were exactly one hour and a half employed, from the time we left the gate of Damascus until we returned to it again, our horses proceeding at a foot's pace. When we regained the city, we waited upon the governor, to thank him for the civilities we had received. Upon this occasion we used all the interest we had with him, by means of Djezzar Pacha's own interpreter, to obtain admission into the mosque of the temple of Solomon, or mosque erected upon the site of that temple by the Caliph Omar, in the seventh century.§ He entreated us not to urge the request, saying his own life would certainly be required as the price of our admission: we were therefore compelled to rest satisfied with the interesting view it afforded from his windows, which regarded the area of the temple. The sight was so grand, that we did not hesitate in pronouncing it the most magnificent piece of architecture in the Turkish empire; and, considered externally, far superior to the Mosque of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. By the sides of the spacious area in which it stands, are certain vaulted remains: these plainly

* Josephus, lib. xvi. Antiq. c. 11. Colon. 1691.

† Ibid.

‡ "Quod si apud priscos, sepulchrum dirutum fuisse, res fuit habita mali ominis, ut testatur Livius, et Alexander concisa sermone retulit; Hannibali, inquit, cum ex Italia Africam peteret, sepulchrum diruptum auspicium ferale." Quaresm. Elucid. T. 8. lib. iv. c. 8. Antv. 1639.

§ A. D. 637.

denote the masonry of the ancients; and evidence may be adduced to prove that they belonged to the foundations of Solomon's Temple. We observed also that reticulated stucco, which is commonly considered as an evidence of Roman work. Phocas believed the whole space surrounding this building to be the ancient area of the temple;* and Golius, in his notes upon the Astronomy of Alferganes,† says, the whole foundation of the original edifice remained.‡ As to the mosque itself, there is no building at Jerusalem that can be compared with it, either in beauty or riches. The lofty saracenic pomp so nobly displayed in the style of the building; its numerous arcades; its capacious dome, with all the stately decorations of the place; its extensive area, paved and variegated with the choicest marbles;§ the extreme neatness observed in every avenue toward it; and, lastly, the sumptuous costume observable in the dresses of all the eastern devotees, passing to and from the sanctuary, make it altogether one of the finest sights the Mahometans have to boast.

We afterward visited the Greek and Armenian convents. The former consists of many separate establishments, which, though small, are well supported. The Armenian Monastery is well worth seeing, being the largest in Jerusalem; it is maintained in a degree of splendor, accompanied at the same time with neatness, cleanliness, and order, very surprising in this part of the world; and particularly so, because every thing belonging to it is Oriental. The Patriarch makes his appearance in a flowing vest of silk, instead of a Monkish habit, and every thing around him bears the character of eastern magnificence. He receives his visiters in regal stateliness; sitting amidst clouds of incense, and regaling them with all the luxuries of a Persian Court. We conversed with him for some time, and were much struck with his polished manners and sensible conversation. He seemed to be quite as well aware of what was passing in the western world, as if he had regularly re-

* Ἐν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ δαπέδῳ τοῦ περιωνύμου ναοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ Σολομῶντος θεωρούμενος. And again, in another part of the same chapter, Ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐστι περιαύλιον μέγα λιθόστρωτον τὸ παλαιὸν, ὡς οἶμαι, τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ δάπεδον. *Phocæ Descript. T. S. cap.* 14. *Colon.* 1653.

† Alferganes, Alfragan, or Alfergani, flourished about the year 900, of our æra. Golius, Professor of Mathematics at Leyden, published the third and best translation of his writings, in 1669 See Lalande's Astronomy, tom. I. p. 122. Paris, 1792.

‡ "Totum antiqui sacri fundum."

§ Ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς, ποικίλοις μαρμάροις, καὶ ψηφῖσιν ἐγκαλλωπιζόμενος. "Intus exteriusque variis marmoribus, et tessellato opere consecratum." Phocae Descript. T. S cap. 14. Colon. 1656.

ceived the gazettes of Europe, and had himself figured in the cabinets of its princes.* The approaching downfall of the Turkish empire is an event which of course every reflecting mind must contemplate with eager anticipation; and every means conducive to this end is hailed as an instrument in the hand of God. Whether the armies of France or the fleets of England occasion signs of its approximation, the universal church of Syria, howsoever distributed and divided by sects—Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, Catholics, Syrians, Druses, Maronites, together with all distinctions of Jewish worshippers, Samaritans, Karaites, Rabbinists—are ready to bestow upon them their praises and their blessings. Thus, if a Frenchman arrive in Jerusalem, as in the recent instance of De Châteaubriand, they talk to him of the victories of Bounaparté, and the prowess of Frenchmen in the Holy Land, as if they were preaching for a new crusade. If an Englishman, they lavish commendations and benedictions upon the heroes of the British Navy; dwelling with enthusiasm upon the exploits of Nelson at Abonkir; upon those of Sir Sidney Smith at Acre; and upon the glorious fate of the lamented Abercrombie.

* A monk at the convent of St. Saba, near the Dead Sea, began to reveal to Mons. De Châteaubriand "*the secrets of the court of Russia.*" See Trav. vol. 1. pp. 403, 404. Lond. 1811.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE HOLY LAND.—JERUSALEM, TO BETHLEHEM, JAFFA, AND ACRE.

Journey to Bethlehem—Singular Example of dexterity in a Goat—View of Bethlehem—Prospect of the Dead Sea—Erroneous notions entertained of this Lake—Cause of those Opinions—Authors by whom it is described—Precautions upon entering Bethlehem—Descent into the Valley—Critical Examination of a Passage in Josephus—David's Well—Interesting Circumstances connected with its History—Antiquity of Eastern Wells—Account of Bethlehem—Tomb of Rachel—Caverns—Terebinthine Vale—Valley of Jeremiah—Vegetable Productions—Arabs—Bethoor—Rama—History of that City—St. George of Diospolis—Ravages caused by the Plague—Jaffa—Improbability of the supposed Massacre by Buonaparté—Ancient History of Jaffa—Voyage along the Coast—Cæsarea—Return to Acre.

When we had seen all, and much more than is worth notice, in Jerusalem; and had obtained from the superior of the Franciscan Monastery the usual certificate given to pilgrims,* of the different places we had visited in the Holy Land; we prepared for our departure. The worthy friars, who had treated us with very great attention, finding that we were determined to go to Bethlehem, where the plague then raged with fatal violence, told us, with expressions of regret, that they could not again receive us, if we persisted in our intention. We therefore took leave of them, resolved at all events to see the place of our Saviour's nativity, and then continue our journey to Jaffa, without entering Jerusalem in our return.

Upon our road, we met an Arab with a goat, which he led about the country to exhibit, in order to gain a livelihood for itself and its owner. He had taught this animal, while he ac-

* This certificate entitles persons of the Greek church to the title of *hadgi*. It is a curious document, and has therefore been preserved for the appendix to this volume.

companied its movements with a song, to mount upon little cylindrical blocks of wood, placed successively one above the other, and in shape resembling the diceboxes belonging to a backgammon table. In this manner the goat stood, first upon the top of one cylinder, then upon the top of two, and afterward of three, four, five, and six, until it remained balanced upon the summit of them all, elevated several feet from the ground, and with its fore feet collected upon a single point, without throwing down the disjointed fabric whereon it stood. The practice is very ancient. It is also noticed by Sandys.* Nothing can show more strikingly the tenacious footing possessed by this quadruped upon the jutty points and crags of rocks; and the circumstance of its ability to remain thus poised may render its appearance less surprising, as it is sometimes seen in the Alps, and in all mountainous countries, with hardly any place for its feet upon the sides, and by the brink of most tremendous precipices.† The diameter of the upper cylinder, on which its four feet ultimately remained until the Arab had ended his ditty, was only two inches; and the length of each cylinder was six inches. The most curious part of the performance occurred afterward; for the Arab, to convince us of the animal's attention to the turn of the air, interrupted the *de capo:* as often as he did this, the goat tottered, appeared uneasy, and, upon his becoming suddenly silent in the middle of his song, it fell to the ground.

After travelling for about an hour, from the time of our leaving Jerusalem, we came in view of Bethlehem, and halted to enjoy the interesting sight. The town appeared covering the ridge of a hill on the southern side of a deep and extensive valley, and reaching from east to west; the most conspicuous object being the monastery, erected over the cave of the nativity, in the suburbs and upon the eastern side. The battlements and walls of this building seemed like those of a vast fortress. The Dead Sea below, upon our left, appeared so

* Sandys saw this in Grand Cairo. "There are in this city, and have beene of long, a sort of people that do get their livings by shewing of feates with birds and beasts, exceeding therein all such as have bin famous amongst us . . . . . I have seen them make both dogs and goates to set their foure feet on a little turned pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end than the palm of a hand: climbing from one to two set on the top of one another; and so the third and fourth; and there turne about as often as their masters would bid them." Sandys' Travels, p. 126. Lond. 1637.

† "On the cliffs above hung a few goats; one of them danced, and scratched an ear with its hind foot, in a place where I would not have stood stock still—

For all beneath the moon."

See "Gray's Letter to Wharton," p. 385. Memoirs by Mason, Lond. 1775.

near to us, that we thought we could have rode thither in a very short space of time. Still nearer stood a mountain upon its western shore, resembling, in its form, the cone of Vesuvius, near Naples, and having also a crater upon its top, which was plainly discernible. The distance, however, is much greater than it appears to be; the magnitude of the objects beheld in this fine prospect causing them to appear less remote than they really are.* The atmosphere was remarkably clear and serene; but we saw none of those clouds of smoke, which, by some writers, are said to exhale from the surface of lake Asphaltites, nor from any neighbouring mountain. Every thing about it was, in the highest degree, grand and awful. Its desolate, although majestic features, are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror, seeming to shrink from the narrative of its deceitful allurements and deadly influence. "Beautiful fruit," say they, "grows upon its shores, which is no sooner touched, than it becomes dust and bitter ashes." In addition to its physical horrors, the region around is said to be more perilous, owing to the ferocious tribes wandering upon the shores of the lake, than any other part of the Holy Land. A passion for the marvellous has thus affixed, for ages, false characteristics to the sublimest associations of natural scenery in the whole world; for, although it be now known that the waters of this lake, instead of proving destructive of animal life, swarm with myriads of fishes;† that, instead of falling victims to its exhalations, certains birds‡ make it their peculiar resort; that shells abound upon its shores;§ that the pretended "fruit, containing ashes," is as natural and as admirable a production of nature as the rest of the vegetable kingdom;‖ that bodies

* It is pleasing to confirm, by actual observation, the strong internal evidences of the genuineness of Sandys' narrative. These were his remarks upon the same spot. "From this ridge of hils, the Dead Sea doth appeare as if neere at hand; but not so found by the traveller; for that those high declining mountaines are not to be directly descended." Sandys' Travels, p. 176. Lond. 1637.

† "About midnight I heard a noise upon the lake. The Bethlehemites told me that it proceeded from legions of small fish, which come and leap about upon the shore." De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. 1. p. 411. Lond. 1811.

‡ See Maundrell's Journey, p. 84. Oxf. 1721. There were many lakes where the same fable was related of birds falling dead in flying over them. A lake of this nature was called Avernus, i. e. ΑΟΡΝΟΣ, *without birds*. Reland refutes the fable, as applied to the Lake Asphaltites. "Quod vero quidam scribunt aves supra lacum hunc volantes necari, nunc quidem certe experientiæ repugnat." Palaest. Illust. lib. i. cap. 38. Utr. 1714.

§ See Maundrell, Hasselquist, etc.

‖ It is the fruit of the *Solanum Melongena*. Hasselquist found it in abundance near the Dead Sea. When the fruit is attacked by an insect (*Tenthredo*,) the inside turns

sink or float in it, according to the proportion of their gravity to the gravity of the water;* that its vapours are not more insalubrious than those of any other lake;† that innumerable Arabs people the neighbouring district;‡ notwithstanding all these facts are now well established, even the latest authors by whom it is mentioned, and one among the number, from whose writings some of these truths have been derived, continue to fill their descriptions with imaginary horrors,§ and ideal phantoms, which, though less substantial than the "black perpendicular rocks" around it, "cast their lengthened shadows over the waters of the Dead Sea."‖ The ancients, as it is observed by the traveller now alluded to,** were much better acquainted with it than are the moderns: and, it may be added, the time is near at hand, when it will be more philosophically examined.†† The present age is not that in which countries so situated can long continue unexplored. The thirst of knowledge, and the love of travel, have attained to such a pitch, that every portion of the globe will be ransacked for their gratification. Indeed, one of the advantages derived from the present perturbed state of nations is that of directing the observation of enlightened travellers to regions they probably would not otherwise have noticed.

to dust; the skin only remaining entire, and of a beautiful colour. See Hasselquist's Trav. p. 288. Lond 1766.

* De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. I. p. 416. Lond. 1811. This author gives (Ib. p. 412) the analysis of its waters, being the result of an experiment made in London, upon a bottle of it, brought home by Mr Gordon. Its specific gravity is 1,211. It is perfectly transparent, and contains the following substances, in the undermentioned proportions:

Muriat of lime	3,920
Magnesia	10,248
Soda	10,550
Sulphat of lime	,054
	24,500 in 100.

† "The pestilential vapours said to issue from its bosom are reduced to a strong smell of sea-water, &c." De Châteaubriand's Travels, vol. I. p 416. Lond. 1811.

‡ Ibid. p. 417.

§ "A dismal sound proceeded from this lake of death, like the stifled clamours of the people engulphed in its waters!!!" Ibid. p. 413.

‖ Ibid. p. 407.

** Ibid. p. 416.

†† The present state of Europe has driven many travellers toward this part of Asia, gifted with every endowment requisite for the undertaking. Those who shall first make us acquainted with the natural history and productions of this extraordinary and unfrequented region, will be amply rewarded for their enterprize. Such travellers will of course have learned to deride the idle rumours circulated concerning the country. Even the danger to be apprehended from the Arabs, may, with proper precaution, be avoided. While this is writing, labourers are in the vineyard, and the harvest is begun. A Seetzen and a Burckhardt have explored the country, and they will not return without due proofs of their industry. But let us also hope that some of our own countrymen, from the number of those now travelling in the east, will contribute their portion toward the illustration of regions so little known to the geographer and the philosopher.

Reland, in his account of Lake Asphaltites,* after inserting copious extracts from Galen concering the properties and quality of the water, and its natural history, proceeds to account for the strange fables that have prevailed with regard to its deadly influence, by showing that certain of the ancients counfounded this lake with another, bearing the same appellation of *Asphaltites* (which signifies nothing more than *bituminous*)† near Babylon; and that they attributed to it qualities which properly belonged to the Babylonian waters.‡ An account of the properties of the Babylonian lake occurs in the writings of Vitruvius,§ of Pliny,‖ of Athenæus,** and of Xiphilinus:†† from their various testimony it is evident that all the phænomena supposed to belong to the lake Asphaltites, near Babylon, were, from the similarity of their names, ultimately considered as the natural characteristics of the Judæan lake; the two Asphaltites being confounded.‡‡ Thus, when Dioscorides, extolling the *Bitumen Judaïcum* above all other, adds, that it is also found in Babylon,§§ he is evidently referring to the bituminous sources mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.‖‖ The Arabian geographers, and among these *Ibn Idris*,*** admitted all the fabulous opinions concerning the *Dead Sea*, which were found in the writings of the Greeks and Romans. According to them, no animal found in other waters existed here. Among the numerous asserters of the remarkable specific gravity of the water, almost every ancient author may be included, by whom the lake has been mentioned; this is

* Palæst. Illust. lib. ii. cap. 38. tom. I p. 238. Traj. Bat. 1714.

† "Mare mortuum, in quo nihil poterat esse vitale, et mare amarissimum, quod Græci λίμνην Ἀσφαλτίτην, id est, Stagnum bituminis, vocant." Hieron. in Comm. ad Ezek. xlvii.

‡ "Credo itaque confudisse quosdam veterum hunc lacum Asphaltitem cum alio lacu ejusdem nominis circa Babylonem, et uni tribuisse quod alteri tribuendum fuerat." Palæst. Illust. tom. I. p. 244.

§ Vitruv. lib. viii. cap. 3. Amst. 1649.

‖ Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 15. tom. III. pp 459, 460. L. Bat. 1635.

** Athen. lib. ii cap. 5. L. Bat. 1612.

†† Xiphilin. in Epitome Dionis, p. 252.

‡‡ "Ita quod de lacu Asphaltite Babyloniæ fama feretur, de hoc lacu Asphaltite Judeæ narrarunt, et duos hos lacus confuderunt." Reland. Pal. Ill. lib. i. tom I. c. 38. p. 245. Traj. Bat. 1714.

§§ Dioscorides de Re Medicâ, lib. i. cap. 99. Francof. 1598.

‖‖ Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παραδόξων ὄντων θεαμάτων κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ὀχ ἥκιστα θαυμάζεται, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γενιωμένης ἀσφάλτου, κ. τ. λ. Multa sane Babyloniæ continet spectatu digna et admiranda; sed inter haec non minimum admirationis meretur bituminis copia illa exsudantis, &c." Diodor. Sic. lib. ii. cap. 12. Amst. 1746.

*** "Appellatur autem mare mortuum, quia nihil in quo anima est ibi invenitur, nec piscis, nec reptile, nec aliud quidpiam quod in reliquis aquis generari solet." Vid. Test. Georg. Arab. in Rel. Pal. Illust. lib. i. cap. 38. tom. I. p. 249, etc.

noticed by Aristotle;* and it can hardly be doubted but that their testimonies have some foundation in reality. Maundrell, ΑΥΤΟΠΤΗΣ, as he is emphatically styled by Reland,† is entitled to implicit confidence in this, as in all other matters, where he speaks from his own practical observation. "Being willing," says he,‡ "to make an experiment of its strength, I went into it, and found it bore up my body in swimming with an uncommon force. But as for that relation of some authors, that men wading into it were buoyed up to the top as soon as they go as deep as the navel, I found it, upon experiment, not true." There is scarcely a single ancient geographer who has not mentioned something concerning this inland sea. Josephus, Julius Africanus, and Pausanias, describe it from their own ocular evidence. The first of these often introduces allusions to it under the appellation of lake Asphaltites. Its water, although limpid, like that of the sea of Galilee, and resulting from the same river, the Jordan, instead of being, as that is, sweet and salutary, is in the highest degree salt, bitter, and nauseous.§ Its length, according to Diodorus Siculus, is above seventy-two English miles, and its breadth nearly nineteen.‖ Julius Africanus mentions the abundance of balsam found near its shores.** The observations of Pausanias†† contain merely a repetition of remarks already introduced.

The temptation to visit Bethlehem was so great, that, notwithstanding the increasing alarms concerning the ravages of the plague as we drew near the town, we resolved at all events to venture thither. For this purpose, calling all our troop together, we appointed certain members of our cavalcade to keep a look out, and act as guards in the van, centre, and rear of the party, to see that no person loitered, and that none of the inhabitants might be permitted to touch us, or our horses and camels, on any account whatsoever. In this

* Εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ὥσπερ μυθολογοῦσι τίνες, ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τοιαύτη λιμνη, εἰς ἣν ἐάν τις ἐμβάλλῃ συνδήσας ἄνθρωπον ἢ ὑποζύγιον ἐπιπλεῖν, καὶ ὃ καταδύεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος, μαρτύριον ἂν εἴη τοῖς εἰρημένοις. "Si autem, uti quidam narrant, in Palaestina ejusmodi lacus sit, in quem si quis hominem aut jumentum ligatum injecerit, supernatet nec mergatur, id ea quae diximus confirmabit." Aristot. lib. ii. cap. 3. Meteorologicorum, Paris. 1629.

† Pal. Illust. tom. I. p. 244. Traj. Rat. 1714.

‡ Maundrell's Journ. from Alep. to Jerus. p 84. Oxf. 1721.

§ Ibid.

‖ Vid. Diod. Sic. lib. xix. Amst. 1746. Reckoning the stadium as being equal to our furlong.

**Ἔστι δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ πάμπολυ τοῦ βαλσάμου φυτόν. "*Circumquaque magna balsamiæ copia est.*" Jul. African. de Lacu Asphalt. Vid. Rel. Pal. Ill. lib. i. c. 38.

†† Pausanias, lib. v. cap. 7. Lips. 1796.

manner we passed entirely through the town, which we found almost deserted by the inhabitants, who, having fled the contagion, were seen stationed in tents over all the neighbouring hills. It appeared to be a larger place than we expected to find: the houses are all white, and have flat roofs, as at Jerusalem, and in other parts of the country. A nephew of the governor of Jerusalem, mounted upon a beautiful Arabian courser, magnificently accoutred, rode near the centre of our caravan. He had voluteered his company, as he said, to ensure us respect, and as a mark of the governor's condescension. To our very great embarrassment, we had no sooner arrived in the middle of Bethlehem, than some of the inhabitants, at the sight of this man, came toward him to salute him; and in spite of all our precautions and remonstrances, a Bethlehemite of some consideration came and conversed with him, placing his arm upon the velvet saddle cloth which covered his horse's haunches. This, we knew, would be sufficient to communicate the plague to every one of us: therefore there was no alternative, but to insist instantly upon the young grandee's immediate dismissal. However, when our resolutions were made known to him, he positively refused to leave the party: upon this, we were compelled to have recourse to measures which proved effectual; and he rode off, at full speed, muttering the curses usually bestowed on Christians, for our insolence and cowardice. We reached the great gate of the convent of the nativity without further accident; but did not choose to venture in, both on account of the danger, and the certainty of beholding over again much of the same sort of mummery which had so frequently put our patience to the proof in Jerusalem. Passing close to its walls, we took our course down into the deep valley which lies upon its north-eastern side; visiting the place where tradition says the angel, with a multitude of the heavenly host, appeared to the shepherds of Judæa, with the glad tidings of our Saviour's nativity;* and, finally, halting in an olive plantation at the bottom

* Bernard the Monk, who visited Bethlehem in the year 870, speaks of a monastery in this place, which he describes as a mile distant from the town. We saw nothing of the monastery alluded to by him; neither does the place here mentioned agree with his distance. "Miliario denique uno à Bethleem est monasterium sanctorum Pastorum, quibus Angelus Domini apparuit in nativitate Domini." Vid. Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi, apud Mabillon. Act. Sanct. Ord. Benedict. Sæcul. 3. Pars ii. p. 525. Lut. Paris, 1672. Doubdan saw the ruins of a church, built, he says, by Helena, mother of Constantine (Voy. de la T. S. p. 167. Paris, 1657.) but his description of their situation answers to the place where we halted. "C'est une petite campagne pleine et unie au fond du vallon . . . une terre labourable . . . fermée d'une petite mur . . . . . etc. etc."

of the valley below the convent and the town. We found it, even here, necessary to station an armed guard upon the outside of the olive ground, which was fenced with a low wall, in order to keep off those whom curiosity attracted toward us; and who expressed their astonishment at our fear of them, having withdrawn, they said, from the town, expressly to avoid the contagion, and therefore considered themselves as little likely to communicate infection. The Arab soldiers of our escort were, however, of opinion, that we should do well to keep them at a distance, and therefore we did not allow them to come within the wall. There was a well, stationed upon the outside of our little rampart, near the spot; and as it was necessary to send to this place for water to boil our coffee, we fixed upon a single individual for this purpose, upon whose discretion we could rely.

Bethlehem, written *Bethlechem* by Reland,* is six miles from Jerusalem. This distance, allowed by almost all authors, exactly corresponds with the usual computed measure, by time, of two hours. Some inaccuracy might therefore be acknowledged to exist in the printed text of Josephus, describing the interval between the two cities as equal only to twenty stadia.† Jerom,‡ who passed so many years at Bethlehem, and therefore was best qualified to decide this point, together with Eusebius, Sulpitius Severus, and Phocas,§ all agree in the distance before stated. But Reland, with his ordinary critical acumen, observes, that the apparent inaccuracy of the Jewish historian arises only from a misconstruction of his words; that he is speaking of the distance from Jerusalem to the camp of the Philistines in the valley between the two cities, and not of their distance from each other.‖ There is at

* Pallaest. Illust. tom. II. p. 642. Utrecht, 1714.

† Τῆς δε τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι κειμένης, ἣ μέχρι πόλεως Βηθλεὲμ διατείνει, σταδίους Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπεχούσης εἴκοσι. "Castris vero hostium in ea valle positis quae usque ad Bethleem urbem pertingit, viginti stadiis ab Hierosolymis distantem." Josephi Antiq. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 12 tom. II. p. 402. Edit. Havercampi, Batav. 1726.

‡ Hieronym. in lib. de Locis Hebraicis.

§ Ἡ δὲ Βεθλεὲμ πόλις ἀπέχει τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως ὡσεὶ μίλια ἓξ. "Urbs vero Bethleem à sancta civitate sex fere mille passibus distat." Phocae Descript. T. S. apud Leo. Allat. in Συμμ. Colon. 1653.

‖ Sed error hic non est Josephi, verum ex verbis ejus male intellectis natus. Inspice verba Graeca. Illud ἀπεχούσης refertur ad πόλεως Βηθλεὲμ, sic ut sensus sit urbem Bethleem distare 20 stadiis ab urbe Hierosolymitana. Sed refer illud ad vocem παρεμβολῆς, et hostilem exercitum: atque ita Josephus scripsit castra inimicorum, quae erant in valle se extendente usque ad urbem Bethleem abfuisse Hierosolymis

present a particular reason for wishing to establish the accuracy of Josephus in this part of his writings. In the same passage he makes allusion to a celebrated *well*, which, both from the account given by him of its situation, and more especially from the text of sacred scripture,* seems to have contained the identical fountain, of whose pure and delicious water we were now drinking. Considered merely in point of interest, the narrative is not likely to be surpassed by any circumstance of Pagan history. It may be related with reference both to the words of Scripture, and to the account given by Josephus. David, being a native of Bethlehem, calls to mind, during the sultry days of harvest,† a well near the gate of the town, of whose delicious water he had often tasted; and expresses an earnest desire to assuage his thirst by drinking of that limpid spring. "*And David longed, and said, oh that one would give me drink of the water of the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate!*" The exclamation is overheard by "three of the mighty men whom David had;" by Adino, by Eleazar, and by Shammah.‡ These men, the most mighty of all the chiefs belonging to David's host, sallied forth, and, having fought their way through the Philistine garrison§ at Bethlehem, "drew water from the well, that was by the gate," on the other side of the town, "and took it, and brought it to David." Josephus lays the scene of action in the valley,‖ calling these renowned warriors by the names of Jessaem, Eleazar, and Sebas:** he further says, that as they returned back, bearing the water through the Philistine camp, their enemies gazing in wonder at the intrepidity of the enterprize, offered them no molestation.†† Coming into the presence of David, they present to him the surprising testimo-

20 stadia: non ipsam urbem Bethleem Hierosolymis abfuisse 20 stadiorum intervallum. Peccant itaque versiones quae Josephum ita loquentem inducunt." Reland. Pal. Illust. lib. ii. c. 9.

* 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

† Ibid ver. 13.

‡ Ibid. ver 8, 9, 11.

§ And the garrison of the Philistines was then in Beth-lehem." Ibid. ver. 14.

‖ Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. 2 tom. I. p. 402. c. 12. praeced.

** Vid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii. c. 12. tom. I. p. 401. Without attempting to reconcile Adino with Jessaem, it may be observed that Sebas was probably Semas; the ancient Greek *b* and *m* being, in MS. scarcely distinguishable from each other.

†† Ὡς τὸν Παλαιστίνων καταπλαγέντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐψυχίαν, ἠρεμῆσαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τολμῆσαι, κ. τ. λ. "Adeo ut Palaestini, eorum audacia animique fortitudine attoniti, quieverint, nihilque in ipsos ausi fuerint," etc. Ibid. p. 402.

ny of their valour and affection. The aged monarch* receives from their hands a pledge they had so dearly earned, but refuses to drink of water, every drop of which had been purchased by their blood.† He returns thanks to the Almighty, who had vouchsafed the deliverance of his warriors from the jeopardy they had encountered; and making libation with the precious gift, pours it upon the ground, an offering to the Lord.‡ The ancient character and history of the early inhabitants of Judæa are beautifully illustrated by this brief record; but it presents a picture of manners which has not lost its prototype among the Arabs of the same country at this day. The well, too, still retains its pristine renown; and many an expatriated Bethlehemite has made it the theme of his longing and regret. As there is no other well corresponding in its situation with the description given by the sacred historian and by Josephus—and the text of scripture so decidedly marks its locality, at the farthest extremity of Bethlehem (with reference to Jerusalem,) that is to say, near the gate of the town on the eastern side,§ (for David's captains had to fight through all the garrison stationed within the place, before they reached it,)‖—this may have been David's Well. It is well known to travellers who have seen the wells of Greece and of the Holy Land, that there exists no monument of ancient times more permanent than even an artifical well; that vases of *terra cotta*, of the highest antiquity, have been found in cleansing the wells of Athens; and if they be natural sources, springing from cavities in the limestone rocks of a country where a well is the most important possession of the people, (in which number this well of Bethlehem may be classed,) there seems no reason to doubt the possibility of its existence in the remote ages whereto it is now referred. It has not hitherto excited the

* "Now king David was old, and stricken in years." 1 Kings, i. 1.

† That is to say, which was the price of blood. "Is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives?" (2 Sam. xxiii. 17.) It was contrary to the Jewish law to use any thing which might be considered as the price of blood. Thus it is recorded by St. Matthew, (xxvii. 6.) "And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, it is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood."

‡ Ἔσπεισε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτὰ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἠυχαριστήσεν αυτῷ. "Deo autem inde libavit, eique pro virorum incolumitate gratias egit." Joseph. Antiq. lib. vii, c. 12. tom. I. p. 402. 1726.

§ "Bethlehem in dorso sita est augusto, ex omni parte vallibus circumdato. Ab Occidente in Orientem mille passibus longa, humili sine turribus muro; in cujus orientali angulo quasi quoddam naturale semiantrum est," etc. Beda in libro de Locis Sanctis. cap. viii.

‖ This appears by the context, (2 Sam. xxiii. 14. 16.) "And the garrison of the Philistines was then in Beth-lehem . . . . . And the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem that was by the gate," &c.

attention of any writer, by whom Bethlehem is described; for Quaresmius,* who has written a chapter "*De Cisterna Bethlehem quae et David nuncupatur*," places this upon the road to Jerusalem, at a considerable distance from the town.

The tradition respecting the cave of the nativity seems so well authenticated, as hardly to admit of dispute. Having been held in veneration from a very early period, the oratory established there by the first Christians attracted the notice and indignation of the Heathens so early as the time of Adrian, who ordered it to be demolished, and the place to be set apart for the rites of Adonis.† The situation of the town upon the narrow ridge of a long and lofty hill, surrounded on all sides by valleys, is particularly described by the Abbot of Iona, from the account given to him by Arculfus;‡ and for a description of the interior of the monastery, the reader may be referred to the very recent description given by Mons. De Chateaubriand.§ He considers the church as of high antiquity; being unmindful of the entire destruction of the convent by the Moslems, toward the end of the thirteenth century.‖ We felt very little disappointment in not seeing it. The degrading superstitions maintained by all the Monkish establishments in the Holy Land excite pain and disgust. The Turks use the monastery, when they travel this way, as they would a common caravanserai; making the church, or any other part of the building that suits their convenience, both a dormitory and a tavern, while they remain. Neither is the sanctuary more polluted by the presence of these Moslems, than by a set of

* Elucidatio Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 614. Antv. 1639.

† "Bethleem nunc nostram, et augustissimum orbis locum de quo Psalmista canit (Ps. 84. 12.) Veritas de terra orta est. lucus inumbrabat Thamus, id est, Adonidis: et in specu ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris Amasius plangebatur." Hieronymus Epist. ad Paulin. p. 564.

‡ "Quae civitas non tam situ grandis, sicuti nobis Arculfus retulit, qui eam frequentavit, quàm famâ praedicabilis per universarum gentium ecclesiam diffamata, in dorso (montis) sita est angusto undique ex omni parte vallibus circumdato. Quod utique terrae dorsum ab occidentali plaga in orientalem partem quasi mille passibus porrigitur. In cujus campestri planicie superiore humilis sine turribus murus in circuitu per ejusdem monticuli extremitatis supercilium constructus valliculis hinc et inde circumjacentibus super eminet: mediaque intercapedine intra muros per longiorem tramitem habitacula civium sternuntur." Adamnani de Loc. Sanct. lib. ii. c. 1. Vid. Mabillon. Acta Ord. Bened. Saec. 3. L. Par. 1672.

§ See Travels in Greece, Egypt, and Palaestine, vol. 1. p. 392. *Lond.* 1811.

‖ "Saincte Paule fit bastir ce monastère pour des religieux, ou le grand sainct Jerosme demeura plusieurs années, mais il fut ruiné par les Infidèles l'an 1263." (Doubdan Voy. de la T. S. p. 163. Paris, 1657.) PAULA was a Roman matron, one of the first women who, with MARCELLA, SOPHRONIA, and PRINCIPIA, professed a monastic life at Rome. MARCELLA had been instigated by Athanasius; but the others were instructed by Jerom. PAULA and MELANIA accompanied him to the Holy Land: the former of these erected four monasteries, three for women, and one for men, where Jerom lived for many years, as he testifies in his Epitaph of PAULA.

men whose grovelling understandings have sunk so low as to vilify the sacred name of Christianity by the grossest outrages upon human intellect. In the pavement of the church, a hole, formerly used to carry off water, is exhibited as the place where the star fell, and sunk into the earth, after conducting the Magi to the cave of the nativity. A list of fifty other things of this nature might be added, if either the patience of the author or of the reader were equal to the detail: and if to these were added the inscriptions and observations contained in the bulky volumes of Quaresmius upon this subject alone,* the guide to Bethlehem, as a work, concentrating the quintessence of mental darkness, would leave us lost in wonder that such a place was once enlightened by the precepts of a scholar whom Erasmus so eloquently eulogized.† They still pretend to show the tomb of St. Jerom‡ (although his reliques were translated to Rome,) and also that of Eusebius.§ The same manufacture of crucifixes and beads, which supports so many of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, also maintains those of Bethlehem; but the latter claim, almost exclusively, the priviledge of marking the limbs and bodies of pilgrims, by means of gunpowder, with crosses, stars, and monograms.‖ A Greek servant, who accompanied us, thought proper to have his skin disfigured in this manner; and the wound was for many days so painful, and accompanied with so much fever, that we had reason to apprehend a much more serious consequence than he had expected.

Leaving our halting place by the well, we made a wide circuit in the valley, to keep clear of the town; and returning again to Jerusalem, instead of entering the city, took the road leading to Jaffa. No notice has been taken of what is called the Tomb of Rachel,** between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, because it is a work of no antiquity. The place, however, is held in vene-

* Elucid. T. S. lib. vi. p. 614 ad p. 695. tom. II.

† St. Jerom passed great part of his life in this retirement. Erasmus says of him, "*Quis docet apertius? quis delectat urbanius? quis movet efficacius? quis laudat candidius? quis suadet gravius? quis hortatur ardentius?*"

‡ He died at the age of 91. In the beginning of the fifth century, A. D. 422.

§ Vid. Quaresmius, tom II. p. 676, et seq.

‖ It is worthy of being remarked, that there exists rarely an instance among the popular minor superstitions of the Greek and Roman Church, but its origin may be found in more remote antiquity. Even this practice of marking the skin is noticed by Virgil (Æneid. lib. iv. v. 146.) and by Pomponius Mela, lib. xxi.

** "Est quædam via regia, quæ ab *Ælia* contra meridianam plagam Chebron ducit, cui viæ Bethlehem vicina *sex milibus* distans ab Hierosolyma, ab orientali plaga adhæret. *Sepulchrum verò Rachel* in eadem viæ extremitate ab occidentali parte, hoc est in dextro latere habetur pergentibus Chebron cohærens, vili operatione collocatum, et nullam habens adornationem, lapidea circumdatur pyramide." *Adamnan. De Loc. Sanct. apud Mabillon. Act. Ord. Benedict. Sacc.* 3 *Par.* 2. *p.* 512. *L. Par.* 1672

ration, not only by Christians and Jews, but also by Arabs and Turks. The whole distance from Jerusalem to Jaffa does not much exceed forty miles;* and this, according to the ordinary time of travelling, might be performed in about thirteen hours; but owing to rugged and pathless rocks over which the traveller must pass, it is impossible to perform it in less than a day and a half. When it is considered that this has been always the principal route of pilgrims, and that during the Crusades it was much frequented, it is singular that no attempt was ever made to facilitate the approach to the Holy City. The wildest passes of the Apennines are not less open to travellers. No part of the country is so much infested by predatory tribes of Arabs. The most remarkable circumstance which occurred in this route, although it is a very general characteristic of the Holy Land, were the number of caves, most of them being artificial excavations in the rocks. It must remain for others to determine their origin, whether they were solely used as sepulchres, or as dwellings belonging to the ancient Philistines. At present, they serve for retreats to bands of plunderers dispersed among the mountains. After three miles of as hard a journey, over hills and rocks, as any we had experienced, we entered the famous *Terebinthine Vale*, renowned, during nineteen centuries, as the field of the victory gained by the youngest of the sons of Jesse over the uncircumcised champion of the Philistines, who had "defied the armies of the living God." The ADMONITUS LOCORUM cannot be more forcibly excited, than by the words of Scripture:† "And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them." Nothing has ever occurred to alter the appearance of the country: as it was then, so it is now. The very brook whence David "chose him five smooth stones" has been noticed by many a thirsty pilgrim, journeying from Jaffa to Jerusalem; all of whom must pass it in their way.‡

* Quaresmius gives the distance from St. Jerom, (Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 4) making it equal to forty miles. His own knowledge of the country also adds weight to the high authority he has cited. But Phocas, also a very accurate writer, describes the distance of Rama from Jerusalem as equal to thirty seven miles. *See Phoc. Descr. Loc. Sanct. apud L. Allat.* Σύμμ. *p.* 44. *Col.* 1653. If this be true, Jaffa is forty-seven miles, at the least, from Jerusalem.

† 1 Sam. xvii. 2, 3.

‡ "Torrens verò ex quo David accepit quinque limpidissimos lapides, quibus dejecit et prostravit gigantem, proximus est, et pertransitur prosequendo iter versus sanctam civitatem." *Quaresm. Elucid. T. S. lib.* iv. *tom.* II. *p.* 16. *Antw.* 1639. See also *Adrichomius in Judah. num.* 235. *Brocard. Itin.* 7. *Breidenbach. eod.* &c.

The ruins of goodly edifices indeed attest the religious veneration entertained, in later periods, for the hallowed spot; but even these are now become so insignificant, that they are scarcely discernible, and nothing can be said to interrupt the native dignity of this memorable scene.

Seven other miles, not less laborious than the preceding, brought us to another valley, called that of Jeremiah, on account of a church once dedicated to the prophet. In a miserable village of the same name, Mons. De Chateaubriand was gratified by the sight of a troop of young Arabs, imitating the French military exercise with palm sticks, and by hearing them exclaim,* in his own language, "*en avant! marche!*" We intended to have passed the night in Jeremiah; but the drivers of our camels, perhaps by design, had taken them forward, with our baggage, to the village of Bethoor, where they were seized by the Arabs. All our journals were with the baggage; and as we travelled with a recommendation from the governor of Jerusalem, and from Djezzar Pacha, we thought there would be little risk in venturing to claim our effects: after a short deliberation, we therefore resolved to proceed. Barren as are the hills in this district, the valleys seem remarkably fertile. We found the latter covered with plentiful crops of tobacco, wheat, barley, Indian millet, melons, vines, pumpkins, and cucumbers. The gourd or pumpkin seems to be a very essential vegetable in the east, and many varieties of it are cultivated. The prospect among the hills resembles the worst parts of the Apennines. Mountains of naked limestone, however broken and varied their appearance, have nothing in their aspect either grand or picturesque. Their summits and defiles are tenanted by the wildest Arabs; † a party of whom, attended by their prince, favoured us with their company, at a well where we halted; but fortunately, from the paucity of their number, offered us no molestation. We were therefore permitted to admire, without apprehension, the very interesting group they exhibited; their wild and swarthy looks; the beauty of their horses; and their savage dress. Some of them dismounted, and, having lighted their pipes,

* Travels in Greece, Palaest. etc. vol. I. p. 383. *Lond.* 1811.

† "I was told of the tribe between Rama and Jerusalem. The European Monks, who are now the only pilgrims that visit the Holy Land, describe those Arabs as devils incarnate, and complain dolefully of their cruelty to the poor Christians. Those lamentations, and the superstitious pity of good souls in Europe, procure large alms to the Convent of Franciscans at Jerusalem." *Niebuhr's Trav. in Arabia*, vol. II. p. 182. *Edin.* 1792.

sat smoking with us at the well. They make no secret of their mode of life, but seemed rather vain of it. Had but a few of their friends upon the hills descended to their aid, they would have stripped us of every thing we had, even of our clothes. Their chief advanced to kiss the hand of the captain of our guard, expressing his reverence for Djezzar Pacha, and making him as much compliment and ceremony as if they had been his slaves. This officer told us, that their servile behaviour when their force is inferior, is as much their characteristic, as their ferocity when in power. We bargained with this chief to accompany us to Bethoor, in order to recover our camels and baggage; to which, after a short parley, he consented; and, having dismissed his attendants, accompanied us from the well, riding in the van of our cavalcade, armed with a long lance, such as the Cossacks of Tartary always carry on horseback. In this manner we reached Bethoor late in the evening. Concerning this place, not a syllable of information occurs, either in the accounts given by travellers who have visited the Holy Land, or of authors who have written for its illustration. This is the more remarkable, as it occurs in the high way from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Yet such was the situation of ΒΕΘΩΡΩΝ mentioned by Josephus,* and written also ΒΑΙΘΩΡΩΝ. Hence it really seems as if the accident which had compelled our visit to a place we should otherwise have disregarded, has also enabled us to ascertain the disputed situation of *Bethoron*, written *Bethchoron* by Reland :† for, after the most diligent examination of the authorities urged in fixing the position of this place, they all seem to bear directly toward Bethoor, and particularly the relative position of places with which Bethoron is named by ancient writers. St. Jerom, speaking of Rama and Bethoron, says that these, (which, it is to be observed, he seems to associate, as if they were not remote from each other,) together with other noble cities built by Solomon, are now only known by poor villages, preserving in their names a memorial of what they once were. This at least may be inferred from his words.‡ And Rama, as it will

* The distance of Bethoor from Jerusalem also agrees with the account given by Josephus of Bethoron, as it is stated by Reland. "*Quanto intervallo* Βαιθωρὼ *abfuerit Hierosolymis colligitur ex lib. 2. de Bell. cap. 2. ubi supellex Caesaris dicitur illic esse direpta, si conferas cum. lib. 20. Antiquit. 4. ubi idem narratur et id factum esse legitur centesimo ab urbe Hierosolymitana stadio* κατὰ τὴν δημοσίαν ὁδὸν *in via publica.*" Palæst. Illust. tom. II. p. 634.

† Reland. Palæst. Illust tom. II. p. 633.

‡ "Rama et Bethoron et reliquae urbes nobile a Salomone constructae parvi viculi demonstrantur." *Hieron. in Commentario ad Sophoniam, cap. 1.*

afterward appear, was a village in the time of St. Jerom: indeed, notwithstanding the alterations made there by the Moslems, it is little better at the present moment. Bethoron, like Amphipolis of Macedonia, was two fold; that is to say, there was a city *superior* and *inferior*. It stood upon the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin; which exactly answers to the situation of Bethoor. Eusebius mentions two villages of this name,* twelve miles distant from Ælia (Jerusalem); one called, from its situation, *Bethoron superior*, the other *Bethoron inferior*. Frequent notice of them occurs in the Apocryphal writings.† Also in the Old Testament it is recorded,‡ that a woman of the tribe of Ephraim, by name Sherah, *built Beth-horon the nether and the upper*. Beth-horon of the Old Testament stood on a hill, which the Canaanites, flying from Gibeon, ascended.§ "The Lord chased them along the way that goes up to Beth-horon." But from Beth-horon to Azekah the way lay down the hill, on another side:‖ "In the going down of Beth-horon, the Lord cast down great stones upon them, unto Azekah."** But the most remarkable evidence respecting its situation is afforded by Josephus, in several passages following his account of the destruction of Joppa *(Jaffa)* by the Romans; where he mentions the march of Cestius by the way of Lydda, and Bethoron, to Jerusalem:†† and Lydda is known to have stood near the spot where Rama now stands.‡‡ Also in the description given of the situation of the Roman army, in the defiles and crags about Bethoron.§§ From these, and many other testimonies that might be adduced, it does seem evident that the modern village of Bethoor was the Bethoron superior of the ancients.

The scene which ensued upon our arrival at Bethoor, was highly interesting. We found the Arabs in great number, squabbling, and seizing every thing they could lay their hands upon. We were not allowed even to pitch our tent, until the result of a general council among them had taken place. Presently the Sheik of Bethoor made his appearance, and a

* Eusebius in Onomast. Reland. ubi supra.
† Ἐν Βαιθωρῶν (1 Macc. vii. 39.) Τὴν Βαιθωρῶν (1 Macc. ix. 50.) Ἀνάβασις Βαιθωρῶν (1 Macc. iii. 16.) Ἐν καταβάσει Βαιθωρὼν ἕως τῆς πεδίου. (Ibid.)
‡ 1 Chron. vii. 24.
§ Josh. x. 10.
‖ See Dr. Wells's Hist. Geog. vol. I. p. 295. *Oxf.* 1801.
** Josh. x. 11.
†† Joseph. de Bell. lib. ii. c. 23. *Colon.* 1691.
‡‡ Reland. Pal. Illust. tom. II. p. 959. *Utr.* 1714
§§ Joseph. de Bell. c. 24. *Colon.* 1691.

conversation began between him and the Arab who had undertaken to escort us through his territory. Then they all formed a circle, seated upon the ground, in the open air; the Sheik being in the centre, with an iron mace or sceptre in his hand, about three feet in length, with a sphere at the upper extremity, so longitudinally grooved as to exhibit edges on every side. This regal badge, evidently a weapon of offence, thus borne as a symbol of power in time of peace, only proves, that among the wildest Arabs, as among the most enlightened nations, the ensigns of dignity have been originally instruments of terror. The consultation lasted for some time: during this we observed our Arab as a very principal speaker, addressing the conclave with great warmth, and apparently remonstrating against propositions that were made. When it ended, we found that if we had better understood what was going on, we should have been more interested in the result of their debate than we imagined; for the discussion tended to nothing less than a determination, whether or not we should be considered as prisoners of war. As soon as they all rose, the Sheik came toward us, and told us, that we might pass the night where we then were; that we were indebted for our liberty to the presence of the Arab we had brought with us, and to the recommendation of the Pacha of Acre; that the countenance of the governor of Jerusalem availed nothing in our favour; that in the morning he should mount upwards of one thousand Arabs against the Pacha of Gaza; but that he would send a party to escort us as far as Rama. It may well be imagined, that, after this intelligence of our situation, we passed the night in considerable uneasiness. We had the tent pitched, but called into it all those upon whom we could rely, and stationed others round it; keeping guard until day light appeared, when we recommenced our journey. The Arabs appointed to guaranty our safety, took their station, as the young chief had done on the preceding evening, in the front of our party, bearing their long lances upright. In this manner they preceded us until we arrived within sight of Rama, when, suddenly filing to the right and left, without bidding us farewell, they galloped off as fast as their horses could carry them.

Rama is about thirty miles from Jerusalem, according to Quaresmius.* Phocas makes the distance greater.† The last

* "Via à Rama usque ad Jerusalem est triginta circiter milliarium." *Elucid. T. S. tom.* II. *p.* 12.

† Ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡσεὶ μίλια ς', ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀρμαθὴμ πόλις, ἐνῇ Σαμουὴλ ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος προφήτης γεγέννηται. καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ὡσεὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων μιλίων ἑπτὰ

eight or ten miles of our journey was over a more pleasing tract of country; but all the rest afforded the most fatiguing and difficult route* we had any where encountered, since we landed at Acre. The town is situated in the middle of an extensive and fertile plain, which is part of the great field of Sharon, if we may bestow a name upon any particular region which was applied to more than one district of the Holy Land.† It makes a considerable figure at a distance; but we found nothing within the place except traces of devastation and death. It exhibited one scene of ruin. Houses fallen or deserted, appeared on every side; and instead of inhabitants we beheld only the skeletons or putrifying carcases of horses and camels. These were lying in all the streets, and even in the courts and chambers of the buildings belonging to the place. A plague, or rather *murrain*, during the preceding year, had committed such ravages, that not only men, women, and children, but cattle of all kinds, and every thing that had life, became its victims. Few of the inhabitants of Europe can have been aware of the state of suffering to which all the coast of Palæstine and Syria was exposed. It followed, and in part accompanied, the dreadful ravages caused by the march of the French army: from the accounts we received, it seemed as if the exterminating hand of Providence was exercised in sweeping from the earth every trace of animal existence. "In Rama‡ was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and

ἢ καὶ πλεῖον διάστημα, ἐστὶν ἡ Ἐμμαοὺς πόλις μεγάλη, κοιλάδος μέσον κείμενη, ἐν ὑπερανεστηκότι ῥακίῳ, οὕτως ὡσεὶ μίλια εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρα ἡ τοῦ Ῥαμπλέα χώρα ὑφήπλωται καὶ ναὸς πάμμεγας ἐν ταύτῃ ὁρᾶται τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου. "A sancta civitate Hierusalem, ad sex milliaria, Armathem urbs conspicitur, in qua Samuel, magnus ille propheta, ortum habuit. Inde post alia septem et amplius milliaria, Emmaus, urbs magna, in media valle supereminenti dorso jacet. Sic ad passuum fere viginti millia, *Rampleae* (haec est Ramola, sic leg. Reland.) regio effunditur: et templum ingens in eadem sancti magni martyris Georgii visitur. *Phocae. Descript. Loc. Sanct. apud Leon. Allat.* Σύμμ. *Colon.* 1653

* "It seems never to have been otherwise. There is not even a trace of any ancient paved way, so common even in the remotest provinces of the Roman empire. "*Excepta planitie Rama*," says Quaresmius (Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p.12.) "*quae pulchra est. spatiosa et fecunda, octo vel decem milliarium, tota residua difficilis satis, et fere semper per montes et colles.*" Yet it appears to be recorded, (1 Kings, v. 9.) that the stones and timber for building Solomon's Temple were brought upon rafts, by sea, to the port of Jaffa, and thence carried by land to Jerusalem. *See also Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom.* II. *p.* 5. *Antv.* 1639.

† Eusebius and Jerom affirm, that all the maritime district from Joppa to Caesarea was called Saron; and also, that the country between Mount Thabor and the Lake of Tiberias had the same name. *Vide. Hieronym. de Loc. Hebraic. Litt. S.* See also *Doubdan. Voy. de la T. S. p.* 510. *Paris*, 1657.

‡ This prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxi. 15.) applied by Saint Matthew (ii. 17.) to the murder of the innocents by Herod, is not believed to refer to the place now mentioned, but to another *Rama*, noticed by Eusebius. "*Meminit Eusebius Ramæ περὶ τεν Βηθλεὲμ de qua dictum sit.* (Matth. 2. 18. Jerem 31. 11.) VOX IN RAMA AUDITA EST. *Sed quum vicum aut urbem eam non appellet, nec aliquid addat,*" &c. (Rel. Palaest. tom. II. p. 964. Utrecht, 1714.) *Rama* was a name common to many places in the Holy

great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not."

The history of Rama is more interesting than the neglect shown to it by travellers would induce us to believe. Its origin has been ascribed to the Moslems, under Soliman, son of Abdolmelic,* who built the town with materials furnished by the ruins of *Lydda*,† distant three miles from Rama. That this, however, is not true, may be proved by reference to the writings of St. Jerom: he speaks of its vicinity to Lydda, and calls it Arimathea,‡ from an opinion very prevalent, that it was the native place of Joseph, who buried our Saviour.§ The testimony of St. Jerom, given anterior to the Mahometan conquest of the country, is sufficient to prove that the city existed before the Moslems invaded Palæstine. Indeed they are, of all mankind, the least likely to found a city; although the commercial advantages of situation have sometimes augmented places where they reside. It is possible that Rama, from a small village, became a large town under their dominion; and of this opinion is Quaresmius.‖ There seems very little reason to doubt but that this *Rama* was the village mentioned with *Bethoron*, by St. Jerom, in the passage already twice referred to,** as the only remains of the two cities so named, which were built by Solomon.†† Reland considered Bernard the Monk as

Land; and the learned reader is requested to determine, whether the modern village of Bethoor and the modern Rama do not appear to be the places mentioned in the following passage cited in a former note from St. Jerom: "*Rama et Bethoron et reliquae urbes nobiles a Salomone constructae parvi viculi demonstrantur.*" Rama was a village in the time of Jerom; and the situation of Bethoor is distinctly marked in the Apocrypha, with reference to the plain of Rama: Ἐν καταβάσει Βαιθωρὼν ἕως τῆς πεδιάδος. (1 Maccab. iii. 16. 24.)

* "Urbem hanc idem non antiquam, sed conditam esse scribit (*Abulfeda, in geographia sua manuscripta*) ab Solimanno filio Abdolmelic, vastata urbe Lydda, et aquae ductu, cisterna, aliisque rebus ornatam," &c. (Rel. Pal. Illust. tom. II. p. 959, Utr. 1714.) "Hanc civitatem aedificaverunt Arabes prope Lyddam, quum peregrini primo iverunt ad partes illas post tempora Mahumeti." *Sanutus in Secret. Fidel. Crucis, pag.* 152.

† Otherwise named *Diospolis*. It was also called St. George. (See the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela.) Pliny mentions it among the ten Toparchies of Judaea. (Vid. lib. v Hist. Nat. c. 14. tom. I. p. 262. L. Bat. 1635.) It was famous for a church dedicated to *St. George*, said by Boniface (lib. ii. de Perenni Cultu Terr. Sanct.) to have been built by an English king. There was also a monastery of that name in Rama.

‡ "Haud procul ab ea (Lydda) Arimathiam viculum Joseph qui Dominum sepelivit." Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulæ.

§ See also Adrichomius, Theat. T. S. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

‖ Elucidat. Terr. Sanct. tom. II. p. 8. Antv. 1639.

** See former notes of this chapter.

†† Its most ordinary appellations have been Rama, Ramola, and Ramula; although Adrichomius, who believed it to have been Arimathea, mentions the various modifications of Ramatha, Ramathæ, Ramathaim, and Arimatha, or Arimathia, afterward, says he, called Rama, and Ramula. Vid. Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

the oldest writer by whom Rama is mentioned.* Bernard visited the Holy Land in the ninth century.† Oriental geographers describe it as the metropolis of Palæstine.‡ In this place the famous tutelar Saint of our ancestors in England is said, by some, to have suffered martyrdom;§ although, according to most authors, his reliques reposed in a magnificent temple at Lydda or Diospolis.‖ We observed the remains of very considerable edifices within this desolated city: no one was present to give us any information concerning them; even the monastery, which for centuries had entertained pilgrims at Rama,** was deserted and left to ruin. Its distance from Jerusalem, usually estimated at a day's journey,†† is described by Phocas as equal to thirty-six or thirty-seven miles.‡‡ Phocas distinguishes *Armathem*, the native place of the prophet Samuel, from *Ramola*, or *Rama*, with which Adrichomius seems to have confounded it;§§ and places the Church of St. George within the latter city; which position, although disputed by Reland and other authors, not only seems to coincide with the testimony already given from the Alexiad of Anna Comnena, but also with the evidence afforded by Bernard the Monk, who mentions a monastery of St. George near *Ramula*.‖‖

There is not a part of the Holy Land more fertile than the plain around Rama; it resembles a continual garden; but cultivation had been neglected at the time of our arrival, on account of the dreadful plague with which the whole country had been infested. Rama and Lydda were the two first cities of the Holy Land that fell into the hands of the Christians,

* Palæst, Illust. tom. II. p. 959. Utr. 1714.

† A. D. 870. His Itinerary was published by Mabillon, in the "*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Benedicti*," printed at Paris in 1672. It follows Arculfe's Itinerary, as given by Adamnanus, abbot of Iona. These are Bernard's words: "Deinde venerunt Alarixa; de Alarixa in Ramula, juxta quam est Monasterium beati Georgii Martyris, ubi ipse requiescit." Bernardus de Locis Sanctis, ap. Mabill. p. 524.

‡ "Abulhasen Persa in geographia sua MSta vocat Ramolam caput Palaestinae." Rel. Pal. Illust. tom. II. p. 959. Utr. 1714.

§ Εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν κατέλαβον τὸ Ῥάμελ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ μεγαλομάρτυς Γεώργιος μεμαρτύρηκε. "Postea tamen in Ramel transeunt, ubi magnus Martyr Georgius martyrium subiit." Annae Comnenae Alexiad. lib. xi. p. 328. Par. 1651.

‖ See the long account given by Adamnanus, de Loc. Sanct. lib. iii. c. 4. Apud Mabillon, Acta Ord. Benedict. Saec. 3. p. 520. Par. 1672. Also Quaresm. tom. II. p. 9. Antv. 1639, &c.

** "Hospitantur enim Peregrini in ea domo, quae Nicodemi Christi occulti discipuli fuit. Haec domus in Monasterium fuit co-aptata, nunc et Monasterium, et Hospitium, Peregrinorum est." Bonifacius, lib. ii. de Perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae.

†† "Abesse ab urbe Hierosolymitana iter unius diei." Rel. Pal. Illust. tom. II. p. 960. Utr. 1714.

‡‡ Phocae Descript. Terr. Sanct. c. 29. p. 44. Colon. 1653.

§§ Theatrum Terr. Sanct. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

‖‖ "Lyddam sive Diospolin intelligit, quae patria est S. Georgii non longe a Ramola." Rel. Pal. Illust. tom. II. p. 963. Utr. 1714.

when the army of the Crusaders arrived. Rama was then in its greatest splendour; a magnificent city, filled with wealth and abundance of all the luxuries of the east. It was exceedingly populous, adorned with stately buildings, and well fortified with walls and towers. The princes and generals of the Christian army, having despatched the Count of Flanders, with five hundred cavalry, to reconnoitre the place, and summon the city to surrender, found the gates open; the inhabitants, alarmed by the sudden approach of so powerful an army, had abandoned their dwellings and all their property during the preceding night. In consequence of this, a general rendezvous of the Christian forces took place in Rama, where they remained during three entire days, regaling themselves upon the abundance the place afforded. During this time, Robert of Normandy was elected bishop of Rama and Lydda, to which bishopric all the revenues of the two cities and their dependencies were annexed; the whole army joining in thanksgiving to St. George, the Martyr and patron Saint of Diospolis and Rama, to whom the auspicious commencement of the enterprise was attributed. Hence probably originates the peculiar consideration in which St. George* was held by the inhabitants of England, during the early periods of its history.

A more revolting sight can hardly be imagined than was presented during all the rest of our journey to Jaffa. The road was entirely strewed with dead bodies. Not a plantation was to be seen but traces of the deadly contagion were also visible. In the general mortality, a valuable and much lamented British officer, General Kleber, of the artillery, attached to the suite of the Vizier, together with his wife, became its victims. They had visited Jerusalem; and had occupied the apartment afterward allotted to our use, in the convent of St. Salvador. Upon their return to Jaffa the fatal symptoms were speedily manifested. Other artillery officers, who were also stationed in Jaffa at that time, informed us, that General Kleber soon became delirious, and very ungovernable, insomuch that they were compelled to confine him to his chamber. His lady, from the inevitable consequences of the pious offices she rendered to the general, was seized nearly at the same time; and, although unable, like another Eleonora, to save the life of her husband, by taking to herself the morbid venom, was not less conspicuous as an example of conjugal vir-

* "Cry—God for Harry! England! and St. George!" Hen. V. act 3. scene 1.

tue. They expired together, insensible of the horrors of their situation, and were thereby spared the agonizing spectacle of each other's sufferings.

Jaffa appeared to be almost in as forlorn a state as Rama; the air itself was still infected with the smell of unburied bodies. We went to the house of the English Consul, whose gray hairs had not exempted him from French extortion. He had just ventured to hoist again the British flag upon the roof of his dwelling; and he told us, with tears in his eyes, that it was the only proof of welcome he could offer to us, as the French officers, under Buonaparte, had stripped him of every thing he possessed. However, in the midst of all his complaints against the French, not a single syllable ever escaped his lips respecting the enormities supposed to be committed, by means of Buonaparte's orders or connivance, in the town and neighbourhood of Jaffa. As there are so many living witnesses to attest the truth of this representation, and the character of no ordinary individual is so much implicated in its result, the utmost attention will be here paid to every particular likely to illustrate the fact; and for this especial reason, because that individual is our enemy. At the time we were in Jaffa, so soon after the supposed transactions are said to have occurred, the indignation of our consul, and of the inhabitants in general, against the French, were of so deep a nature, that there is nothing they would not have said, to vilify Buonaparte, or his officers: but this accusation they never even hinted.* Nor is this all. Upon the evening of our arrival at Jaffa, walking with Captain Culverhouse along the shore to the south of the town, in order to join some of our party who

* Some years after, Captain Wright, who is now no more, waited upon the author at Ibbotson's hotel, in Vere street, London, to give an account of what he jocosely termed his scepticism upon this subject; when these and the following particulars were related to him, and an appeal made to the testimony of Captain Culverhouse, Mr. Cripps, Mr. Loudon, and others who were with us in Jaffa, as to the fact, Captain Wright still maintained the charge; and the author, finding the testimony afforded by himself and his friends liable to give offence, reserved all he had to say upon the subject until it should appear in its proper place, as connected with the history of his travels; always, however, urging the same statement, when appealed to for information. A few months after Captain Wright's visit, Captain Culverhouse, who had been employed in a distant part of the kingdom, recruiting for the navy, came to London, and meeting the author in public company at table, asked him, with a smile, what he thought of the reports circulated concerning the massacre, &c. at Jaffa. The author answered by saying, that it had long been his intention to write to Captain Culverhouse upon the subject, and that it was very gratifying to him to find the purport of his letter so satisfactorily anticipated. Captain Culverhouse then, before the whole company present, expressed his astonishment at the industrious propagation of a story, whereof the inhabitants of Jaffa were ignorant, and of which he had never heard a syllable until his arrival in England. The author knows not where this story originated; nor is it of any consequence to the testimony he thinks it now a duty to communicate.

were gone in search of plants and shells, a powerful and most offensive smell, as from dead bodies, which we had before experienced more than once, in approaching the town, caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed or return. At this moment the author observed the remains of bodies in the sand; and Captain Culverhouse, being in doubt whether they belonged to human bodies or to those of cattle, removed a part of the sand with his sword, and uncovered part of a hand and arm. Upon this, calling to our friends, we told them what we had discovered; and returning to the consul's house, asked him the cause of the revolting spectacle we had witnessed. He told us, that these were the remains of bodies carried thither, during the late plague, for interment; but that the sea, frequently removing the sand which covered them, caused them to be thus exposed; and he cautioned us in future against walking that way, as the infection might possibly be retained, not only by those bodies, but by the clothes and other things there deposited.

Joppa, called also *Japha*, and now universally *Jaffa*, owes all the circumstances of its celebrity, as the principal port of Judæa, to its situation with regard to Jerusalem. As a station for vessels, its harbour is one of the worst in the Mediterranean. Ships generally anchor about a mile from the town, to avoid the shoals and rocks of the place.* In ancient times it was the only place resorted to as a seaport, in all Judæa. Hither Solomon ordered the materials for the temple to be brought from Mount Libanus, previous to their conveyance by land to Jerusalem. A tradition is preserved, that here Noah lived and built his ark. Pliny describes it as older than the deluge.† In his time they pretended to exhibit the marks of the chains with wich Andromeda was fastened to a rock: the skeleton of the sea monster, to whom she had been exposed, was brought to Rome by Scaurus, and carefully preserved‡—

* "Minus tutus est, et non nisi parva navigia admittit. Nec etiam celebris est, quoniam propter portus incommoditatem haud multae merces illuc advehuntur." Quaresm Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 5. Antv. 1639.

† "Joppe Phœnicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione." Hist. Nat. lib. v. c. 13. tom. I. p. 262. L. Bat. 1635.

‡ Julius Solinus in Polyhistor. cap. 37. Norimb. 1777. The ribs were forty feet in length; and from the account given of the animal, it was probably a whale. Vid. Abulensis in cap. 14. Exod. quaest. 11. Quaresm. Eluc. T. S. tom. II. p. 5. Antv. 1639. Strab. Geog. lib. i. et xvi. Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 11, &c. Thus we have evidence of whales in this sea, without having recourse to the testimony of sacred scripture. Mr. Briant, however, in his "Observations upon some passages in scripture, which the enemies of religion have thought most obnoxious," &c. 4to. pp. 243, 244, 245, is of the opposite opinion. But if he be right with respect to the single whale in the Mediterranean, how came that fish, from earliest times, to have been

proving that every church has had its reliques, so universal is a passion for the marvellous. Some authors ascribe the origin of Jaffa to Japhet, son of Noah, and thence derive its name. However fabulous such accounts may be now deemed, they afford proof of the great antiquity of the place; having been recorded by historians, for so many ages, as the only traditions extant concerning its origin. Jaffa is also celebrated as the port whence the prophet Jonas embarked for Nineveh.* Here also St. Peter restored Tabitha to life.† In the time of St. Jerom it was called *Japho*.‡ Doubdan gives a long account of its history in later times.§ It was fortified in the beginning of the thirteenth century, by Louis, king of France.|| An Arab fisherman at Jaffa, as we were standing upon the beach, came running to us with a fish he had just taken out of the water, and, from his eagerness to show what he had caught, we supposed it could not be very common. It was like a small tench, but of a dark and exceedingly vivid green colour, such as we had never seen before nor since; neither is it described by any author we are acquainted with. We had no means of preserving it, and therefore would not deprive the poor man of an acquisition with which he seemed so delighted, but gave him a trifle for the gratification its very extraordinary appearance afforded us, and left it in his hands. Notwithstanding the desolate appearance of the town, its market surprised us, by the beauty and variety of the vegetables it exhibited. Melons of every sort and quality were sold in such number, that boats from all the coast of Syria came to be freighted with them. Among these, the watermelons were in such perfection, that, after tasting them at Jaffa, those of any other country are not like the same fruit.** Finding that the vessel sent by

an object of worship at Joppa, unless, as Pliny relates, Joppa had been founded before the deluge. See p. 24.

* "But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to Tarshish." Jonah i. 3.

† Acts ix. 40.

‡ Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 23. Colon. 1628.

§ Voyage de la Terre Saincte, p. 496. Paris, 1657.

|| A. D. 1250. Vid. Adrichom. Theat. T. S. ubi supra.

** We found near Jaffa four undescribed plants, with several others that were rare. The new species were as follow:

I. A non-descript species of PLANTAGO, with flat linear curved leaves, about two, or two and a half, inches long, bristly on both sides, and at the edges the flower stalks hoary, with flat pressed hairs, and rising above the leaves; the spikes cylindrical, a little curved, from one to two inches and a half long: the stamens longer than the blossom, but much shorter than the woolly style. This species seems to come nearest to the *plantago cylindrica* of Forskahl, which is unknown to us. We have called it PLANTAGO SETOSA. Plantago foliis linearibus planis utrinque marginibusque setoso-asperis; scapis pilis adpressis canescentibus foliis

Djezzar Pacha to convey us to Acre had not arrived, and that boats laden with fruit were daily sailing thither, Captain Culverhouse, fearful of detaining his frigate a moment after the supplies for the fleet had been completed, judged it prudent to engage a passage for us in one of these boats. We therefore took leave of our aged and respectable host, the English Consul; and upon the evening of July the fifteenth, after sun set, embarked for Acre, to avail ourselves of the land wind, which blows during the night, at this season of the year. By day break the next morning we were off the coast of Cæsarea, and so near in with the land, that we could very distinctly perceive the appearance of its numerous and extensive ruins. The remains of this city, although still considerable, have long been resorted to as a quarry, whenever building materials were required at Acre. Djezzar Pacha, as it has been already mentioned, brought from hence the columns of rare and beautiful marble, as well as the other ornaments, of his palace, bath, fountain, and mosque, at Acre. The place at present is inhabited only by jackals and beasts of prey. As we were becalmed during the night, we heard the cries of these animals until day break. Pococke mentions the curious fact of the former existence of crocodiles in the river of Cæsarea.* Perhaps there has not been, in the history of the world, an example of any city, that in so short a space of time rose to such an

longioribus; calycibus nudis margine laceris; corollæ laciniis ovato-triangularibus; stylo pubescente longissimo.

II. A very small non-descript prostrate species of St. John's *wort*, HYPERICUM, *Linn.* with inversely ovate leaves and terminal flowers, and the teeth of the calyx entire at the margin. The stems are from one to four or five inches long, the leaves hardly the fourth of an inch, the blossoms yellow, rather more than half an inch across. We have called it HYPERICUM TENELLUM. Hypericum prostratum, glabrum; floribus terminalibus trigynis subcorymbosis; calycis dentibus integerrimis margine glandulosis; caulibus filiformibus brevibus; foliis cuneato-obovatis, punctatis glabris.

III. A minute, nearly stemless, umbelliferous plant, seldom rising to an inch in height, with simple linear leaves a little hispid at the edges; the fruit hispid, as in *caucalis*, but the flowers and the whole habit of the plant as in bupleurum; to which genus we have added it, by the name of BUPLEURUM MINIMUM; and the more willingly, as two other species, the bupleurum semicompositum of Linnæus, and the bupleurum procumbens of Desfontaines, have also seeds more or less hispid. Bupleurum subacaule, ramis quadrangulis brevissimis; foliis sublinearibus margine asperis; involucello pentaphyllo umbellulâ vix breviore; fructu hispidissimo.

IV. A small downy annual species of *scabious*; SCABIOSA, *Linn.* about five inches in height; the leaves pinnatifid, with their lobes distant from each other; the heads of flowers upon long peduncles, with a five leaved common calyx: the flowers purple, unequally five cleft, not radiating; the seeds with a downy plume of about fifteen rays. Not only the leaves, peduncles, and common calyx, but even the outside of the flowers, are downy. We have called it SCABIOSA DIVARICATA. Scabiosa pubescens, annua; corollulis quinquefidis laciniis inæqualibus; calycis lacyniis septenis, inaequalibus, lanceolatis; coronâ obsoletâ, pappo plumoso; foliis pinnatifidis.

* Pococke's Observations upon the East, vol. II. p. 58. Lond. 1743.

extraordinary height of splendour, as did this of Cæsarea;* or that exhibits a more awful contrast to its former magnificence, by the present desolate appearance of its ruins. Not a single inhabitant remains. Its theatres, once resounding with the shouts of multitudes, echo no other sound than the nightly cries of animals roaming for their prey. Of its gorgeous palaces and temples, enriched with the choicest works of art, and decorated with the most precious marbles, scarcely a trace can be discerned.† Within the space of ten years after laying the foundation, from an obscure fortress it became the most celebrated and flourishing city of all Syria. It was named Cæsarea by Herod, in honour of Augustus, and dedicated by him to that emperor, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.‡ Upon this occasion, that the ceremony might be rendered illustrious by a degree of profusion unknown in any former instance, Herod assembled the most skilful musicians, wrestlers, and gladiators, from all parts of the world.§ The solemnity was to be renewed every fifth year. It was afterward called *Colonia Flavia*, in consequence of privileges granted by Vespasian.‖ But, as we viewed the ruins of this memorable city, every other circumstance respecting its history was absorbed in the consideration, that we were actually beholding the very spot where the scholar of Tarsus, after two years' imprisonment, made that eloquent appeal, in the audience of the king of Judæa, which must ever be remembered with piety and delight. In the history of the actions of the Holy Apostles, whether we regard the internal evidence of the narrative, or the interest excited by a story so wonderfully appealing to our passions and affections, there is nothing we call to mind with fuller emotions of sublimity and satisfaction. "In the demonstration of the spirit and of power," the mighty advocate for the Christian faith had before reasoned of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," till the Roman governor, Felix, trembled as he spoke. Not all the oratory of Tertullus; not the clamour of his numerous adversaries; not even the countenance of the most profligate of tyrants, availed against the firmness and

* See the account of it in Josephus: De Antiq. Jud. lib. xv. c. 13. (the buildings were all of marble;) lib. xvi. c. 9. Colon. 1691.

† Herod caused the tower of Strato to be completely covered with white marble, against the arrival of Augustus.

‡ In the 192 Olympiad.

§ Josephus rates the expense of it at five hundred talents.

‖ "Eadem Cæsarea, ab Herode rege condita: nunc colonia prima Flavia, à Vespasiano Imperatore deducta." Plinii Histor. Natural. lib. v. c. 13. tom. I. p. 262. Lat. 1635.

intrepidity of the oracle of God. The judge had trembled before his prisoner;—and now a second occasion offered, in which, for the admiration and the triumph of the Christian world, one of its bitterest persecutors, and a Jew, appeals in the public tribunal of a large and populous city, to all its chiefs and its rulers, its governor and its king, for the truth of his conversion, founded on the highest evidence, delivered in the most fair, open, and illustrious manner.

As the day advanced, a breeze sprang up, and, standing out farther from the shore, we lost sight of Cæsarea. The heat became intolerable; and the powerful odour from the melons, which constituted the freight of our little bark, produced faintness and indisposition throughout all our party. Toward evening we made the point of Mount Carmel, and saw the monastery very distinctly upon its summit. Afterward, doubling the promontory, we entered the Bay of Acre, and were greeted with the welcome sight of the Romulus at anchor. As we drew near, the Captain's barge came to meet us, and we quitted our vessel. Suddenly, as the boat's crew pulled stoutly for the frigate, a shout from all the sailors on board was repeated from the barge, the men standing with their oars erect, and waving their hats. Supposing this to be intended as an expression of welcome, upon the return of the captain, we congratulated him upon the mark of attachment manifested by his crew. This worthy officer shook his head, however, and said he should feel more satisfied without any such demonstration, which amounted to little less than a symptom of mutiny. Upon our arrival on board we were informed that the men, having been employed in hard labour during the captain's absence, repairing the rigging and painting the frigate, had thus thought proper to testify their satisfaction at what they conceived to be a conclusion of tyrannical government in the inferior officers.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 7. "*The Chinese possess the art of perfecting such works.*"] As all siliceous concretions are soft and moist when first removed from the stratum wherein they have been deposited, it is probable that *Jade*, with whose natural history we are little acquainted, hardens by exposure to the atmosphere; and that the Chinese, who give it such various shapes, avail themselves of its softness, when fresh dug, in order to manufacture it. The chymical analysis of this mineral was only lately ascertained. Jade is an *alkaliferous silex*, containing also *lime:* its proper place, in a mineralogical system, ought to be with Obsidian and Pitchstone.

P. 39. "*The servant of the Imperial Consul at the Dardanelles performed this feat,* &c."] Lord Byron, in company with Lieutenant Ekenheid of the Salsette frigate, swam across the Hellespont, upon the third of May, 1810. They were only an hour and five minutes in completing the passage. See "Childe Harolde's Pilgrimage," p. 178. London, 1812.

P. 368. "*We observed also that reticulated stucco, which is commonly considered as an evidence of Roman work.*"] The extraordinary appearance of the *opus reticulatum*(a) in this building, being irreconcilable with Jewish masonry, may lead to a very curious, if not important inference, concerning these foundations. The author was at first inclined to believe, with Phocas and Golius,(b) that they were the remains of the temple of Solomon, as it was restored by Herod a few years before the Christian æra.(c) Judaea, it is true, was then a Roman province; but it does not necessarily follow, either that Roman workmen were employed,(d) or that the Roman taste was consulted in the style of the superstructure. Upon maturer deliberation, after duly considering what has been written upon the subject, particularly by Chrysostom, there seems every reason for believing, that, in the *foundations* here alluded to, we have a standing memorial of Julian's discomfiture, when he attempted to rebuild the temple; and perhaps of a nature which might have satisfied Lardner himself,(e) that his doubts concerning the fact were unwarrantable. Ammanianus Marcellinus, whose testimony, as that of a Heathen writer, confounded even Gibbon's incredulity,(f) pretty plainly indicates that some progress had been made in the work, before the prodigy occurred which rendered the place inaccessible to the artificers whom Julian had employed. It is expressly stated by him,(g) that Alypius of Antioch was earnestly employed in carrying on the building, and that the governor of the province was assisting the operation when the flames burst forth Chrysostom, alluding to the fact, as notorious, and attested by living witnesses, says,(h) "YEA, THEY MAY VIEW THE FOUNDATIONS LYING STILL BARE AND NAKED; AND IF YOU ASK THE REASON, YOU WILL MEET WITH NO OTHER ACCOUNT BESIDE THAT WHICH I HAVE GIVEN." From these concurring testimonies, and from the extraordinary remaining evidence of the *opus reticulatum*, it can hardly be denied but that an appeal may be made to these remains as the very work to which Chrysostom alludes. The words of Ammianus(i) seem to warrant a similar conclusion: "*Metuendi globi flammarum* PROPE FUNDAMENTA *crebis assultibus erum-*

(a) *See Winklemann Hist. de l'Art. tom.* ii. *p.* 561. Par. *an.* 2.
(b) *See p.* 368 *of this volume.*
(c) *Josephus, lib.* xv. *Antiq. c.* 14. Colon. 1691.
(d) *Indeed, the text of Josephus seems to prove the contrary; for he states, that the Jewish priests were employed to superintend the plan of the work, and the labours of the artificers.* Vid. lib. xv. de Antiq. c. 14. Colon. 1691.
(e) *Lardner made objection to the miraculous interposition, and even doubted the attempt.* (Testimonies, vol. IV. pp. 61, 64.) *All the authorities cited for the fact are brought together by* J. Alb. Fabricius. *Lardner, however, is not satisfied with them; although Gibbon was compelled to say,* "*such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind.*" *The reader may examine* Mosheim's Remarks, Eccl. Hist. Maclaine's Transl. vol. I. p. 332. also Moyle's Posthumous Works, vol. II. pp. 100, 101.
(f) *Hist. vol.* IV. *c.* 23. London, 1807.
(g) *Ammian. Marcellin. lib.* xxiii. *c.* 1. Lips. 1773.
(h) *Chrysostom. advers. Jud. etc. as cited by Whitby in his General Preface. See also, West on the Resurrection; and Newton on the Prophecies,* (Works,) *vol.* I. *p.* 447. London, 1782.
(i) *Ammian. Marcellin.* ubi supra.

pentes." On what authority Mosheim asserts(k) that the Jews, who had "*set about this important work, were obliged to desist, before they had even begun to lay the foundations of the sacred edifice,*" does not appear, except it be upon the following passage from Rufinus.(l) "*A pertusigitur fundamentis calces cementaque adhibita: nihil omnino deerat, quin die postera, veteribus deturbatis nova jacerent fundamenta.*" Warburton, who has cited this passage.(m) is nevertheless careful in weighing the evidence, as to the fact, to consider the testimony of Chrysostom as of a superior nature, being that of a living witness; whereas Rufinus, who lived in the subsequent age, could only relate things as they had been transmitted to him; therefore the appeal made by Chrysostom to the existence of the *foundations* may be supposed to supersede any inference likely to be derived from these words of Rufinus, as to their not having been laid before the prodigy took place; and the present appearance of the *opus reticulatum* in the masonry, proves that the workmanship is strictly Roman.(n) Prideaux, in his "Letter to the Deists," makes indeed a bold assertion, and without veracity, in saying, that there "*is not now left the least remainder* of the ruins of the temple, to show where it once stood; and that those who travel to Jerusalem, have no other mark, whereby to find it out, *but the Mahometan mosque erected on the same plat by Omar.*" There is in fact a much better *mark*; namely, the *mark of Julian's discomfiture*, in the remains of Roman masonry upon the spot; and if this be disputed, it can only be so, by admitting that the foundations now "*lying bare and naked*" were those of the temple built by Herod; in direct opposition to authenticated records concerning their demolition by Titus, who commanded his soldiers to dig up the *foundations* both of the temple and the city.(o) "Both the Jewish Talmud and Maimonides affirm," says Whitby,(p) "that Terentius Rufus, the captain of his army, caused a ploughshare to raise the soil whereon the *foundations* of the temple stood."

After all that has been said, let the reader bear carefully in mind, that the prophecy of Christ, existing in full blaze, needs not any support from the establishment of Julian's miraculous discomfiture.(q) The ruins of the temple, and of the city; the abolition of the Mosaical dispensation; the total overthrow and dispersion of the Jews; constitute altogether an EXISTING MIRACLE, perplexing the sceptic with incontestable proof of the divine origin of our religion.

P. 372. A curious undescribed herbaceous plant, of the natural order of *boraginea*, was found by the author in Jerusalem, upon the very spot which is exhibited by the monks as the judgement seat of Pontius Pilate. It has the habit of a *lycopsis*, but the flowers of a *symphtum*, and seeds attached nearly as in *cynogiossum*; but the form is peculiar to itself. The fruits of the order not having been yet thoroughly examined, we have for the present arranged it in *symphytum*; denominating it, from the remarkable spur near the base of the seed, *symphytum calcaratum*. The stems are very slender and crooked; the leaves an inch to an inch and a half in length; the flowers upon pedicles, turned to one side, with the calyx nearly half an inch long, but shorter than the bract at the base of the pedicle.

Symphytum caulibus flexuosis debilibus; foliis lato-lanceolatis, integris, ciliatis, hirsutis; racemiis bractatis secundis laxis; bracteis oblongo-lanceolatis; corollis calyce hirsuto brevioribus, acutis; seminibus obtuse triangulis calcaratis, scabris.

(k) *See Maclaine's Translation, vol.* I. *p.* 332.

(l) *Rufin. Hist. Eccl. lib.* x. *c.* 37.

(m) *Warburton's Julian, p.* 37. *Note (h.)* London, 1750.

(n) *Vide Vitruv. lib.* ii. *c.* 8. Amst. 1549. *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.* xxxvi. *c.* 22. L. Bat. 1635. *Winkelmann Hist. de l'Art.* &c. &c.

(o) *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. See Whitby's General Preface. West on the Resurrection.* London, 1807; &c.

(p) *Gen. Pref. as cited by West.*

(q) *Yet even this is attested by four contemporary writers; by Ammianus Marcellinus; by Chrysostom; by Gregory of Narianzen; and by Ambrose, bishop of Milan.*

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Extract from the Letter of Cardinal Isidore, concerning the capture of Constantinople. A. D. MCCCCLII.

---- "AUDITE haec, audite omnes gentes, auribus percipite, qui habitatis orbem! Audite haec omnae qui fiedelem orbis partem colitis ministri, pastores et principes omnium ecclesiarium Christi universi quoque reges et principes Christicolæ, ac universus Domini populus cum religiosus cunctis! Audite! et notum sit vobis, quod praecursor veri Antichristi, Teucrorum princeps et dominus, servus autem tot dominorum quot vicinorum, cujus nomen est Mahumet, inimicus crucis Christi, haeres rei et nominis illius primi pseudo-prophetae et latoris legis spurcissime Agarenorum, filius Sathanae omnium flagitiosismus, qui furiis infectus, et insania, sanguinem Christianorum sine intermissione sitit, nec extingui valet ejus sitis post eorum innumeras caedes. Tantoque odio contra Christum et membra ejus movetur ut eradere nomen ejus de terra nitatur; et inspecto aliquo Christiano sibi obviantí se inde existimet sordidatum, ut oculus abluat, et os immundum se profitens prius. Hoc igitur tam terribile et horidum monstrum, exigentibus demeritis Christianorum justo Dei judicio, in eos saevire et crassari permissus, civitatem imperialim novam Romam, clim felicissimam, nunc miserrimam, et omni calamitate oppressam Constantinopolim diu obsessam cœpit, expugnavit, spoliavit omnibus bonis, et pene delevit. Quis autem (ut verbis utar prophetae) dabit capiti meo aquam, et oculis meis fontem lachrymarum, ut plorare valeam die ac nocte interfectos populi illius, et scelestissima sacrilegia in ea captura perpetrata? Quis hujus horribilitatis memor, non obstupescat, non lithargicus fiat, non prae dolore obmutescat? Nec tum cuncta enormia explicabo, ne piae aures audire refugiant; sed ex paucissimis relatis cogitentur alia. Hic nefandus, nominibus blasphemiae plenus, civitate recepta post decapitationem Imperatoris, cum omni sua progenie et nobilitate, plurimos ferris manicis et compedibus alligatos, ac collis eorum funibus cinctis, extra urbem deduxit nobiles, plebeios, monachos et monachas, mares et foeminas, virtute et conditione praeclaros, vituperabiliter detractos, multis injuriis refertas ut meretriculas et in lupanari prostitutas trahebant tanta et talia contra eos agebant, quanta de brutis animalibus et qualia sine rubore fari minime quis valeat? Adolescentulos utriusque sexus a parentibus segregabant, et divisim de eis pretio negociabantur. Infantes coram genitoribus suis ut agniculos mactabant. Matres filius et geniti genitricibus privabantur. Germani a fratribus, uxores a viris, nuris a socribus, lugentibus et ululantibus segregabantur. Disjuncti consanguinei et amici in diversis regionibus servi venditi ducebantur. O quam amarae lachrymae, quanta suspiria, quot clamosi singultus inter amicos et notos! quae miserabiles voces emittebantur inter tantas caedes, servitutes, expulsiones, et contumelias? Principes, barones, et domini, bubulcorum, porcariorum, homuncionum effecti sunt famuli. Intra decennium pueros ad ritus suae perfidae sectae compellebant. Heu quomodo obscuratum est aurum fulgidum sapientae, pertenebras ignorantiae! aurum dignitatis per ignobilitatem servitutis! Quomodo mutatus est color optimus Graecae eloquentiae in barbariem Turchiae? lapides sanctuarii, si qui erant constantes in fide, dispersi sunt in capite omnium viarum jacentes prostrati. De caeteris taceamus: humana sunt. Sed de injuriis, subsannationibus, contumeliis, opprobriis scelestibus erga divina, quae lingua valeat explicare? Quis intellectus capere? Quae aures patientur audire? Ni fallor nunquam ita inhonoratus Deus. Venerunt gentes gehennae dedite, in haeredi tatem tuam, quae Israel est te videns per fidem. Polluerunt templum sanctum tuam Ecclesiam nobilissimam sanctae Sophiae, cum aliis. Imagines Domini nostri Jesu

Christi et Matris ejus Virginis gloriosae et sanctorum ac sanctarum Dei, insignia vivificae crucis conspuentes, confringentes, concultantes, sacrosancta evangelia, missalia, et reliquos Ecclesiae libros dilacerantes, decurpantes, comburentes. Sacras vestes sacerdotum, reliquaque ornamenta Ecclesia scindentes, ad indumentum suum et ornatum sumentes, vel pro vili pretio conferentes, vasa Domini, ejus cultui dedicata, in eis comedentes et bibentes, in reliquum conflata adprophanos usus transferebant. Posuerunt denique carnes sanctorum tuorum, morticina servorum, tuorum, reliquias beatorum corporem escas volatillibus cœli, dispergentes hinc inde carnes sanctorum tuorum quos occidebant bestiis terrae: quia non erat qui sepeliret. Altaria suffoderunt in vocantes nomen maledicti Mahumeti, eum laudantes de victoria. Omitto prae pudore quod mingebant, stercorisabant, omnia vituperabilia exercebant in templis, imagnibus, et reliquiis Sanctis. Sancta canibus dabant, margaritas sacramentorum ante porcos projiciebant. Cum haec recolo totus et horrore contremisco, nec ulterius stylo exarare quo illorum piacula ex fidei Christianae religionis dedecora et irisiones injecta. Monasteria tam monachorum quae monialium invadentes, omnia diripiebant, ejicientes illos de habitationibus suis: xenodochia infirmorum destruebant. Etsi de multis et magnis excidiis et exterminis civitatum, historiographi etiam gentilium referant, fere nulla posset desolationi hujus coaequari. Nullam incolam intra reliquerunt, non Graecum, non Latinum, non Armenum, non Judaeum; urbam ipsam suis civibus nudatam quasi desertam effecerunt. Eorum actus et opera propriis oculis vidi, et cum reliquibus constantissimis viris una, plura perpessus sum mala et pericula, licet de manibus eorum me cripuerit Deus, ut Ionam de ventre ceti."

No. II.

This article being merely a "CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS, on daily sale in the cities of the East," with their titles, in the Turkish and Arabic tongues, it is thought, would be of not the least interest to any body whatever, and therefore it is omitted.

No. III.

List of One Hundred and Seventy-two Tales, contained in a manuscript copy of the "Alif Lila Va Lilin, or "Arabian Nights;" as it was procured by the author in Egypt.

N. B. The Arabic words mentioned in this List, are given as they appeared to be pronounced, in English characters; and of course, therefore, adapted to English pronunciation.

The number of Tales amount to 172; but one tale is supposed to occupy many nights in the recital, so that the whole number is divided into "*One Thousand and One Nights.*" It rarely happens that any two copies of the *Alif Lila Va Lilin* resemble each other. This title is bestowed upon any collection of Eastern Tales divided into the same number of parts. The compilation depends upon the taste, the caprice, and the opportunities of the scribe, or the commands of his employer. Certain popular stories are common to almost all copies of the *Arabian Nights*, but almost every selection contains some tales which are not found in every other. Much depends upon the locality of the scribe. The popular stories of Egypt will be found to differ materially from those of Constantinople. A nephew of the late Wortley Montague, living in Rosetta, had a copy of the Arabian Nights; and, upon comparing the two manuscripts, it appeared that out of the 172 tales, here enumerated, only 37 were found in his manuscript. In order to mark, therefore, the stories which were common to the two manuscripts, an Asterisk has been prefixed to the 37 tales which appeared in both copies.

1. THE Bull and the Ass.
2. The Merchant and the Hobgoblin.
3. The Man and the Antelope.
4. The Merchant and two Dogs.
5. The Old Man and the Mule.
*6. The History of the Hunters.

7. } The History of King Unam, and the
8. } Philosopher Reinan.
*9. History of King Sindbad and Elbase.
10. History of the Porter.
*11. History of Karanduli.
*12. Story of the Mirror.
13. Story of the three Apples.
*14. Of Shensheddin Mohammed and his Brother Noureddin.
*15. Of the Taylor, Little Hunchback, the Jew, and the Christian.
16. The History of Noureddin Ali.
17. Ditto of Gaumayub, &c.
*18. The History of King Omar, and Oman and his children.—(This tale is extremely long, and occupies much of the manuscript.)
*19. Of the Lover and the Beloved.
20. Story of the Peacock, the Goose, the Ass, the Horse, &c.
21. Of the Pious Man.
22. Of the Pious Shepherd.
23. Of the Bird and the Turtle.
24. Of the Fox, the Hawk, &c.
25. Of the Lord of the Beasts.
*26. Of the Mouse and the Partridge.
27. Of the Raven and the Cat.
28. Of the Raven, the Fox, the Mouse, the Flea, &c. &c.
29. Story of the Thief.
*30. Of Aul Hassan, and the Slave Shemsney Har.
*31. Of Kamrasaman, &c.
32. Of Naam and Nameto la.
*33. Of Aladin Abuskelmet.
*34. Of Hallina Die.
35. Story of Maap Jamnizida.
36. History of the Town Litta.
37. Story of Hassan Abdulmelac.
38. Of Ibrahim Elmachde, Brother of Haroun al Raschid.
*39. History of the famous Garden Ezem (Paradise.)
40. Of Isaac of Mossul.
41. Of Hasli Hasli.
42. Of Mohammed Eli Ali.
43. Of Ali the Persian.
44. History of the Raschid and his judge.
45. Of Haled Immi Abdullan.
46. Of Jafaard the Bamasside.
47. Of Abokohammed Kurian.
48. Of Haroun al Raschid and Sala.
49. History of Mamoan.
50. Of Shar, and the Slave Zemroud.
51. Of the Lady Bedoor (*literally, Mrs. Moonface,*) and Mr. Victorious.
52. Of Mammon and Mohammed of Bassora.
53. Of Haroun al Raschid, and his Slave,
54. Of the Merchant in Debt.
55. Of Hassoun Medin, the Governor.
56. Of King Nassir, and his three Children,—the Governor of Cairo, the Governor of Bulac, and the Governor of Old Cairo.
57. History of the Banker and the Thief.
58. Of Aladin, Governor of Constantinople.
59. Of Mamoon and Ibrahim.
60. Of a certain King.
61. Of a Pious Man.
62. Of Abul Hassan Ezeada.
63. Of a Merchant.
64. Of a Man of Bagdad.
65. Of Modavakil,
*66. Of Vivdan, in the time of Hakim, Veemrelack. (*N. B.* He built the Mosque in going from Cairo to Heliopolis,)
67. Of a Slave and an Ape.
*68. Story of the Horse of Ebony.
*69. Of Insilvujud.
70. Of Eban Vas.
71. Of an Inhabitant of Bassora.
72. History of a Man of the Tribe of Arabs of Beucadda.
73. History of Benridden, Vizier of Yemen.
74. Of a Boy and a Girl.
75. Of Mutelmis.
76. Of Haroun al Raschid and the Lady Zebeda.
77. Of Mussa ad immi Zibir.
78. Of the Black Father.
79. Of Haroun al Raschid.
80. Story of an Ass Keeper.
81. Of Haroun al Raschid and Ebon Yussuf.
82. Of Hakim, Builder of the Mosque.
83. Of Melikel Horrais.
84. Of a Gilder and his Wife.
85. Of Hashron, &c.
86. Of Yacyar, &c. the Barmadride.
87. Of Mussa, &c.
88. Of Said, &c.
89. Of the Whore and the Good Woman.
90. Of Raschid, and Jacob, his favourite.
91. Of Sherif Hussein.
92. Of Mamoon, son of Haroun al Raschid
93. Of the Repenting Thief.
94. Of Haroun al Raschid.
95. Of a Divine, &c.
96. Another Story of a Divine.
97. The Story of the Neighbours.
98. Of Kings.
99. Of Abdo Rackman.
100. Of Hind, daughter of Nakinan.
101. Of Tabal.
102. Of Isaac, Son of Abraham.
103. Of a Boy and a Girl.
104. Story of Chassim Immi addi.
105. Of Abul Abas.
106. Of Ebubecker Ben Mohammed.
107. Of Ebi Evar.
108. Of Emmin, brother of Mamon.
109. Of Six Scheiks of Bagdad.
110. Of an Old Woman.
111. Of a Wild Girl.
112. Of Hassan Elgevir of Bagdad.
113. Of certain Kings.
114. Of a King of Israel.
115. Of Alexander.
116. Of King Nasharvian.
117. Of a Judge and his Wife.
118. Of an Emir.
119. Of Malek Imnidinar.

120. Of a devout Man of the Children of Israel.
121. Of Hedjaze Himni Yussuf.
122. Of a Blacksmith.
123. Of a devout Man.
124. Of Omar Imnilchatab.
125. Of Ibraham Elchabar.
126. Of a Prophet.
127. Of a Pious Man.
128. Of a Man of the Children of Israel.
129. Of Abul Hassan Duradge.
130. Of Sultana Hayaat.
*131. Of the Philosopher Daniel.
*132. Of Belukia.
*133. The Travels of Sinbad—certain seven voyages, &c.
134. Of the Town of Copper.
135. Of the seven Virgins and the Slave.
*136. Story of Judais.
137. The wonderful History.
138. Of Abdullah Imni Mohammi.
139. Of Hind Imni Haman.
140. Of Chazmime Imni Bashea.
141. Of Jonas the Secretary.
142. Of Haroun al Raschid.
143. Of ditto,
144. Of Ebon Issac Ibrahim.
145. Of Haroun al Raschid, Misroor, and the Poet.
146. Of the Caliph Moavia.
147. Of Haroun al Raschid.
148. Of Isaac Ibrahim.
149. Of Ebwi Amef.
*150. Of Achmet Ezenth, etc. and the old Female Pimp.
151. Of the Three Brothers.
152. Of Erdeshir, and Hiaker, of Julmar El Bacharia.
153. Of Mahomet, &c.
*154. Ditto.
*155. Story of Safil Moluki.
*156. Of Hassan, &c.
*157. Of Caliph the Hunter.
*158. Of Mersir and his Mistress.
159. Of Nouredden and Mary.
160. Of a Bedouin and a Frank.
161. Of a Man of Bagdad and his female Slave.
162. Of a King, his Son, and the Vizier Shemar.
*163. Of a Merchant and the Thieves.
*164. Of Abousir and Aboukir.
*165. Abdulak El and Beri, Adulak Backari.
*166. Of Haroun al Raschid.
167. Of the Merchant Abul Hassan al Omani.
168. Of Imril Echasib.
169. Of Moted Bila.
*170. Of Kamasi Zemuan.
*171. Of Abdulah Imni Fasil.
*172. The Story of Maroof.

No. IV.

Copy of a Certificate given to the Author by the Guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem, as a testimonial of his Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, &c.—The Original bears the Seal of St. Salvador, together with the Signature of the President, and of the Secretary.

"F. PRUDENTIUS FRASCHETTI DE FLORENTIA. Ordinis Minorum Seraphisi Sancti Patris nostri Francisci Almæ Observantis Provinciæ Tusciae Lector, Prædicator, et Aggregatus, Sacræ Congregationi de Prapaganda Fide Responsalis, Missionum Egypti, et Cypri Præfectus, in Partibus Orientis Commissarius Apostolicus, Sacri Montis Sion, et sanctissimi Sepulchri Domini nostri Jesu Christi Præses, Custos et visitator totius Terræe Sanctæ, et humilis in Domino Servus;—

"Noveritis, qualiter illustrissimus Dominus EDWARDUS DANIEL CLARKE, *Armiger, Artium Magister, Collegii Jesu Cantabrigiensis Socius*, devotionis gratia suscepit peregrinationem ad Sancta Loca, anno 1801, et die 9 mensis Julii, Ierosolymam appulit: inde subsequentibus diebus, præcipua Sanctuaria, in quibus Mundi Salvator sum populum dilectum, imo et totius humani genetis massam dammatam, a miserabili Dæmonum protestate misericorditur salvavit; utpote *Calvarium*, ubi cruci affixus devicta morte, cœli januas nobis aperuit; *Sepulchrum*, ubi sacrosanctum ejus corpus reconditum triduo ante suam gloriosissimam resurrectionem quievit; *Montem Sion* ubi cum Discipulis ultimam fecit cœnam; *Hortum Gettemani*; *Montem Oliveti*, ubi videntibus Discipulis, ad cœlos ascendit Dominus, suorum pedum vestigia in æternam reliquens memoriam; cæteraque alia in et extra Ierosolymam constituta. Item et *Bethlehem*, ubi idem Salvator Mundi de Virgine Maria nasci non est sane dedignatus; et quæ circa Bethlehem, et in via Bethlehemitica conspiciuntur. Insuper et quæ in Galilæa similitur continentur; nimirum domum *Nazareth*, ubi beata Virgo ab Angelo salutata meruit Filium Dei concipere incarnatum; *Mare Tiberiadis*, cujus mentio sæpe fit in Sacris Evangelii paginis, propter assiduam Christi Domini consuetudinem; civitatem *Cana* Galileæ, ubi primum miraculum fecit Dominus; aliaque

omnia loca, quæ in *universa Judæa* et *Galilæa* continentur, gressibus Domini, ac beatissimæ ejus Matris consecrata, et a peregrinis visitari solita, visitavit; in quorum omnium, et singulorum fidem, has manu nostra subscriptas, et Sigillo majori Officii nostri munitas expediri mandavimus. Datum ex hoc nostro Conventu Sancti Salvatoris Civitatis Jerusalem, die 12 Mens. Julii, An. 1801.

(Signed)

"FRO. PRUDENTIUS FRASCHETTI, DE FLORENTIA,
PRÆSES ET CUSTOS TOTIUS TERRÆ SANCTÆ.
"DE MANDATO PRUDENTIÆ SUÆ REVERENDISIMÆ
F. DARIUS, DE GRECIO, Secretarius Terræ Sanctæ.

No. V.

Temperature of the Atmosphere, according to Diurnal Observation; with a corresponding statement of temperature in England during the same period, as extracted from the Register kept in the apartments of the Royal Society of London, by order of the President and Council.

N. B. The Observations during the Journey, were always made at noon; those of the Royal Society, at 2 P. M. and both on the scale of Fahrenheit.

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in London on same day.
53°	Constantinople,	January 1, 1801	47°
50	Constantinople,	January 2	48
49	Constantinople,	January 3	52
51	Constantinople,	January 4	45
47	Constantinople,	January 5	49
48	Constantinople,	January 6	44
46	Constantinople,	January 7	45
46	Constantinople,	January 8	41
51	Constantinople,	January 9	44
48	Constantinople,	January 10	47
48	Constantinople,	January 11	42
47	Constantinople,	January 12	39
41	Constantinople,	January 13	44
48	Constantinople,	January 14	45
41	Constantinople,	January 15	42
41	Constantinople,	January 16	46
44 1-2	Constantinople,	January 17	49
41	Constantinople,	January 18	46
39	Constantinople,	January 19	43
44	Constantinople,	January 20	54
41	Constantinople,	January 21	46
46	Constantinople,	January 22	43
46	Constantinople,	January 23	38
61	Constantinople,	January 24	36
59 1-2	Constantinople,	January 25	33
61	Constantinople,	January 26	36
51	Constantinople,	January 27	41
46	Constantinople,	January 28	48
47	Constantinople,	January 29	52
46	Constantinople,	January 30	44
46	Constantinople,	January 31	49
47	Constantinople,	February 1	49
46	Constantinople,	February 2	49
45	Constantinople,	February 3	54
48	Constantinople,	February 4	56
46	Constantinople,	February 5	53
50	Constantinople,	February 6	56
45	Constantinople,	February 7	53

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in London on same day.
50	Constantinople,	February 8	43
51	Constantinople,	February 9	40
59	Constantinople,	February 10	38
59	Constantinople,	February 11	34
51	Constantinople,	February 12	38
53	Constantinople,	February 13	30
50	Constantinople,	February 14	31
47	Constantinople,	February 15	34
45	Constantinople,	February 16	35
62 1-2	Constantinople,	February 17	41
60 1-2	Constantinople,	February 18	38
63	Constantinople,	February 19	39
64	Constantinople,	February 20	45
65	Constantinople,	February 21	43
61	Constantinople,	February 22	43
51	Constantinople,	February 23	46
50	Constantinople,	February 24	44
61	Constantinople,	February 25	51
50	Constantinople,	February 26	51
46	Constantinople,	February 27	49
45	Constantinople,	February 28	50
44	Sea of Marmora,	March 1	55
45	Sea opposite Gallipoli,	March 2	58
51	Alanteum, on the Hellespont,	March 3	59
52	Plain of Troy,	March 4	53
52	Bonarbashy,	March 4	51
54	Tchiblack Hill,	March 6	49
52	Heights behind Bonarbashy,	March 7	44
46	Road to Beyramitch,	March 8	43
54 1 2	Beyramitch,	March 9	50
32	Summit of Gargarus,	March 10	45
52	Source of the Scamander,	March 11	50
51	Ruins on Kuchunlu Tepe,	March 12	53
49	Æne,	March 13	52
49	Alexandria Taros,	March 14	52
50 1 2	Udek Tepe,	March 15	44
61	Dardanelles,	March 16	43
60	Dardanelles,	March 17	51
62	Dardanelles,	March 18	47
63	Dardanelles,	March 19	47
65	Dardanelles,	March 20	45
70	Dardanelles,	March 21	45
66	Dardanelles,	March 22	47
63	Dardanelles,	March 23	47
63	Dardanelles,	March 24	50
60	Dardanelles,	March 25	50
58	Dardanelles,	March 26	55
56	Dardanelles,	March 27	56
53	At sea, off Tenedos,	March 28	58
54 1 2	do. between Scio and Samos.	March 29	59
63	Harbour of Isle Stanchio,	March 30	51
60 1-2	Off the Triopian promontory; Cape Crio.	March 31	54
57	Entrance to Rhodes harbour,	April 1	57
62	Rhodes,	April 2	61
56	Rhodes,	April 3	64
53	Rhodes,	April 4	65
59	Rhodes,	April 5	46
60 1-2	Rhodes,	April 6	50
63	At sea, off the Gulph of Glaucus,	April 7	47
73	At anchor in the Gulph,	April 8	49
71 1-2	Genoese Isle in the Gulph,	April 9	52
78	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 10	51
71 1-2	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 11	48
70	Gulph of Glaucus,	April 12	39

Obs. on Scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in London on same day.
71	At sea, off Seven Capes. N. and by E. five leagues,	April 13	
71 1-2	Ditto,	April 14	48
68	Ditto, lat. 33. 32.	April 15	49
73	Ditto, lat. 32. 51.	April 16	48
68	Ditto, lat. 31.	April 17	57
68	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 18	59
69 1 2	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 19	62
68	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 20	65
69 1 2	Aboukir bay, coast of Egypt,	April 21	60
69 1 2	Camp near Alexandria	April 22	52
78	Camp near Alexandria,	April 23	51
72	Aboukir bay,	April 24	54
58	Landing place of the British army,	April 25	62
78	Rosetta,	April 26	60
80	Rosetta,	April 27	64
79	Rosetta,	April 28	61
74	Rosetta,	April 29	60
71	Rosetta.	April 30	62
69	Etko, in Egypt,	May 1	54
73	Aboukir bay,	May 2	52
81	Aboukir bay,	May 3	57
69	Aboukir bay,	May 4	64
70	Aboukir bay,	May 5	62
69	Aboukir bay,	May 6	61
67 1-2	Aboukir bay,	May 7	62
71	Aboukir bay,	May 8	61
70	Off the mouth of the Nile,	May 9	59
75	Rosetta,	May 10	63
78 1 2	Rosetta,	May 11	66
84 1-2	Rosetta,	May 12	57
82	Rosetta,	May 13	59
75	Rosetta,	May 14	58
75	Rosetta,	May 15	60
78 1-2	Rosetta,	May 16	65
78 1-2	Rosetta,	May 17	64
79 1-2	Rosetta,	May 18	60
77	Rosetta,	May 19	64
73	Off the Nile,	May 20	66
71	Aboukir bay,	May 21	70
77	Aboukir bay,	May 22	70
99	Ditto, wind south. On this day an Arab died of a sunstroke in the camp. The thermometer on shore, it is said, then indicated 126.	May 24	68
72 1-2	Aboukir bay,	May 24	71
72 1-2	Aboukir bay,	May 25	69
72	Aboukir bay,	May 26	65
72	Aboukir bay,	May 27	57
73 1-2	Aboukir bay,	May 28	63
73	Aboukir bay,	May 29	66
73 1-2	Off the Nile,	May 30	64
79	Ditto, north lat. 31. 56.	May 31	59
78	Off the coast of Egypt, lat. 32. 30.	June 1	59
74	do. lat. 32. 48.	June 2	62
77	do. lat. 33. 55.	June 3	65
80	do. lat. 34. 28.	June 4	68
81 1-2	do. lat. 34. 27.	June 5	69
81 1-2	do.	June 6	76
85	Larneca bay,	June 7	67
82	Larneca,	June 8	76
81	Nicotia,	June 9	79
79	Larneca bay,	June 10	80
79	Larneca bay,	June 11	66
81	Larneca bay,	June 12	66

Obs. on scale of Fahrenheit.	Where made.	When made.	Obs. in London on same day.
76 1-2	Larneca bay,	June 13	48
77	Larneca bay,	June 14	62
77	Larneca bay,	June 15	65
77	Larneca bay,	June 16	64
75	At sea, lat. 33. 53.	June 17	64
75	At sea, lat. 31. 53.	June 18	70
74	At sea, lat. 31. 4.	June 19	70
77	Aboukir bay,	June 20	73
76	Aboukir bay,	June 21	66
73	Aboukir bay,	June 22	63
75	Aboukir bay,	June 23	59
77	At sea, near Aboukir bay,	June 24	65
77	do. lat. 31. 43.	June 25	69
82	do. lat. 31. 43.	June 26	73
81	do. lat. 31. 53.	June 27	73
81	Off Cape Carmel,	June 28	78
81	Bay of St. John D'Acre, lat. 32. 57.	June 29	80
89	do.	June 30	76
83	do.	July 1	68
80	Bay of St. John D'Acre,	July 2	70
82	do.	July 3	64
85	Nazareth, (Holy Land,)	July 4	70
100	In a cave near Turan,	July 5	70
84	Lubi,	July 6	69
86	Arab tent in the plain of Esdraelon,	July 7	73
93	Napolose, in an olive ground,	July 8	70
98	Bethel,	July 9	66
87	Jerusalem, Convent of St. Salvador.	July 10	66
80	do.	July 11	67
87	do.	July 12	67
88	Bethlehem,	July 13	70
85 1-2	Rama,	July 14	73
5	Jaffa,	July 15	68
83	Off the coast of Cæsarea,	July 16	60

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